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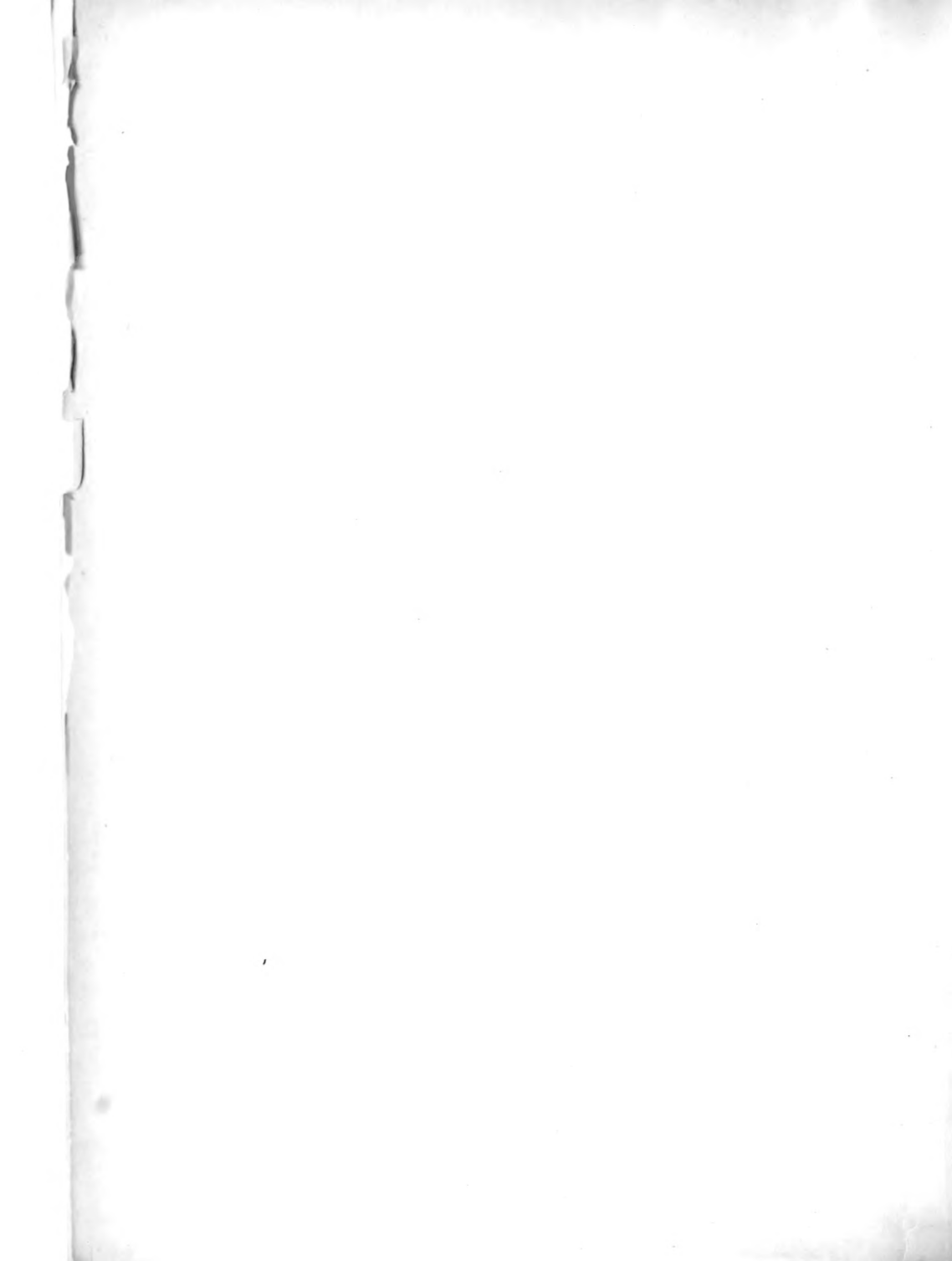


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*THE CANADIAN*  
*PORTRAIT GALLERY.*

BY  
JOHN CHARLES DENT,  
ASSISTED BY A STAFF OF CONTRIBUTORS.

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*Louise*



## THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

IT has become the fashion, in sketching the life of the present Governor-General of Canada, to preface the narrative of his personal career by an historical account of the great Scottish family to which he belongs. Such an account is very easy to write, for the materials are ample; and very easy to read, for the subject-matter is interesting. Those persons, however, who desire such information will be at no loss where to look for it. In the present sketch we can merely afford space to glance at two or three of the most noteworthy events in the history of the great house of Argyll.

Our late Governor-General, in his picturesque work of travel called "Letters from High Latitudes," indulges in a monologue which he calls "The Saga of the Clan Campbell," wherein he goes over the accumulated traditionary lore of centuries, and brings the account of the family down to the present times. The account is half mythical and wholly poetical, but doubtless contains a large element of fact. The earliest records of the house of Argyll are enveloped in the twilight of fable. During the comparatively modern period of the eleventh century, Gillespie Campbell acquired by marriage the Lordship of Lochow, in Argyleshire, and from him descended Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, who, distinguished as well by the great acquisitions he had made to his estate as by his valorous achievements in war, obtained the sur-

name of "Mohr," or "Great." From him the chief of the house is to this day styled, in Gaelic, MacCallum Mohr—a corruption of "the Great Colin." He was knighted by Alexander III., in 1280, and in 1291 was one of the prominent adherents of Robert Bruce in the contest for the Scottish Crown. This chieftain was slain in a contest with his powerful neighbour the Lord of Lorne, at a place called the String of Cowal. The event occasioned continued feuds for a series of years between the houses of Lochow and Lorne, which terminated at last, after the fashion in which such quarrels frequently terminated in those days, by the marriage of the first Earl of Argyll with the heiress of Lorne. The history of the family for several centuries after this event may almost be said to be the history of Scotland. Early in the seventeenth century the head of the house, called Gillespie Grumach, or Archibald the Grim, became the first and last Marquis of Argyll, and during Cromwell's Protectorate was brought to the scaffold for his espousal of the Royalist cause. His son and heir escaped to the continent, but subsequently returned to Scotland to co-operate with the Duke of Monmouth's ill-starred rising in the south. Upon the defeat of that enterprise he was captured and put to death. The estates were confiscated, and the family name seemed doomed to extinction. The Revolution of 1688, however, brought it once more to the front,

and its representative was created Duke of Argyll and Marquis of Lorne. The next successor to the title, though a somewhat unstable politician, played a very conspicuous part in the history of his time, and has been immortalized in verse by Pope, and in prose by Sir Walter Scott. The chief representative of the family at the present time is the eighth Duke of Argyll, a statesman who has held office under several administrations, and who has achieved some reputation as a scientist and a man of letters. The last official position held by him was that of Secretary of State for India, which he held from the time of the formation of Mr. Gladstone's cabinet, in December, 1868, down to the deposition of the Liberal Government in February, 1874. While still young he took an active part in the controversy respecting patronage in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. He arrayed himself on the side of Dr. Chalmers, by whom he was esteemed as a potent adherent, and both his voice and his pen were vigorously lifted up in exposition of his views on ecclesiastical matters. In 1844 he married Lady Elizabeth Georgiana Sutherland Leveson-Gower, eldest daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland, and late Mistress of the Royal Robes. To the extra-Parliamentary world the present Duke of Argyll is probably best known by his "Reign of Law," a series of essays published in 1866, in which the evidences of a presiding will, as opposed to those who would refer all phenomena to the operation of non-intelligent causes, are ably brought out. His work on "Primæval Man," published in 1869, deals with a similar subject, and attacks in an acute, a popular, and withal a scientific fashion, the theories of evolution and development. His latest important work, "The Eastern Question, from the Treaty of Paris, 1856, to the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, and to the second Afghan War," made its appearance at the beginning

of last year. It was the first adequate attempt to set forth in detail the important subject of which it treats; an attempt in which the author was remarkably successful. The book threw new light on a great deal of matter which had previously been unknown to the world at large, and no one who is unacquainted with its contents is capable of intelligently criticising or discussing the Eastern Question. The Duke's visit to this country last year, and his intelligent criticisms subsequently published on both sides of the Atlantic, are still fresh in the minds of all readers of these pages. He has a numerous family, the eldest of whom, John George Edward Henry Douglas Sutherland Campbell, by courtesy known as the Marquis of Lorne, is the present Governor-General of Canada. Another son is a banker in London; and another is, or recently was, prominently connected with the trade of London, Liverpool and New York.

On the corner of the Green Park and the avenue known as "The Mall," with its west front overlooking the former and its south front facing St. James's Park, stands Stafford House, the town residence of the Duke of Sutherland, the finest private residence in London, and, in its interior appointments, probably the most splendid private mansion in the world. It is readily accessible to the public, and philanthropists and other persons interested in social reform are occasionally permitted to hold meetings in the magnificent drawing-rooms, which are in their way as well worth seeing as anything that London has to show. Many of our readers will recall the novel exhibition of multiform wicker coffins held there several years ago, when the question of human sepulture was the subject of so much discussion. In one of the imperial chambers of this mansion, on the 6th of August, 1845, was born the subject of the present sketch. The only information respecting his childish days which has come under our notice is contained in Her Ma-

jesty's "Journal of Our Life in the Highlands," under date of August, 1847, at which time Her Majesty and the late Prince Consort paid a visit to Inverary, the ancestral seat of the Argylls. Speaking of the reception at the Castle, the Royal journalist writes:—"It was in the true Highland fashion. The pipers walked before the carriage, and the Highlanders on either side, as we approached the house. Outside stood the Marquis of Lorne, just two years old, a dear, white, fat, fair little fellow, with reddish hair, but very delicate features, like both his father and mother; he is such a merry, independent little child. He had a black velvet dress and jacket, with a sporran, scarf, and Highland bonnet." The Royal visitor took the little fellow in her arms and kissed him. About nine months subsequent to this event Her Majesty gave birth to a daughter, who was destined to become the bride of the "white, fat, fair little fellow" eulogized in the foregoing passage.

His early education was received at Eton, whence, later on, he passed successively to the University of St. Andrew's and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1866 he was appointed Captain of the London Scottish Rifle Volunteers, and subsequently became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 105th Rifle Volunteers. During the same year he made a tour through the West Indies and the eastern part of the North American continent. The result of his observations during this trip were published under the title of "A Tour in the Tropics," a work said to display a keenness of observation and a soundness of judgment not often found in the productions of titled or untitled travellers. His tour included brief visits to the principal cities of the Dominion, and the work contains short notices of Niagara, Toronto, Kingston, and Ottawa. In 1868 he entered the House of Commons as member for Argyllshire, and continued to represent that constituency down to the time of his appointment to his present high position. During part of his

father's tenure of office as Secretary of State for India the Marquis acted as his private secretary. On the 21st of March, 1871, occurred what up to the present time has been the most important event of his life—his marriage with Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise. The wedding took place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and was solemnized with imposing ceremonies. There is as yet no issue of the marriage. Soon after this event his name was spoken of in connection with the Governor-Generalship of Canada, and it was then for a short time believed that he would succeed Sir John Young; but after some delay it was considered expedient to appoint Lord Dufferin to the office. He subsequently devoted himself chiefly to literary and artistic pursuits, for which he has a highly cultivated taste and considerable ability. Several years ago he published "Guido and Lita, a Tale of the Riviera," a poem of much sweetness and beauty, which would have attracted attention even if it had proceeded from an obscure and unknown hand. In August, 1877, he put forth another poetical venture, "The Book of Psalms Literally Rendered in Verse." The rendering is smooth and harmonious, and has been highly praised for the taste, industry, and general literary ability displayed in its composition.

When Lord Dufferin's term of office had nearly expired, and it became necessary to appoint a successor, it began to be rumoured that the appointment was to be conferred upon the Marquis of Lorne. Towards the end of July, 1878, the announcement was made that the appointment had been actually offered to and accepted by him. In advising Her Majesty to confer this appointment upon her son-in-law, Lord Beaconsfield signally manifested his aptitude for gauging the sympathies of the English people in this country. The feeling of effusive loyalty which he has of late years been so assiduous in cultivating in the public mind of Great

Britain found a hearty echo on this side the Atlantic when it became known that the Marquis of Lorne and his consort were to take up their abode among us. The appointment was hailed with satisfaction in all parts of the Dominion, and the new Governor-General entered upon his term of office with the hearts of the people strongly prepossessed in his favour. In Canada, loyalty has by no means degenerated into a mere feeble sentiment of expediency. Throughout the length and breadth of our land the name of Queen Victoria is regarded with an affectionate love and veneration which is felt for no other human being, and this love has gone out with fervour towards the fair young daughter who, during her residence among us, has been, and will be—and that in no merely conventional sense—the first lady in the land.

His Excellency has not yet been long enough among us to enable us to know him as we had all learned to know Lord Dufferin before his departure from our shores, and it is perhaps too early to pass a final judgment upon him. Instead of any comments of our own upon his qualifications for the high position which he occupies, we submit the opinion of the *London Times*, which in a recent article remarked that "The experiment which was tried when the Marquis of Lorne was appointed Governor-General of the Dominion has been crowned by complete success. It has been found possible to appeal effectively to the loyalty of our colonial fellow-subjects without placing in jeopardy for a moment the dignity of the Crown or the

solid interests of the Imperial connection. It is only fair to acknowledge that Lord Lorne has played a difficult part with remarkable ability. The very enthusiasm of which his illustrious consort was the object might easily have misled him. The Canadians, like other colonists, are painfully susceptible. They are on the watch for slights which are never intended; they resent bitterly anything which seems like an assumption that they are aliens, but not less so anything which may be construed to mean that they are dependents."

Her Royal Highness Princess Louise Caroline Alberta, Duchess of Saxony, was born March 18th, 1848, and at the time of her marriage had just completed her twenty-third year. She is the sixth child and fourth daughter of Her Majesty. Since her marriage brought her prominently before the public she has been regarded with affectionate interest by the people of Great Britain, and her personal qualities, independently of her high rank, are such as to have earned for her the love and respect of her associates. She is very proficient in art and music, and it is said that some of the brightest fashion and art notes in one of the leading fashionable journals were written or inspired by her. Her work on lace is pronounced by competent critics to be of exceptionally high merit, and she has also shown much ability in design. The bridal veil of Honiton lace worn by her at her marriage was designed by her, and her etchings and sculpture repeatedly exhibited at the Royal Academy are said to show a high degree of excellence.







*Samuel Mudders*

## SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD.

NO other public man has held influential positions in the government of Canada so long as Sir John Macdonald. And yet he has not far passed that time of life when English statesmen are held to be in their prime. If he had the constitution of a Palmerston or a Brougham, he might still count on fifteen years of future activity.

In looking back on the public career of Sir John, one cannot avoid asking what are the qualities which have enabled him to take a prominent part in the government for an exceptionally long period. The shortest answer that could be given would perhaps be that he possesses unusual facility for falling into well defined grooves of public opinion, and of conciliating opponents when conciliation becomes necessary. In this way he profits by the labour of others, and knows how to reap where he had not sown. Sometimes, so far from having encouraged the sowers, he did all he could to obstruct their operations. When the crop was ripe, he was ready to put in the sickle. To this power of appropriation, which enabled him to profit by the labour of others, he owes much of his success. He recognizes the truth that there is a time to oppose and a time to accept. He will pursue one line of policy as long as it is tenable, and abandon it for an opposite line when it has ceased to be practicable. This treatment he extends to measures; so that, in the progress of his public career, it has happened that he has

accepted at one period what he had previously rejected, combated, and decried. In this way, Sir John has kept nearly abreast of matured public opinion, and he may always be relied on to move with the current, when it has become strong enough to bear down the minor forces which impeded its progress, and a reliance on which, for a time, best suited his purpose. In the early and hopeless stages of an agitation for some new reform, his conservative instincts are indulged; when the hour of victory approaches, he recognizes the necessity of the change. A man whose Conservatism is thus qualified and limited is the reverse of a *doctrinaire*, but in the path of practicable political progress he can never be far behind others.

Sir John's power of appropriation is not confined to measures. He is at least equally successful in utilizing men, in overcoming their antipathies, and in gaining the assistance of old opponents. He has the rare faculty of attaching these recruits to his banner at the very time when he has the most need of them; sometimes when his political fortunes would be desperate without their aid. His personal magnetism, here of the greatest use to him, combined with the attractions of office, proves stronger than old party ties, stronger than the recollection of old alliances, and even stronger than the fear which men have of losing that sympathy which comes in the form of the expression

of a favourable opinion from those whose disregard is most dreaded. In thus strengthening himself, Sir John is seldom able very seriously to weaken the enemy. The changed personal convictions and the new sense of duty implied in these accretions to the forces of the minister are generally confined to a few, and are often deviations from the rising current of public opinion. The recruit who goes into battle for the new cause recognizes the danger he runs, if he takes the trouble to count up the victims of these somewhat miraculous conversions. But Sir John gets the needed accession of strength, his policy is sustained, and his administration continued. The enmities he makes in the collision of political strife are never, on his side, implacable. He must have made it a rule of his public life never to refuse to co-operate with any public man on account of former antagonism; for he has always shown himself ready, if there were a good reason for it, to accept as colleagues men by whom he had been bitterly opposed, and whose hostility he had duly reciprocated. The allegiance borne him by his party is a willing and voluntary allegiance; but, in individual cases, its ardour is often damped, and mutiny threatened in muffled tones to some confidential friend. This usually happens when distance removes the follower from the personal influence of the leader; but a single interview generally converts a rebellious subject into a devoted partisan. The secret of this influence, which is so commanding as to be almost irresistible, is chiefly personal. Sir John's estimate of motives seldom errs by ranking them too high; but there cannot be a doubt that, on the whole, he measures men with a singular degree of accuracy. It has happened scores of times that, in half an hour, he has reclaimed an old friend whose feelings had been almost wholly alienated. By what secret magic did he bring about this result? In most cases, it will be found that he has

promised no part of the patronage which it is in the power of a first minister to bestow. He has removed some misapprehension under which the semi-rebellious subject laboured; he has met every objection with a plausible if not unanswerable reply, and has so managed to get the better of the argument. It has been charged against him that he insinuates promises in so general a way that he can never be called upon to fulfil them; as if the reverse of that which Clarendon said of Lord Falkland were true of him, that "he could as easily have given himself leave to steal as to dissemble, or to suffer any man to think that he would do a thing which he resolved not to do; which he thought a more mischievous kind of lying than a positive averring what could be more easily contradicted." We do not believe that the insinuation, put in this gross form, is true, though it may well be that many have too hastily inferred, without any direct promise, that Sir John would do what they had asked of him. The misapprehension, when such exists, is, we believe, frequently on their side.

The practice of keeping up the strength of his parliamentary following by winning recruits from the enemy, is one that has often shaken, for the moment, the mental fidelity of old friends, though the discontent may not have been translated into any overt act. The new recruits which have so often closed up the shattered ranks of the ministerial party, have not unfrequently been worked upon by the envious as successful rivals for the favour of the distribution of patronage, and they have lamented that their own claims, which they have believed to be paramount and incontrovertible, have been postponed to those of men who, till yesterday, had always been found in the opposite camp. But these complaints, which in a personal view were not altogether without foundation, were almost invariably silenced in the first interview between the

offending minister and the offended follower. It was easy for the minister to show that the measure taken was the best for the party, and that in no other way could its effective strength have been kept up, and its hold on power maintained.

It must sometimes happen that the supply of new supporters won from the ranks of the opposition will fall short of the requirement. Under some conditions, Sir John has found it all but impossible to obtain from the ranks of either party the material to fill vacancies in the Cabinet, or to give a little much needed additional strength in the House. There have been other occasions in which tenders of outside support have been refused, on account of the conditions attached to them. It has happened, too, that conditions which the minister refused one day, would have been accepted the next, when the danger of defeat became imminent, unless the ministerial forces could be recruited. It may safely be said that Sir John never seeks or accepts outside aid from preference; every new alliance of the kind under consideration is, in some measure, forced upon him by the pressure of necessity. These new recruits are generally the most timid of mortals; fearing, as the worst punishment that could overtake them, to forfeit the good opinion of those whom they appear to desert. The manifestation of this fear has many degrees; the greatest of which is that of encountering the scoffs which they know will follow their changing their habitual manner of voting. Some old opponents who have joined with Sir John in the same Cabinet, whom the public would not generally credit with a want of courage, have made the change with fear and trembling; they have never felt at ease under the hostile criticism to which their new position exposed them, and have soon been at a loss whether to retreat or advance. A man who felt that he could, by a determined effort, recover his position, would probably

retreat; a man of less force, and smaller personal resources, had nothing to do but to remain where he was, enjoying his present opportunity, and finally go down with the ship on which he had embarked. A minister with such a contingent of allies and supporters has more than the usual opportunities of seeing the different sides of public men. The knowledge thus obtained is far from being useless to him if, like Sir John, he possesses in an eminent degree the faculty of turning it to account.

Sir John's power of placating sullen followers, or of alluring recruits from the hostile camp, is probably about equally great. A remarkable instance of the latter occurred soon after the epoch of Confederation, and it may be given as an example. Nova Scotia had been protesting against the union, into which Mr. Howe and his friends complained that he had been dragged. Everything short of rebellion, and very little short of that, had been threatened. The leader of the Federal Government saw the necessity of allaying an opposition which was as persistent as it was fervent and active; and the best way of doing this was to reconcile Howe, the most stalwart son of Nova Scotia, to the new state of things, and induce him to aid in working the detested machine of Confederation; a feat the accomplishment of which would be a guarantee to Mr. Howe's friends that its supposed dangerous qualities would be minimized in the operation. At this time the leader of the Ontario Government had, for some reason, become thoroughly disaffected to the Premier of the Dominion. The hostility, though not very notorious, was restrained with difficulty, and was in danger of finding open expression on some unforeseen emergency. In obtaining the services of Mr. Howe, the aid of the Ontario Premier would be very useful if it could be got. Sir John resolved to ask this aid; though most persons in his position would probably have concluded that Mr.

Howe, to whom a seat in the Cabinet could be offered, would prove an easier conquest than the Ontario Premier, who was already in possession of all Sir John had to give him, and whose ill-concealed hostility was taking a more personal form than that of Mr. Howe. When the two Premiers met in the Queen's Hotel, Toronto, there was much reason to fear an explosion, for it was with great difficulty that Mr. Sandfield Macdonald restrained the expression of his feelings. They walked separately to the Attorney-General's office, and when they were left alone their mutual friends feared that an open rupture would be the result of their meeting. What happened? In less than an hour the Ontario Premier confided to a friend, whom he met in the street, that he and his namesake of the Dominion were to start next morning, by different routes, to win over Howe, by their joint persuasions. Such an exertion of personal influence over a man who could himself exercise no small share of magnetic influence, is as remarkable as it is rare, and it attests the possession by Sir John of those qualities which pre-eminently qualify a man to be a leader of men.

Sir John's habit of delaying, often for weeks together, to fill offices that fall vacant, has been an enigma alike to friends and foes. There is no reason to conclude that it is referable to constitutional indolence. It is the result of some inexplicable calculation of policy; but it is not the less difficult to believe that it is a policy that pays. When remonstrated with on the seeming folly of disappointing fifty persons, whose applications might easily have been forestalled, and the opposite policy of Sir Francis Hincks has been held up in contrast, he has, in vindication of his own course, pointed to the fact that the life of his administration has been much longer than that of the gentleman named. It may be that when a large number of men, more or less influen-

tial, have asked favours from the head of the government, they feel to a certain extent in his power, and that to do anything that might, under the circumstances, look like desertion, would be a disgrace. Once, on quitting office, Sir John gave mortal offence to his followers by leaving, as a prize for his successor, half a hundred offices vacant; but on a subsequent occasion, resolving not again to subject himself to a like reproach, he ran too near the wind by making a large number of appointments when his administration was in a moribund condition, and almost virtually defunct.

Mr. Macdonald had not the advantage of a University education, and was put to the law when a lad of fifteen years of age, having been born on the 11th January, 1815. His father, who had emigrated from Sutherlandshire, Scotland, in 1820, and settled in business at Kingston, Ontario, sent his son to the Royal Grammar School, in the latter town, where at first the boy had Dr. Wilson, and afterwards Mr. George Baxter, for teachers. Here the pupil showed more than the average talent for mathematics. Beyond this, his teachers did not observe in the pupil any marked signs that he was destined for the career he has actually run. At twenty-one our future statesman was called to the bar, an age at which law students of the present day very often only enter on their studies. It is impossible to believe that this early maturing was an advantage, in point of thoroughness; the only thing in its favour was that it gave the subject of it an early start in the career of active life. Greater leisure, more prolonged preliminary studies, the opportunity of travelling before settling down to serious work, would have given the young lawyer an advantage similar to that which a man gets from a run before he jumps. But his genius for government, added to long experience, went far to supply the want of those advantages.

The young lawyer commenced practice in

the town where his father lived, and where he had pursued his studies. He was attentive to the duties of his profession, and soon acquired a considerable practice. As barristers often owe much to the occurrence of some conspicuous opportunity for the display of their talents, the trial of Von Shultz, who had led the band of marauders which came across the border, in the name of liberators and sympathizers, in 1838, gave this opportunity to young Macdonald. Von Shultz had been entrapped, as it were, by illusive representations, into an enterprise which was an anachronism and a folly, for the rebellion had long before been put down, and the invasion had not the remotest chance of success. Mr. Macdonald could not prevent his client being convicted and hanged—that would have been impossible, in the face of the evidence—but he gave proof of the possession of forensic talents which at once established his reputation, and gave him no mean position among the leaders of the bar. This was accomplished in the year 1839, when the advocate was only twenty-five years of age. That year he had entered into a law partnership with Mr. (now Senator) Campbell.

If a very early call to the bar be a doubtful advantage, an early connection with politics is almost essential to success in that line. A man who has no taste for politics till he is forty, had better conclude that his vocation is to be sought elsewhere. At thirty-one, Mr. Macdonald was elected to represent Kingston in the second legislature under the union. The times were not propitious for the formation, out of raw materials, of promising Conservative statesmen. Portentous clouds overcast the political horizon. Responsible Government was then only struggling for recognition; and Sir Charles Metcalfe, the new Governor-General, jealous of his own supposed prerogatives, and conscientious in the discharge of what he believed to be the duties of his position, was

prepared to resist its application in the way his ministers thought it ought to be applied. If the ministerial contention were true, that the government must mainly be conducted on the English model, the great anxiety of Sir Charles was to know what would become of the Governor-General? That question assumed additional importance in his eyes from the fact that the person who asked it happened to be Governor-General. He could not brook the thought that the Governor-General should be reduced to the deplorable condition of the sovereign. He had governed in India, he had governed in Jamaica, and he had come to Canada to govern; and what was more, he was not going to be driven from the path of duty, which was to him also the path of honour. A quarrel with his ministry over appointments to office led to their resignation before the end of November. Nothing could show more convincingly that during the whole of its existence this administration had been under some external restraint, than the fact that, of all the officials gazetted, it had consented to become responsible for the appointment of a majority of them from the ranks of its political opponents.

The battle of Responsible Government was now to be fought; and the Conservatives who succeeded to office were in a measure bound to adopt, in theory at least, the views of the Governor-General. To do so was in exact accord with the habitual temper of the old official party. Young Macdonald was fated to take his first practical lessons in statesmanship in an illiberal school; but his elastic mind was destined in due time to break through the restraints of their unconstitutional doctrines. He was not spoiled by the bad training he underwent. He did not plunge with premature impetuosity, as young members often do, into the debates of the House; he had the discretion and the good sense to speak only when he had some-

thing to say. In 1847 his official experience began; in May, he was selected by Mr. Draper for the office of Receiver-General. As he was destined in future to hold by turns nearly every office in the Government, so it was not long before he was transferred to the Crown Lands. In these days, the Crown Lands Office was as much noted as the Court of Chancery in England, in its worst days, for the interminable delays that prevented adjudication upon rival claims and disputed questions. Mr. Macdonald obtained, as most of his successors afterwards obtained, credit for his prompt decisions. Before the Draper Administration had been defeated in the beginning of 1848, the country had, through a change of Governors, been assured of a constitutional *regime*. Lord Cathcart filled the gap between the retirement of Lord Metcalfe and the arrival of Lord Elgin. Lord Elgin, who was thoroughly imbued with constitutional ideas, carried out to its full and legitimate extent the principle which Metcalfe had lashed the Province into a storm of anger to defeat. But at no time could the Draper Ministry have existed a single day without a majority in the Legislative Assembly; and it is remarkable by what a small majority this administration was enabled to hold power from November, 1844, to March, 1848.

Mr. Macdonald, with his party, was now in opposition, where he was destined to remain until 1854; and then only to share power with the other party, in a Coalition Government. These years of opposition were years of valuable experience and useful discipline. Before he went back to office, his powers of debate had been greatly strengthened, and there was but a single antagonist in the House for whom he was not a full match. In 1849 he opposed the reform of King's College, which, by the abolition of the Divinity chair, took away its sectional character and gave it the im-

press of a national institution; but after the second reading of the bill his opposition practically ceased. The Rebellion Losses Bill of the same year found in him, as well as in the whole Conservative party, a persistent opponent. Regarding the intended object and certain results of the measure, the two parties expressed the most opposite views. The Conservatives described it as a Bill to compensate rebels for the loss of property which they had suffered as the consequence of their own acts, by which great injuries had been inflicted upon others; the Government and its supporters contending that this class would be utterly excluded from its benefits. The violence of party excitement reached its highest pitch. If this state of feeling had long continued, the public interests would have greatly suffered. As a consequence of the excitement the Parliament buildings had already been burned by an infuriated mob, which comprised many persons of the highest reputed respectability. Never were the two political parties in a state of more bitter antagonism. But the truth of the adage that there is a tendency of extremes to come together was soon to be exemplified in a remarkable degree. The Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry had not been a year in existence when it became apparent that more was expected from it than was likely to be realized. As time wore on, men listened in vain for any response to the demand that the Clergy Reserves should be secularized. The violent opposition to the Rebellion Losses Bill, by uniting the supporters of the Government, arrested the forces of disintegration for a while. In 1851 they again acquired activity. After the retirement of the two leaders of the double-headed Government this year, and after Mr. Hincks had become premier, all hope of preventing a disruption of the Reform party was gone. At the head of one section was Mr. Brown; at the head of the other the First Minister. Besides this



new opposition, the Government encountered the whole force of the Conservative party. Against an opposition composed of two distinct sections the Government was able to bear up till the close of 1853: but it was evident that its doom was soon to be pronounced. The two opposite parties, which had casually united in the House, had reason to expect greater results from their union in the constituencies; and they were not disappointed. Their united forces served to rout the Government party, and win for themselves a victory at the polls. The coalition in the constituencies was destined to be reproduced in the House, but not in the same form. The defeated wing of the Reform party took the place which the successful wing might have been expected to take in the new Coalition. Mr. Macdonald now, for the first time, obtained an office which was directly in the line of his profession, the Attorney-Generalship. To these events the McNab-Morin Coalition owed its birth; and of that Coalition Mr. Macdonald had become a member. Numerous were the speculations as to which wing of the Coalition would ultimately prevail over the other; whether the balance would incline in favour of the Conservative or the Reform section. At first, judging by the programme carried out, a stranger might have thought the Reformers held full sway; but a closer inspection would have revealed the fact that the real control was in the Conservatives. To that result the tact and ability of Mr. Macdonald contributed in no small degree.

Though Sir John had always been a Conservative, his name was henceforth to become connected with several measures of Reform. The connection has generally been that of a passive recipient, not of a persistent advocate. If we except the adjustment of the mere mechanism of the Government, it must be allowed that the two greatest Reform measures that have been passed, in this

country, are the abolition of the Feudal Tenure of Lower Canada, and the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. These measures, which the Lafontaine-Baldwin Government refused to initiate or accept, were carried by the Coalition of which Sir John was a member. The part acted by the Coalition was to carry out a preconcerted programme; a programme framed by the party that had been beaten in the election. Nothing but the conviction that the last battle over the Clergy Reserves which there had been the slightest chance of winning had been fought, coupled with a stern sense of duty, induced some members of the Conservative section to vote for secularization. The voice of the country had so often been heard declaring for secularization that further resistance was out of the question. The Conservative section, including Sir John, accepted the inevitable, some of them with visible signs of painful regret. The policy of conforming to public opinion, under such circumstances, had no terrors for Sir John; it pointed to the line that he would naturally follow. So completely dead was the Feudal Tenure of Lower Canada that it retained no real support even in Conservative opinion. The last argument made against abolition was the argument of an advocate retained by the Seigniors, at the bar of the House. For such a reform Sir John was quite prepared, and he accepted it with a good will.

Good faith required that the abolition of the Seigniorial Tenure should not assume the character of a spoliation of the Seigniors, and that the life claims of those in possession of the Clergy Reserves should be respected. The Coalition was in a good position to do the special work of securing these guarantees, and it was done with substantial justice to all parties. Sir John bore his part in this work with courage and success. The practical carrying out of these two great reforms was thus tempered with

a spirit of conservative justice, conservative not in a party sense, but in the sense of commuting vested rights, pecuniarily beneficial to individuals, in the act of decreeing their abolition in the public interest.

On another question, which formed an item in this programme—an elective second chamber—Sir John has shown that, under different circumstances, he could be equally ready to recede or to advance. The change from nomination to election was voted with an approach to unanimity seldom witnessed in the Legislative Assembly; there being but one dissentient voice. When the bases of Confederation came to be laid, this step was retraced, and nomination revived. The reaction was not the work or the fault of an individual; it was due to the accession of Provinces in which the affection for nomination had not lost its influence.

Till the year 1856, Sir John nominally occupied only a secondary position in his party and his Province. Sir Allan McNab was, by right of seniority and possession, the Upper Canada leader of the Conservatives; by right of the strongest, it at last came to belong to Sir John. Repeated attacks of gout made it evident to all observers that as leader Sir Allan must soon give place to another; and it was well understood that he was desirous that Mr. Hillyard Cameron should be his successor. Mr. Cameron was apparently as anxious to obtain as Sir Allan was to secure for him a reversionary interest in the leadership. Sir John and Mr. Cameron, both members of the same party, came to be looked upon as rivals. Mr. Cameron, miscalculating the power of the press when employed for the promotion of individual aims, made arrangements which converted the *Colonist* into a personal organ; but his chances of succeeding to the leadership were rather lessened than increased by his costly expedient, in

which he is believed to have laid out forty thousand dollars; for other and more influential journals took up the cause of his rival. Whatever may have been the effect of these extraneous influences, Sir John was to win by the force of his own inherent qualities. In the spring of this year Sir Allan McNab was suffering from a prolonged attack of his old enemy, the gout. Parliament was in session, and the continued absence from the House of the leader of the Government was a source of daily embarrassment. A section of the ministerial supporters, becoming impatient, declared Sir John their leader; and a crisis was brought about which compelled the valetudinarian minister to resign. He threw the blame on Sir John, and gave free vent to his indignation; having been almost carried to his seat for that purpose, when the ministerial explanations were made. Sir John succeeded naturally, and without any further contest, to the leadership of the Upper Canada Conservatives, which he has retained for a period of twenty-five years.

Like all public men, Sir John Macdonald has sometimes found it necessary to defer to the opinions of colleagues, in which he did not share. Against the policy of what is known as the double-shuffle, in 1858, his own opinion was unequivocal. But he took the responsibility of the course which his colleagues were anxious to pursue. A few words will describe the double-shuffle. A Government which had been formed, with Mr. Brown for its Upper Canada, and Mr. Dorian for its Lower Canada chief, encountering a hostile vote in a House elected under the auspices of their opponents, retired, and the Conservatives came back to office. Under cover of a law passed to enable any minister to change from one executive office to another without the necessity of re-election, all the Ministers, in going back, temporarily took offices which they did not intend to hold, for the mere purpose of be-

ing able to evade the ordeal of the constituencies by making a wholesale exchange. Although it was quite clear that the framers of the Act never contemplated such a contingency, the wording would bear the construction on which Ministers acted; and so the courts held. But Sir John was not proud of the victory, the result of which was a moral gain for the Opposition. The effect was to produce a profound impression on his mind that he was never safe in acting against his own better judgment.

In Lower Canada, Sir George Cartier was the coming man; and in him Sir John found not only a trusty colleague but a firm personal friend. Their friendship lasted many years, but was once interrupted before the death of Sir George, and was probably never so cordial as before. It was a trivial thing that snapped asunder what was apparently one of the strongest bonds that ever united two personal and political friends. In the distribution of imperial honours among those who had taken a prominent part in bringing about a federal union of the Provinces, Sir George considered himself slighted, and he attributed that slight to the advice of his colleague. Sir John did what he could to heal the wound which had been given to Sir George's susceptibilities, by recommending him for a higher mark of distinction than he had himself received. But the broken glass was not to be restored to its former condition. Sir John, accepting knighthood for himself, obtained a baronetcy for his colleague. But the difficulty was that he took imperial honours for himself first, and only obtained imperial honours for his colleague after the latter had given vent to the bitterness of his indignation at the disappointment. Both transactions serve to illustrate the character of Sir John. He feels that he is entitled to the first consideration among colleagues; and he will make concessions under political pressure that he would not voluntarily make if he were free.

To Sir George Cartier, Sir John Macdonald owed the majorities by which he carried on his Government. Lower Canada, with a population which, at the time of the union, had been much greater than that of the other Province, and which has now become inferior in numbers, thought her safety consisted in retaining an equal number of representatives; while Upper Canada insisted that the representation ought to bear a fair proportion to the respective populations. On this question, Lower Canada was long a unit; and Sir George Cartier, rowing with the stream, was assured of his majority. In Upper Canada, Sir John Macdonald, buffeting the waves of a fast rising tide, went back to the House from each succeeding election with a diminished majority. His whole parliamentary strength came through Sir George Cartier; and it is not surprising if the latter was able to exact favourable terms for his Province. By the nature of his position, Sir John was condemned to be, in one sense, an unpopular ruler in his own Province. From this disability, Confederation, by removing the irritation caused by a galling sense of inadequate representation, rescued him; and, as the last general election to the House of Commons showed, there is now no reason why he should not command a majority in any Province of the Dominion. If, in presence of the large majority obtained, we are to suppose the recollection of the Pacific scandal in any degree weakened his strength in the constituencies, it will be understood how much he lost in former times by the sense of inadequate representation under which Upper Canada smarted. Why then did he cling to a losing cause? The truth is, no one could see whence a remedy was to come; for not a single Lower Canada vote could be got in favour of changing the basis of the representation. Confederation changed the issue. Numerical representation was not the same thing when applied to four Provinces—that being

the original number—under a federation, that it was when applied to two Provinces, one of which had a large majority of inhabitants of French and the other a large majority of English speaking people, under a legislative union. Besides, there is a time for all things; and it is very doubtful whether Confederation could have been brought about even a single year sooner than it was. Sir John Macdonald was one of that large number of persons who opposed great constitutional changes till the necessity for them had been fully demonstrated, and a majority of the electors who had to be consulted had become convinced that there was no longer anything to be gained by further delay. He was not a convert to representation of numbers during the many years it found advocates even in the ranks of his own party; he was not in favour of Confederation when it was first mooted; but when the time came that the change could be made with advantage, his objections were put aside, and he was one of its foremost advocates. Here we get a glimpse of the line where his conservatism ends and his readiness to reform begins. He will not consent to be hurried; but no one can say that, on any given question, his finality of to-day may not be his starting point at some future time.

Though born on the other side of the water, Sir John Macdonald may be called a Canadian; for that is a man's country where his mind is formed and attains maturity. And take him all in all, his faults and his virtues, his weaknesses and his public services, his figure occupies a larger space than that of any other public man on the stage of Canada; and to him we should have to point if obliged to select the most distinguished son of this Dominion. In many particulars, others leave him far behind, but, taken all in all, he stands unrivalled. His enemies delight to dwell on his blemishes and magnify his faults. As

our aim is to act in a judicial spirit, we are obliged to touch on the weaknesses of our foremost statesman; but we have no pleasure in the task. The Pacific scandal has been condoned, but it has not been and cannot be justified. As leader of the Government, Sir John Macdonald took, for party election purposes, large sums of money from Sir Hugh Allan, who had an Atlantic mail contract with the Government, and was to get the contract for building the Pacific Railway. These sums were altogether too large to be regarded as ordinary contributions from a supporter of the Government towards a fund for election purposes, and they were too large to be consistent with the supposition that they were to be employed only for legal purposes. Coming from a person who had one contract with the Government and was on the point of getting another, the natural inference is that they represented an undefined and indefinite assessment on the profits of the actual or the prospective contract, or both; that the giver was in effect purchasing or paying for favours which the Government had then or previously had it in its power to withhold; and that, in this way, the Government could, indirectly, take so much money out of the public treasury for party election purposes. It has been said, in excuse, that Sir John Macdonald became the custodian of this election fund, in default of such party machinery as exists in other countries for that purpose. The answer is that a change of the custodian, though it might have veiled the transaction, would not have altered its character. It is quite true that electoral corruption was not the exclusive weapon of any party. But no one would give such large sums as Sir Hugh gave, unless he were dealing with the Government, and expected to be recouped by contracts of which the Government had the disposal. Bribery is bribery, whether the sum be large or small; the briber is equally

guilty of a crime whether he operate on a large or a small scale; but he who gives his own money commits one crime the less than he who takes the money he distributes in bribes indirectly out of the public treasury, through the forms of a contract. We make these statements with a sense of pain; for it is duty and not pleasure that causes us to point to the stain on the robe of the statesman whom, in spite of this fault, the electorate of Canada have found reasons for placing in the highest position of trust which it is their prerogative to confer.

Although we place Sir John Macdonald in the highest niche reserved for our public men, we are far from saying that there may not be, even now, in public life in Canada men who may not live to make a higher mark than he has been able to reach. Twenty-seven years ago, he was the best debater in the House with the exception of Sir Francis Hincks; he lived to distance all others in this particular; but, if he has not already lost this pre-eminence, the sceptre is visibly passing over to the left of the Speaker. As a speaker, distinguished from a debater, Sir John has steadily improved, and his latest efforts are the best. He will be remembered as the author of three great speeches, whatever may become of his other efforts in that line: the first on the Treaty of Washington; the second in his own defence when the Pacific scandal charges were before the House; the third on the Letellier case. On the two former occasions he spoke with the embarrassment of a man under accusation. He had assisted in making a treaty in which, in the general belief, the interests of Canada had been sacrificed to Imperial considerations. When he was appointed one of the English Commissioners, it was too hastily assumed that he represented Canada in some special manner. But it was England, not Canada, that was making the treaty, and the negotiators were acting in strict accordance with the instructions of

the British Cabinet. Sir John received his appointment from the British Government, and by their instructions he was bound to be guided. Whether he ought to have placed himself in this position may be a question. But he could furnish important local information to his colleagues with which they could not, on the instant, have furnished themselves. He might argue in favour of Canadian claims; and though what he did do, in this particular, the protocols tell not, it is no secret that he did not please the British Government. The Fenian claims were excluded, assuredly by no fault of his; the omission it was not in his power to prevent. But he got in lieu of direct payment an Imperial guarantee of a Canadian loan which served to lessen the cost of our railway expenditure; and no one will now undertake to say that, under the operation of that treaty, we have not been liberally paid for the concession to the Americans of the right to fish on our coasts. On the whole, the Washington Treaty has proved much less injurious than it was feared it would. In any case, the responsibility for that treaty rests with the British Government. So long as treaties binding on Canada are made by a Government not her own, they will be likely to be more favourable to that Government than to her.

The speech on the Pacific scandal was a great effort, without being a great success. But it showed the power and resource of the speaker better than they had ever been shown before, except, perhaps, on the one occasion before mentioned. The speech on the Letellier case, whether the ground taken was right or wrong, showed that he possessed the faculty of grasping the full import of difficult constitutional questions.

Whatever estimate may be formed of Sir John as a constitutional lawyer, the fact remains that the ground he takes on constitutional questions generally proves, in the end, to be the true one. This can hardly be

the result of accident or lucky blundering. The man who generally gives a correct opinion on constitutional questions cannot be an indifferent or unfair constitutional lawyer. Some critics have taken the ground that Sir John has no convictions on the question of the National Policy; that, wanting a cry, and finding this one ready to his hand, he utilized it without any regard to his own real opinions. This is certainly an error. He is known to have entertained, for twenty years, views similar to those on which his Government has now acted. But he was too busy most of the time to engage in the work of agitation: he waited till a maturing opinion filled the sails of the vessel on which he had, at any time, been ready to embark. He believed that the abolition of the protective system, under which the colonies had grown up and prospered, would deal a severe blow at their prosperity; though he did not concur with the opinion despondingly expressed by Lord Cathcart in a despatch written, in 1846, in his capacity of Governor-General, that the political consequences would be the alienation of Canada from the mother country and its annexation to the United States. On the question of a national tariff policy, Sir John has never held but one opinion. He may

not be the most profound of political economists—it would be difficult to point to any of our public men who are—but no statesman would perform his whole duty if he confined himself to carrying out the prescriptions of the political economists. A nation has other and higher interests that demand consideration.

The result of the electoral battle of 17th September, 1878, which brought Sir John back to power, had not been universally foreseen. That the National Policy had a large share in bringing it about, is beyond question; though there were, no doubt, by-currents that helped to swell the main stream. Expectation had risen beyond the possibility of fulfilment. Whether, in the face of revenue necessities, this policy can ever be completely reversed, is doubtful; though it may be taken for granted that the ballot-box is pregnant with surprises not less startling than that of September. That Sir John is premier to-day is proof of the high estimate in which the country holds his abilities, and that on his shortcomings it is willing to look with an indulgent, if regretful eye. Out of respect for the magnitude and importance of his public services, posterity will not grudge him a high place in the Canadian Pantheon.







## THE HON. ROBERT BALDWIN.

THE life of Robert Baldwin forms so important an ingredient in the political history of this country that we deem it unnecessary to offer any apology for dealing with it at considerable length. More especially is this the case, inasmuch as, unlike most of the personages included in the present series, his career is ended, and we can contemplate it, not only with perfect impartiality, but even with some approach to completeness. The twenty and odd years which have elapsed since he was laid in his grave have witnessed many and important changes in our Constitution, as well as in our habits of thought; but his name is still regarded by the great mass of the Canadian people with feelings of respect and veneration. We can still point to him with the admiration due to a man who, during a time of the grossest political corruption, took a foremost part in our public affairs, and who yet preserved his integrity untarnished. We can point to him as the man who, if not the actual author of Responsible Government in Canada, yet spent the best years of his life in contending for it, and who contributed more than any other person to make that project an accomplished fact. We can point to him as one who, though a politician by predilection and by profession, never stooped to disreputable practices, either to win votes or to maintain himself in office. Robert Baldwin was a man who was not only incapable of falsehood or meanness to gain

his ends, but who was to the last degree intolerant of such practices on the part of his warmest supporters. If intellectual greatness cannot be claimed for him, moral greatness was most indisputably his. Every action of his life was marked by sincerity and good faith, alike towards friend and foe. He was not only true to others, but was from first to last true to himself. His useful career, and the high reputation which he left behind him, furnish an apt commentary upon the advice which Polonius gives to his son Laertes:—

“This above all: to thine own self be true;  
And it must follow, as the night the day,  
Thou canst not then be false to any man.”

To our thinking there is something august in the life of Robert Baldwin. So chary was he of his personal honour that it was next to impossible to induce him to pledge himself beforehand, even upon the plainest question. Once, when addressing the electors at Sharon, some one in the crowd asked him if he would pledge himself to oppose the retention of the Clergy Reserves. “I am not here,” was his reply, “to pledge myself on any question. I go to the House as a free man, or I go not at all. I am here to declare to you my opinions. If you approve of my opinions, and elect me, I will carry them out in Parliament. If I should alter those opinions I will come back and surrender my trust, when you will have an opportunity of re-electing me or of choosing

another candidate ; but I shall pledge myself at the bidding of no man." A gentleman still living in Toronto once accompanied him on an electioneering tour into his constituency of North York. There were many burning questions on the carpet at the time, on some of which Mr. Baldwin's opinion did not entirely coincide with that of the majority of his constituents. His companion remembers hearing it suggested to him that his wisest course would be to maintain a discreet silence during the canvass as to the points at issue. His reply to the suggestion was eminently characteristic of the man. "To maintain silence under such circumstances," said he, "would be tantamount to deceiving the electors. It would be as culpable as to tell them a direct lie. Sooner than follow such a course I will cheerfully accept defeat." He could not even be induced to adopt the *supplicio veri*. So tender and exacting was his conscience that he would not consent to be elected except upon the clearest understanding between himself and his constituents, even to serve a cause which he felt to be a just one. Defeat might annoy, but would not humiliate him. To be elected under false colours would humiliate him in his own esteem ; a state of things which, to a high-minded man, is a burden intolerable to be borne.

It has of late years become the fashion with many well-informed persons in this country to think and speak of Robert Baldwin as a greatly over-estimated man. It is on all hands admitted that he was a man of excellent intentions, of spotless integrity, and of blameless life. It is not disputed, even by those whose political views are at variance with those of the party to which he belonged, that the great measures for which he contended were in themselves conducive to the public weal, nor is it denied that he contributed greatly to the cause of political freedom in Canada. But, it is said, Robert Baldwin was merely the

exponent of principles which, long before his time, had found general acceptance among the statesmen of every land where constitutional government prevails. Responsible Government, it is said, would have become an accomplished fact, even if Robert Baldwin had never lived. Other much-needed reforms with which his name is inseparably associated would have come, it is contended, all in good time, and this present year, 1880, would have found us pretty much where we are. To argue after this fashion is simply to beg the whole question at issue. It is true that there is no occult power in a mere name. Ship-money, doubtless, was a doomed impost, even if there had been no particular individual called John Hampden. The practical despotism of the Stuart dynasty would doubtless have come to an end long before the present day, even if Oliver Cromwell and William of Orange had never existed. In the United States, slavery was a fated institution, even if there had been no great rebellion, and if Abraham Lincoln had never occupied the Presidential chair. But it would be a manifest injustice to withhold from those illustrious personages the tribute due to their great and, on the whole, glorious lives. They were the media whereby human progress delivered its message to the world, and their names are deservedly held in honour and reverence by a grateful posterity. Performing on a more contracted stage, and before a less numerous audience, Robert Baldwin fought his good fight—and won. Surrounded by inducements to prove false to his innate convictions, he nevertheless chose to encounter obloquy and persecution for what he knew to be the cause of truth and justice.

"Once to every man and nation  
Comes the moment to decide,"

says Professor Lowell. The moment came to Robert Baldwin early in life. It is not

easy to believe that he ever hesitated as to his decision; and to that decision he remained true to the latest hour of his existence. If it cannot in strictness be said of him that he knew no variableness or shadow of turning, it is at least indisputable that his convictions never varied upon any question of paramount importance. What Mr. Goldwin Smith has said of Cromwell might with equal truth be applied to Robert Baldwin: "He bore himself, not as one who gambled for a stake, but as one who struggled for a cause." These are a few among the many claims which Robert Baldwin has upon the sympathies and remembrances of the Canadian people; and they are claims which we believe posterity will show no disposition to ignore.

In order to obtain a clear comprehension of the public career of Robert Baldwin it is necessary to glance briefly at the history of one or two of his immediate ancestors. In compiling the present sketch the writer deems it proper to say that he some time since wrote an account of Robert Baldwin's life for the columns of an influential newspaper published in Toronto. That account embodied the result of much careful and original investigation. It contained, indeed, every important fact readily ascertainable with reference to Mr. Baldwin's early life. So far as that portion of it is concerned there is little to be added at the present time, and the writer has drawn largely upon it for the purposes of this memoir. The former account being the product of his own conscientious labour and investigation, he has not deemed it necessary to reconstruct sentences and paragraphs where they already clearly expressed his meaning. With reference to Mr. Baldwin's political life, however, the present sketch embodies the result of fuller and more accurate information, and is conceived in a spirit which the exigencies of a newspaper do not admit of.

At the close of the Revolution which

ended in the independence of the United States, there resided near the city of Cork, Ireland, a gentleman named William Willcocks. He belonged to an old family which had once been wealthy, and which was still in comfortable circumstances. About this time a strong tide of emigration set in from various parts of Europe to the New World. The student of history does not need to be informed that there was at this period a good deal of suffering and discontent in Ireland. The more radical and uncompromising among the malcontents staid at home, hoping for better times, and many of them eventually took part in the troubles of '98. Others sought a peaceful remedy for the evils under which they groaned, and, bidding adieu to their native land, sought an asylum for themselves and their families in the western wilderness. The success of the American Revolution combined with the hard times at home to make the United States "the chosen land" of many thousands of these self-expatriated ones. The revolutionary struggle was then a comparatively recent affair. The thirteen revolted colonies had become an independent nation, had started on their national career under favourable auspices, and had already become a thriving and prosperous community. The Province of Quebec, which then included the whole of what afterwards became Upper and Lower Canada, had to contend with many disadvantages, and its condition was in many important respects far behind that of the American Republic. Its climate was much more rigorous than was that of its southern neighbour, and its territory was much more sparsely settled. The western part of the Province, now forming part of the Province of Ontario, was especially thinly peopled, and except at a few points along the frontier, was little better than a wilderness. It was manifestly desirable to offer strong incentives to immigration, with a view to the speedy settlement of the

country. To effect such a settlement was the imperative duty of the Government of the day; and to this end, large tracts of land were allotted to persons whose settlement here was deemed likely to influence colonization. Whole townships were in some cases conferred, upon condition that the grantees would settle the same with a certain number of colonists within a reasonable time. One of these grantees was the William Willecocks above-mentioned, who was a man of much enterprise and philanthropy. He conceived the idea of obtaining a grant of a large tract of land, and of settling it with emigrants of his own choosing, with himself as a sort of feudal proprietor at their head. With this object in view he came out to Canada in or about the year 1790, to spy out the land, and to judge from personal inspection which would be the most advantageous site for his projected colony. In setting out upon this quest he enjoyed an advantage greater even than was conferred by his social position. A cousin of his, Mr. Peter Russell, a member of the Irish branch of the Bedfordshire family of Russell, had already been out to Canada, and had brought home glowing accounts of the prospects held out there to persons of capital and enterprise. Mr. Russell had originally gone to America during the progress of the Revolutionary War, in the capacity of Secretary to Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-chief of the British forces on this continent. He had seen and heard enough to convince him that the acquisition of land in Canada was certain to prove a royal road to wealth. After the close of the war he returned to the old country, and gave his relatives the benefit of his experience. Mr. Russell also came out to Canada with Governor Simcoe in 1792, in the capacity of Inspector-General. He subsequently held several important offices of trust in Upper Canada. He became a member of the Executive Council, and as senior mem-

ber of that body the administration of the Government devolved upon him during the three years (1796-1799) intervening between Governor Simcoe's departure from Canada and the appointment of Major-General Peter Hunter as Lieutenant-Governor. His residence in Canada, as will presently be seen, was destined to have an important bearing on the fortunes of the Baldwin family. Meanwhile, it is sufficient to note the fact that it was largely in consequence of the valuable topographical and statistical information furnished by him to his cousin William Willecocks that the latter was induced to set out on his preliminary tour of observation.

The result of this preliminary tour was to convince Mr. Willecocks that his cousin had not overstated the capabilities of the country, as to the future of which he formed the most sanguine expectations. The next step to be taken was to obtain his grant, and, as his political influence in and around his native city was considerable, he conceived that this would be easily managed. He returned home, and almost immediately afterwards crossed over to England, where he opened negotiations with the Government. After some delay he succeeded in obtaining a grant of a large tract of land forming part of the present township of Whitechurch, in the county of York. In consideration of this liberal grant he on his part agreed to settle not fewer than sixty colonists on the land so granted within a certain specified time. An Order in Council confirmatory of this arrangement seems to have been passed. The rest of the transaction is involved in some obscurity. Mr. Willecocks returned to Ireland, and was soon afterwards elected Mayor of Cork—an office which he had held at least once before his American tour. Municipal and other affairs occupied so much of his time that he neglected to take steps for settling his trans-Atlantic domain until the period allowed

him by Government for that purpose had nearly expired. However, in course of time—probably in the summer of 1797—he embarked with the full complement of emigrants for New York, whither they arrived after a long and stormy voyage. They pushed on without unnecessary delay, and in due course arrived at Oswego, where Mr. Willeocks received the disastrous intelligence that the Order in Council embodying his arrangement with the Government had been revoked. Why the revocation took place does not appear, as there had been no change of Government, and the circumstances had not materially changed. Whatever the reason may have been, the consequences to Mr. Willeocks and his emigrants were very serious. The poor Irish families who had accompanied him to the New World—travel-worn and helpless, in a strange land, without means, and without experience in the hard lines of pioneer life—were dismayed at the prospect before them. Mr. Willeocks, a kind and honourable man, naturally felt himself to be in a manner responsible for their forlorn situation. He at once professed his readiness to bear the expense of their return to their native land. Most of them availed themselves of this offer, and made the best of their way back to Ireland—some of them, doubtless, to take part in the rising of '98. A few of them elected to remain in America, and scattered themselves here and there throughout the State of New York. Mr. Willeocks himself, accompanied by one or two families, continued his journey to Canada, where he soon succeeded in securing a considerable allotment of land in Whitechurch and elsewhere. It is probable that he was treated liberally by the Government, as his generosity to the emigrants had greatly impoverished him, and it is certain that a few years later he was the possessor of large means. Almost immediately after his arrival in Canada he took up his abode at York, where he con-

tinued to reside down to the time of his death. Being a man of education and business capacity he was appointed Judge of the Home District Court, where we shall soon meet him again in tracing the fortunes of the Baldwin family. He had not been long in Canada before he wrote home flattering reports about the land of his adoption to his old friend Robert Baldwin, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch. Mr. Baldwin was a gentleman of good family and some means, who owned and resided on a small property called Summer Hill, or Knockmore, near Carragoline, in the county of Cork. Influenced by the prospects held out to him by Mr. Willeocks, he emigrated to Canada with his family in the summer of 1798, and settled on a block of land on the north shore of Lake Ontario, in what is now the township of Clarke, in the county of Durham. He named his newly-acquired estate Annarva (Ann's Field), and set about clearing and cultivating it. The western boundary of his farm was a small stream which until then was nameless, but which has ever since been known in local parlance as Baldwin's Creek. Here he resided for a period of fourteen years, when he removed to York, where he died in the year 1816. He had brought with him from Ireland two sons and four daughters. The eldest son, William Warren Baldwin, was destined to achieve considerable local renown as a lawyer and a politician. He was a man of versatile talents, and of much firmness and energy of character. He had studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh, and had graduated there two years before his emigration, but had never practised his profession as a means of livelihood. He had not been many weeks in this country before he perceived that his shortest way to wealth and influence was by way of the legal rather than the medical profession. In those remote times, men of education and mental ability were by no means numerous in Upper Can-

ada. Every man was called upon to play several parts, and there was no such organization of labour as exists in older and more advanced communities. Dr. Baldwin resolved to practise both professions, and, in order to fit himself for the one by which he hoped to rise most speedily to eminence, he bade adieu to the farm on Baldwin's Creek and came up to York. He took up his quarters with his father's friend and his own, Mr. Willeocks, who lived on Duke street, near the present site of the La Salle Institute. In order to support himself while prosecuting his legal studies, he determined to take in a few pupils. In several successive numbers of the *Gazette and Oracle*—the one newspaper published in the Province at that time—we find in the months of December, 1802, and January, 1803, the following advertisement:—"Dr. Baldwin, understanding that some of the gentlemen of this town have expressed some anxiety for the establishment of a Classical School, begs leave to inform them and the public, that he intends, on Monday the 1st day of January next, to open a school, in which he will instruct Twelve Boys in Writing, Reading, Classics and Arithmetic. The terms are, for each boy, eight guineas per annum, to be paid quarterly or half-yearly; one guinea entrance and one cord of wood to be supplied by each of the boys on opening the School. N.B.—Mr. Baldwin will meet his pupils at Mr. Willeocks' house on Duke street. York, December 18th, 1802." This advertisement produced the desired effect. The Doctor got all the pupils he wanted, and several youths who in after life rose to high eminence in the colony received their earliest classical teaching from him.

It was not necessary at that early day that a youth should spend a fixed term in an office under articles as a preliminary for practice, either at the Bar or as an attorney. On the 9th of July, 1794, during the regime

of Governor Simcoe, an Act had been passed authorizing the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government of the Province, to issue licenses to practise as advocates and attorneys to such persons, not exceeding sixteen in number, as he might deem fit. We have no means of ascertaining how many persons availed themselves of this statute, as no complete record of their names or number is in existence. The original record is presumed to have been burned when the Houses of Parliament were destroyed during the American invasion in 1813. It is sufficient for our present purpose to know that Dr. Baldwin was one of the persons so licensed. By reference to the Journals of the Law Society at Osgoode Hall, we find that this license was granted on the 6th of April, 1803, by Lieutenant-Governor Peter Hunter. We further find that on the same day similar licenses were granted to four other gentlemen, all of whom were destined to become well-known citizens of Canada, viz., William Dickson, D'Arcy Boulton, John Powell, and William Elliott. Dr. Baldwin, having undergone an examination before Chief Justice Henry Alcock, and having received his license, authorizing him to practise in all branches of the legal profession, married Miss Phœbe Willeocks, the daughter of his friend and patron, and settled down to active practice as a barrister and attorney. He took up his abode in a house which had just been erected by his father-in-law, on what is now the north-west corner of Front and Frederick streets. [It may here be noted that Front street was then known as Palace street, from the circumstance that it led down to the Parliament buildings at the east end of the town, and because it was believed that the official residence or "palace" of the Governor would be built there.] Here on the 12th of May, 1804, was born Dr. Baldwin's eldest son, known to Canadian history as Robert Baldwin.

The plain, unpretending structure in which Robert Baldwin first saw light has a history of its own. Dr. Baldwin resided in it only about three years, when he removed to a small house, long since demolished, on the corner of Bay and Front streets. Thenceforward the house at the foot of Frederick street was occupied by several tenants whose names are famous in local annals. About 1825 it was first occupied by Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie, who continued to reside in it for several years. It was here that the *Colonial Advocate* was published by that gentleman, at the time when his office was wrecked and the type thrown into the bay by a "genteel mob," a further account of which lawless transaction will be found in the sketch of the life of Mackenzie, included in the present series. The building subsequently came into the possession of the Cawthra family—called by Dr. Scadding "the Astors of Upper Canada"—who carried on a large and marvellously successful mercantile business within its walls. It was finally burned down in the winter of 1854-5.

Dr. Baldwin applied himself to the practice of his several professions with an energy and assiduity which deserved and secured a full measure of success. His legal business was the most profitable of his pursuits, but in the early years of his residence at York he seems to have also had a fair share of medical practice. It might not unreasonably have been supposed that the labour arising from these two sources of employment would have been sufficient for the energies and ambition of any man; but we find that for at least two years subsequent to his marriage he continued to take in pupils. Half a century later than the period at which we have arrived, Sir John Beverley Robinson, then a baronet, and Chief Justice of the Province, was wont to pleasantly remind the subject of this sketch that their mutual acquaintance dated from a very early period in the latter's career.

At the time of Robert Baldwin's birth, John Robinson, then a boy in his thirteenth year, was one of a class of seven pupils who attended daily at Dr. Baldwin's house for classical instruction. Two or three days after the Doctor's first-born came into the world, Master Robinson was taken into the nursery to see "the new baby." Differences of political opinion in after years separated them far as the poles asunder on most public questions, but they never ceased to regard each other with personal respect. The late Chief Justice Maclean was another pupil of Dr. Baldwin's, and distinctly remembered that a holiday was granted to himself and his fellow students on the day of the embry statesman's birth. Doctor Baldwin seems to have been fully equal to the multifarious calls upon his energies, and to have exercised his various callings with satisfaction alike to clients, patients, and pupils. It was no uncommon occurrence in those early days, when surgeons were scarce in our young capital, for him to be compelled to leave court in the middle of a trial, and to hurry away to splice a broken arm or bind up a fractured limb. Years afterwards, when he had retired from the active practice of all his professions, he used to cite a somewhat ludicrous instance of his professional versatility. It occurred soon after his marriage. He was engaged in arguing a case of some importance before his father-in-law, Judge Willcocks, in the Home District Court, when a messenger hurriedly arrived to summon him to attend at the advent of a little stranger into the world. The circumstances were explained to the Judge, and—it appearing that no other surgical aid was to be had at the moment—that functionary readily consented to adjourn the further consideration of the argument until Dr. Baldwin's return. The latter hurriedly left the court-room with the messenger, and after the lapse of somewhat more than an hour, again presented himself and prepared

to resume his interrupted argument. The Judge ventured to express a hope that matters had gone well with the patient; whereupon the Doctor replied, "Quite well. I have much pleasure in informing your Honour that a man-child has been born into the world during my absence, and that both he and his mother are doing well." The worthy Doctor received the congratulations of the Court, and was permitted to conclude his argument without any further demands upon his surgical skill.

Almost from the outset of his professional career, Dr. Baldwin took a strong interest in political matters. The fact that he was compelled to earn his living by honest labour excluded him from a certain narrow section of the society of Little York. The society from which he was excluded, however, was by no means of an intellectual cast, and it is not likely that he sustained much loss thereby. By intellectual society in Toronto he was regarded as a decided acquisition. He could well afford to despise the petty littleness of the would-be aristocrats of the Provincial capital. Still, it is probable that his political convictions were intensified by observing that, among the members of the clique above referred to, mere merit was regarded as a commodity of little account. He became known for a man of advanced ideas, and whenever a more than ordinarily flagrant instance of injustice occurred, was not slow in expressing his disapprobation of the way in which government was carried on. In 1812 he became treasurer of the Law Society of Upper Canada, and while filling that position he projected a scheme for constructing a suitable building for the Society's occupation. The times, however, were unpropitious for such a scheme, which fell through in consequence of the impending war with the United States.

His son was meanwhile quietly pursuing his studies at school, and unconsciously fit-

ting himself for the battle of life that was before him. The boyhood of Robert Baldwin was remarkably free from incident. There is absolutely nothing to tell about this portion of his life, except that he attended the Home District Grammar School in "College Square," as it was called, where he received all the education he ever acquired. This seat of learning was situated a short distance to the north-east of the present site of St. James's Cathedral, and was presided over by Dr.—afterwards Bishop—Strachan. We find Robert Baldwin's name in a class list of that institution published in 1816. Three years later (in 1819) we find that he was the "head boy," and that he delivered the "prologue" at a public examination held at the school on the 11th of August. The prologue bears internal evidence of having been composed by Dr. Strachan himself. Among other scholars who attended the school and took part in the exercises at this date we find several whose names have since become well known in Toronto and its neighbourhood. Glancing down the leaf at random, we read the names of Thomas Ridout, Wm. McMurray, Saltern Givens, William Boulton, Richard Oates, Francis Heward, Abraham Nelles, James Baby, Allan Macaulay, and Warren Claus. The testimony of Robert Baldwin's school-fellows goes to show that he was even in those early days a rather shy, retiring youth, little addicted to boyish sports, and never known to take part in freaks of mischief. His thoughts seemed to come to him slowly, and his perceptive faculties were not very acute. His mind seems to have matured late. Dr. Strachan pronounced him the most diligent pupil in the establishment, and prophesied that if he ever made his mark in the world it would be rather by reason of his industry and close application than from the natural quickness of his parts. As is generally the case, the boy in this instance was father to the man. His



industrious habits clung to him throughout his life, and his triumphs were won by means of persistent and untiring exertion, rather than by natural aptitude for public life. In this same year (1819) he entered upon the study of the law in his father's office, and was called to the Bar in Trinity Term, 1825. He immediately entered into partnership with his father, the style of the firm being "W. W. Baldwin & Son."

Meanwhile a great change had taken place in the pecuniary circumstances of Dr. Baldwin. He had, as we have already seen, been more than moderately successful in his professional pursuits, and had steadily accumulated wealth. From another source, however, his means received an accession which made him probably the wealthiest professional man in Upper Canada. The Hon. Peter Russell, already referred to, was never married, and by consequence he left no direct heirs. Upon his death, in the year 1808, his large landed and other possessions devolved upon his maiden sister, Miss Elizabeth Russell. This lady survived until 1822. She was a distant connection of the Baldwins, and a very warm friendship had always subsisted between the two families. She resided with the Doctor's family—or, rather, the Doctor's family resided with her—during the last eight or nine years of her life. Upon her death she bequeathed all her possessions to Dr. Baldwin, who thus acquired a handsome fortune. He had in 1813, immediately after the American invasion of York, removed to Russell Abbey, on Front street, a mansion which had previously belonged to the Hon. Peter Russell, and which at this date belonged to his sister. After Miss Russell's death Dr. Baldwin began to entertain projects to which his mind had theretofore been a stranger. He designed to subject the large estate to a strict entail, and to found an opulent Canadian family. The Doctor, as we have seen, was a sincere and pronounced Liberal in his political

views. He was a man of high principles, honestly desirous of promoting the welfare of his fellow-men; but he was nevertheless strongly influenced by the notions of social caste which were all but universal among educated persons of British stock in those days. He purchased a block of land on the summit of the acclivity which rises to the northward of Toronto, a short distance beyond the city limits. Here, on one of the most imposing sites in the neighbourhood, he built a cosy-looking white house of comfortable proportions, which he intended to be merely the nucleus of a much more stately structure. He called his new estate "Spadina," which is an Italianized form of an Indian word signifying a pleasant hill. The greater part of the land intervening between the base of Spadina Hill and Queen street—covering a distance of nearly two miles—had formerly belonged to the Russells, and was now the property of Dr. Baldwin. He laid out through this property a broad and stately highway a hundred and twenty feet in width, which has ever since been known as Spadina Avenue. He removed to his new home, and soon came to be known as "Baldwin of Spadina"—an honorary title which he hoped to transmit to his posterity in future ages. "There was to be for ever," says Dr. Scadding, "a Baldwin of Spadina. It is singular that the first inheritor of the newly-established patrimony should have been the statesman whose lot it was to carry through the Legislature the abolition of the right of primogeniture. The son grasped more readily than the father what the genius of the North American continent will endure, and what it will not." Dr. Baldwin, however, did not live to see this measure carried through Parliament. He died on the 8th of January, 1844, and the Act abolishing primogeniture did not become law until 1851. As, in the course of this sketch, we shall not again have occasion to make any extended reference to

Dr. Baldwin, we may here state that he subsequently entered Parliament as member for Norfolk, and did good service to the cause of Reform in Upper Canada. He continued to take an active part in politics down to a short time before his death in 1844. In 1843, only a few months before his death, he was called to a seat in the Legislative Council. He was devotedly loyal to the Crown, but spoke manfully for the rights of the people whenever those rights were invaded—and they were very often invaded in those days. It was from him that his son inherited those principles which wrought such important changes in our Constitution, and which have so effectually served the cause of free thought, free speech, and free deeds in our land. The reverence which all Canadians justly feel for the name of Robert Baldwin is also due in no slight degree to the father, who early instilled into his son's mind the "one idea" which is inseparably associated with his name.

Meanwhile the legal business continued to be carried on under the style of "W. W. Baldwin & Son," the son being the active member of the firm. The business was large and remunerative, and included the prosecution of some of the most important causes before the courts in those days. On the 31st of May, 1827, when Robert Baldwin had just completed his twenty-third year, he married his cousin, Miss Augusta Elizabeth Sullivan, a daughter of Mr. Daniel Sullivan, and a sister of Mr. Robert Baldwin Sullivan, a young lawyer who afterwards attained eminence in his profession, and was raised to the judicial bench. On the 1st of March, 1829, young Sullivan formed a legal partnership with the Baldwins, and the style of the firm became "Baldwin & Sullivan."

Robert Baldwin had already begun to take an active interest in political affairs. Liberal principles had legitimately descended to him from his father, but he was also

a constitutional Reformer from mature deliberation and conviction. It is impossible to estimate his character rightly, however, unless it is borne in mind that his views were very far removed from those of extreme Radicals. In some respects, indeed, he had many of the qualities of a Conservative. Change, considered merely as change, was distasteful to him, and he was disposed to look favourably upon existing institutions until they were proved to be prejudicial to the public welfare. But he had already pondered seriously, and with a conscientious desire to arrive at a just opinion, as to the reciprocal obligations of the governing classes and the governed. His high sense of justice convinced him that there were many things in our colonial polity which it was the imperative duty of every well-wisher of the country to do his utmost to remove. He had made no secret of his views, and his high personal character, social position, and acknowledged abilities were such as to give those views additional weight. He had already proved himself a wise and prudent adviser on one or two election committees, and had come to be looked upon as "the coming man" of the Reform party. That party was then in its infancy in this Province, and may be said to have come into existence about the year 1820. It grew rapidly, and soon began to occasion uneasiness to the faction which swayed the destinies of the Province with so high a hand. It was not difficult for farsighted men to perceive that momentous changes were imminent. The idea of a responsible Executive had already presented itself to the minds of the thoughtful, and the Baldwins, both father and son, had expressed strong opinions on the subject. The result of the general elections of 1824 was a Reform majority in the House of Assembly, and several important Government measures were defeated. The Legislative Council, however, was of course still in the hands of

the oligarchy. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, began to entertain gloomy forebodings of disaster. "The long shadows of Canadian Radicalism," says a Canadian writer, "were already settling down on his administration, and the *Colonial Advocate*, controlled by William Lyon Mackenzie, sadly disturbed his prospects of dignified repose with pungent diatribes on packed juries and Government abuses. Even then the clouds were gathering for the storm of 1838." As yet, however, there was little in common between Mr. Mackenzie and the Baldwins except hatred of oppression and a desire to see the Government of the country in the hands of capable and disinterested men. Even Mackenzie at this time entertained no thought of rebellion, and was a loyal subject to the Crown. It is, of course, unnecessary to say that none of the Baldwins ever sympathized with or countenanced the rebellion at any time.

In 1828 there was a general election, and Robert Baldwin, in conjunction with Mr. James E. Small, afterwards Judge of the County Court of the county of Middlesex, offered himself as a candidate for the county of York. Both these gentlemen were defeated by their opponents, Messrs. William Lyon Mackenzie and Jesse Ketchum. In July of the following year, however, Mr. John Beverley Robinson, member for the town of York and Attorney-General of the Province, was promoted to the dignity of Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. Robert Baldwin once more presented himself as a candidate for legislative honours, this time as Mr. Robinson's successor in the representation of York. He was returned by a majority of forty-one votes. His opponent was the same Mr. Small who had been his coadjutor of the previous year. Mr. Mackenzie, who had opposed them both in 1828, threw all his personal and journalistic influence into the scale in favour of Mr. Baldwin, and probably contributed not

a little to the result. At the close of the poll the votes stood 92 for Baldwin and 51 for Small. A petition, praying that the election might be declared void, was presented by Mr. Small, upon the ground that the writ had been irregularly issued. The petition was successful, for the irregularity was fatal, the writ having been issued by the Lieutenant-Governor instead of by the Speaker of the House. Mr. Baldwin was unseated, but immediately presented himself for re-election. This time he was opposed by Mr. William Botsford Jarvis, Sheriff of the county. Mr. Jarvis was defeated, and upon the opening of the session, on the 8th of January, 1830, Robert Baldwin, then in his twenty-sixth year, for the first time took his seat in Parliament.

It was about this time that the scheme of Responsible Government may be said to have first taken something like definite shape in Upper Canada. This great project is inseparably associated with Robert Baldwin's name, though it is absurd to say, as has been said more than once, that he was the first to conceive the idea. There exists indisputable evidence that before Robert Baldwin had emerged from school-boy life, his father, Peter Perry, and other leading Reformers had laid down most of the general principles upon which Responsible Government is founded. It may be said, indeed, that those principles were a necessary product of the political situation of affairs in Canada in those days, and that no particular individual can lay claim to having been their sole originator. The scheme of Responsible Government in Canada simply contemplated the application to this country of the principles which underlie the Constitution of Great Britain. It claimed that the acts of the Executive should be approved of by a majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly. Those who contended for it claimed nothing which was not clearly their right. They

sought to engraft no foreign or radical change upon the Constitution. This was clearly understood a few years later by Lord Durham, as witness the following extract from his celebrated Report:—"It needs no change in the principles of government, no invention of a new constitutional theory, to supply the remedy which would, in my opinion, completely remove the existing political disorders. It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British Constitution, and introduce into the government of these great colonies those wise provisions by which alone the working of the representative system can in any country be rendered harmonious and efficient. . . .

But the Crown must, on the other hand, submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions, and if it has to carry on the government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence. . . .

This change might be effected by a single despatch containing such instructions, or, if any legal enactment were requisite, it would only be one that would render it necessary that the official acts of the Governor should be countersigned by some public functionary. This would induce responsibility for every act of the Government, and as a natural consequence it would necessitate the substitution of a system of administration by means of competent heads of departments for the present rude machinery of an executive council. . . . I admit that the system which I propose would in fact place the internal government of the colony in the hands of the colonists themselves, and that we should thus leave to them the execution of the laws of which we have long entrusted the making solely to them." This "was precisely the stand taken by the advocates of Responsible Government. This, in a word, *was* Responsible Government, and it was principally with a view to bring

about such a state of things that Robert Baldwin determined to enter political life, in the autumn of 1829. A signal example of the necessity for Responsible Government had just occurred. In the autumn of the year 1827, John Walpole Willis, an English barrister, had been appointed to the position of a puisné judge in Upper Canada. Mr. Willis was a gentleman of spotless character, kind and amiable manners, and wide and various learning. He was beyond comparison the ablest jurist who, up to that time, had sat on the judicial bench in this Province. Having a high and proper idea of the dignity of the judicial character, he observed the strictest impartiality of conduct, both on the bench and elsewhere, and refused to ally himself with either of the political parties in the Province. This line of procedure, which in our days would be regarded as a matter of course in a man in such a position, was then an honourable distinction, for too many of Judge Willis's predecessors had been mere tools in the hands of the ruling faction. That faction, with Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Lieutenant-Governor, at its head, determined that Willis should either identify himself with them or lose his place. They were soon made to understand in the most unmistakable manner that he was a judge, and not a mere self-seeking partisan. It was accordingly determined that he should be got rid of. In the month of June, 1829, a pretext offered itself for his dismissal. He refused to sit in Term by himself, in the absence of Sir William Campbell, the Chief Justice (who was then in England), and of the other associate judge. Sir Peregrine promptly dismissed him, and appointed Mr. Christopher Hagerman to the vacant position. Judge Willis appealed to the Home authorities, who sustained him in his conduct, and dismissed the newly-appointed judge. It was not deemed advisable, however, to reinstate Mr. Willis in his Upper Canadian

judgeship, as it was evident that he would be subjected to perpetual annoyance from the Executive, and that his usefulness would be seriously interfered with. He was appointed to a judicial position in another colony, where his honour and integrity were fully appreciated, and where he won golden opinions from all classes of the community. But he had none the less been dismissed by Sir Peregrine Maitland, and a large and influential class among the people of Upper Canada were righteously indignant. Robert Baldwin, himself a lawyer, with a high sense of the august character which ought to appertain to the judicial bench, felt and spoke strongly on the subject. The leading members of the Reform Party were unanimous in their condemnation of the Lieutenant-Governor's arbitrary conduct. Public meetings were held, and strong language, though hardly stronger than the occasion called for, was the order of the day. Finally, an address, signed by nearly all the prominent Reformers in the Province, was presented to Judge Willis, in which the subscribers expressed their esteem for his character, and their high appreciation of his conduct as a judge. A petition, which is believed to have been drawn by Robert Baldwin himself, was also forwarded to the King. Whether entirely drawn by Mr. Baldwin himself or not, there is no doubt that he had a share in its compilation, and that its contents were fully in accord with his views, as, apart from his being one of the signatories, a copy of it, initialed and annotated by him, was found among his papers after his death. This petition is important, as showing that the constitutional changes of a later date had already been carefully considered and outlined by the Reformers of this Province. It sets out by humbly thanking His Majesty for having sent Mr. Willis among them in the capacity of a judge, and extols his virtues, both judicial and personal. It then represents

that the country had been deprived of one of its greatest blessings, in the arbitrary removal of a judge who, by the impartial discharge of his duties, had become endeared to the Canadian people. Then comes the following recital:—"It has long been the source of many grievances, and of their continuance, that the Legislative Council is formed not of an independent gentry, taken from the country at large, but of executive councillors and placemen, the great majority of whom are under the immediate, active, and undue influence of the person administering Your Majesty's Provincial Government, holding their offices at his mere will and pleasure. Hence arises, in a great measure, the practical irresponsibility of executive councillors and other official advisers of Your Majesty's representative, who have hitherto, with impunity, both disregarded the laws of the land and despised the opinions of the public."

In entering active political life for the first time, Mr. Baldwin enjoyed the advantage of having been carefully trained in sound liberal principles by his father. He had the further advantage of possessing the esteem and respect even of those most bitterly opposed to his views on political matters, and his wealth and social position exalted him far above the petty ambitions of meaner men. With the modesty becoming in a young member, he spoke little during his first Parliamentary session, and as events turned out he had no future opportunity of addressing the House until after the lapse of some years, during which interval the political situation of the country had undergone many and important changes. By the death of George IV. a dissolution of Parliament took place, and a new election was ordered. Mr. Baldwin once more presented himself to the electors of the town of York, and was again opposed by Mr. W. B. Jarvis, who was this time successful, and his opponent was left without a seat in the Assembly. That

he was not free from a feeling of disappointment at this result is very probable, but it is certain that he was less so than were many of his supporters, for he had been irresistibly led to the conclusion that his presence in the House at that time would be of little service to the country. He clearly perceived that a Reform House of Assembly could make little headway in the direction of constitutional progress so long as that House was hampered by an irresponsible Executive. Many of the leaders of the Reform Party of that day, both in Upper and Lower Canada, contended for an elective Legislative Council, believing that such a reform would, to some extent at least, remedy the evils by which the country was beset. In the views of these persons Mr. Baldwin could not coincide. He maintained that the only effectual cure was to make the Executive, as in England, directly dependent upon the will of the people, and that until such a change should be brought about it was a matter of secondary importance whether the Legislative Councillors were elected by the people or not. To establish a Responsible Executive had now become the great object of his life, and he availed himself of every opportunity which presented itself of urging his views. All the members of his party were agreed as to the desirability of bringing about such a state of things, but many of them despaired of being able to accomplish it, and regarded the project as practically unattainable. Others thought that Mr. Baldwin attached too much importance to it, and were wont to speak of him as "the man of one idea." The history of the next few years affords the best refutation to such opinions. Upon the successful carrying out of this "one idea" depended the liberties of the Canadian people, and Mr. Baldwin continued to strive for the desired end until it became an accomplished fact. Meanwhile he accepted his defeat with the best grace he could. He

retired to private life, and although he still continued largely to direct the policy of the Reform Party in the Upper Province he devoted most of his time to the practice of his profession.

On the 11th of January, 1836, he sustained a serious loss in the death of his wife. He was a man of domestic habits, devotedly attached to his family, and felt the blow very keenly. Only a few weeks after sustaining this bereavement he was for a short time called upon to act as a constitutional adviser to Sir Francis Bond Head. The extraordinary circumstances under which Sir Francis became Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and the disastrous consequences of his administration, will be fully detailed in the sketch of his life to be included in this series. It must be admitted that his position was one of much difficulty, and would have tried the powers of a much abler and wiser man. The new Governor was soon engaged in bickerings with some of the members of the House on important constitutional questions. His predecessor, Sir John Colborne, had recommended Robert Baldwin to the Home Office as a proper person to be called to a seat in the Legislative Council. Such a step was certain to be favourably regarded by a majority in the Assembly, and Sir Francis, acting probably under instructions from Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, sent for Mr. Baldwin, sought his advice, and finally requested him to become one of the Executive. There were then three vacancies in that body, three of the old members having recently been dismissed. The vacancies were offered respectively to Robert Baldwin, John Rolph, and John Henry Dunn, all of whom stood high in the confidence of the Reform Party. Sir Francis was especially desirous that Mr. Baldwin should accept office, not merely because the latter was a man of good judgment who knew the country's needs, but because his character and social position

were such that his name would in itself lend great weight to any administration. This is sufficiently proved by the tenor of Sir Francis's own despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated February 22nd, 1836, the full text of which is to be found in the fourth chapter of his extraordinary "Narrative." "After making every inquiry in my power," says Sir Francis, "I became of opinion that Robert Baldwin, advocate, a gentleman already recommended to your Lordship by Sir John Colborne for a seat in the Legislative Council, was the first individual I should select, being highly respected for his moral character, moderate in his politics, and possessing the esteem and confidence of all parties." It is to be borne in mind, too, that the Governor's estimate of Mr. Baldwin's character and position before the country had been formed from the reports of his bitterest political opponents. Sir Francis himself had only been a few weeks in the country, and had had but slight opportunities for forming an independent personal estimate. The fact that Mr. Baldwin's opponents should have given such a report of him affords incontrovertible proof of two things: first, that even the bitter animosities of the times had not extinguished all sense of truth and justice; and second, that Robert Baldwin, notwithstanding his pronounced opinions, was esteemed and respected as no other man in Canadian political life has ever been, either before his time or since.

While in conference with Mr. Baldwin, the Governor learned that, according to that gentleman's interpretation of the Constitutional Act of 1791, the Council was already legally responsible to the people. Sir Francis himself had probably never considered the matter, and did not commit himself to a positive opinion. He, however, made use of several expressions from which Mr. Baldwin not unreasonably inferred that there was no great difference of opinion

between them on the point, and that the Government would thenceforth be conducted on that assumption. An important discussion also took place between them as to the position of a Lieutenant-Governor in the colony, and as to the true relation existing between him, his constitutional advisers, and the Parliament. On these matters Sir Francis was disposed to retain his own opinions, and yielded little to the reasoning of his interlocutor. The final result of the discussion was that Sir Francis made some concessions, and that Mr. Baldwin agreed to enter, and did actually enter, the administration, as did also Dr. Rolph and Mr. Dunn. They had not held office many days ere they discovered that they were in a false position. They found that the Governor had merely prevailed upon them to accept office in order to strengthen his Government, and to set himself in a favourable light before the country. He had no intention of permitting them to have any voice in the real administration of public affairs. Without consulting them, he appointed several members of the Family Compact to office. The members of the Council found that they were kept in total ignorance of the Government's policy, and that their functions were restricted to insignificant matters of detail. Much to the general surprise, this line of conduct on the part of the Governor was opposed by the old members of the Council, as well as by the three gentlemen who had recently entered it. They repeatedly remonstrated against his course of procedure, but their remonstrances were quietly ignored. There was, consequently, but one course open to them—to resign office. This course they accordingly adopted on the 4th of March, when Mr. Baldwin and his two colleagues had held office about three weeks. More obsequious councillors were soon found to fill their places, in the persons of Robert Baldwin Sullivan, Augustus Baldwin, John Elmsley, and William

Allan. Robert Baldwin, mortified and disgusted with Sir Francis's double-dealing, shook the dust of the Council Chamber from his feet and once more retired to private life. The House of Assembly passed a vote of want of confidence, and stopped the supplies. Then followed the dissolution of Parliament, a new general election, and a new House of Assembly packed by the Governor to support the old Family Compact policy. The next thing that followed, as every one knows, was the Rebellion of 1837-8.

Within a few weeks after resigning office, Mr. Baldwin, despairing of being able to effect anything for the public good, and still suffering from grief for the loss of his wife, determined to pay a visit to the home of his ancestors, in Ireland, and to spend a season abroad. He was absent nearly a year, the greater part of which was spent in London and in the neighbourhood of Cork. During his stay in London he received intelligence of the success of the Tories at the recent elections in Upper Canada. Knowing, as he did, by what corrupt means that success had been achieved, he deemed it his duty to acquaint the Colonial Office with the inevitable result which would follow the Governor's machinations. Tory influence was predominant there, and he was not admitted to an interview with Lord Glenelg, but his views, elaborated into a series of papers, were placed before the Secretary, by whom they were submitted to the Imperial Cabinet. In these papers the project of Responsible Government was strongly urged as the only effectual remedy for the troubles in Canada. It was also urged that the policy which had theretofore been pursued by successive Lieutenant-Governors was steadily alienating the affections of the Canadian people from the mother country. These views, temperately but firmly expressed, were not without effect at the Home Office. Upon Mr. Baldwin's return to his

native land he found that matters had not stood still during his absence, and that the Governor's policy had produced its legitimate fruit. The word "rebellion" was now frequently in the mouths of men who had always been regarded as loyal subjects. The Governor, as though bent upon precipitating matters, was more despotic than ever, and was engaged in daily squabbles with the Assembly. Mr. Baldwin, to whom even the tyranny of Sir Francis Head was preferable to actual rebellion, kept aloof from the extreme sections of both parties, and continued quietly to perform his duties as a citizen. He had lived with his father ever since his marriage. Doctor Baldwin, finding that Spadina at certain seasons of the year was an inconvenient place of abode, and that it would be advisable for him to have a town residence, had erected a building on the corner of King and Yonge streets, in what is now the commercial heart of the city. This building stood almost intact until about two years ago, when it was pulled down to make way for the magnificent new structure of the Dominion Bank. The family had removed thither during the autumn of 1831, and had resided there nearly four years. Dr. Baldwin, who was fond of building operations, had meanwhile erected a fine brick mansion on the site of the small house occupied by him many years before on the corner of Bay and Front streets. This mansion is the one now used for the offices of the Toronto, Grey & Bruce Railway Company. In 1835 the family removed hither from the corner of Yonge and King streets, and it was here that Mrs. Robert Baldwin breathed her last. The family continued to reside here until the proximity of railways and other causes combined to make it an undesirable place of abode, when they removed back to Spadina.

Early in December the rebellion became a reality. William Lyon Mackenzie and his adherents encamped themselves on the north-



ern outskirts of Toronto, and threatened to advance upon the city. Sir Francis, old soldier though he was, was panic-stricken. He knew the detestation in which he was held by those who were in arms against his Government, and deemed it probable that if he were captured by the rebels his life would be sacrificed. Meanwhile the militia were pouring into the capital from all quarters, and the forces at the Governor's command would soon be sufficiently numerous to enable him to laugh at the insurrection. It was manifestly important to gain time, as additions to the militia were coming in hour by hour. In this extremity Sir Francis had recourse to Robert Baldwin. The Sheriff was despatched in hot haste to the house on the corner of Bay and Front streets, and on the Governor's behalf he begged Mr. Baldwin to be the bearer of a flag of truce to the insurgents. "Demand from them," urged Sir Francis, "why they appear in arms in hostility to their lawful Governor, and call on them in my name to avoid the effusion of human blood." The Sheriff and his orderly seem to have been kept tolerably busy for some time, carrying messages to and fro between Mr. Baldwin and the Governor. Mr. Baldwin did not feel justified in declining a request urged under such circumstances, but stipulated that some other trustworthy person should accompany him. The errand on which he was about to be despatched was an important one. Negotiations might perhaps be proposed by the insurgent chief, and it was highly desirable that the majesty of Upper Canada should be represented by more than one man. To this view Sir Francis acceded, and asked Mr. Baldwin to choose his coadjutor. Mr. Baldwin at once mentioned Marshall Spring Bidwell, in whose integrity and prudence he had entire confidence. An orderly was accordingly despatched for Mr. Bidwell, who was asked to join his friend Mr. Baldwin in the expedition. Mr. Bidwell had no heart

for such an undertaking. He had no sympathy with the insurrection, which he moreover knew must prove utterly futile. He was essentially a man of peace, and did not believe in righting wrongs by the strong hand. While sympathizing deeply with the grievances to which the people of Upper Canada were subjected, he was in favour of redressing these grievances by constitutional means, and not by open rebellion. He begged to be excused from undertaking the mission. He suggested that Dr. Rolph would be a very suitable messenger, and that he would probably undertake the mission without reluctance. Mr. Baldwin could assign no valid objection to Dr. Rolph, who was accordingly sent for. He accepted the mission with alacrity, and he and Mr. Baldwin set out on horseback for Gallows Hill. Upon their arrival they explained their errand to Mr. Mackenzie, who asked to see their authority. Mr. Baldwin was compelled to reply that his authority was oral only. "Then," said Mr. Mackenzie, "go back to Sir Francis Head, and tell him that we want independence, and nothing but independence; and he must give us his answer in writing within an hour." The rest of this episode is not a pleasant one to tell, but it has already appeared in print, and our narrative would be incomplete without it. Dr. Rolph rode up to two of the insurgents, and said something to them in so low a voice that Mr. Baldwin could not hear it. The latter did not approve of this secret conference, and rode back to town alone. He delivered Mr. Mackenzie's message to the Sheriff, by whom it was conveyed to the Governor. By this time Sir Francis felt safe, and refused to ratify his embassy. Mr. Baldwin was therefore compelled to return to Mr. Mackenzie with an admission that the Governor had declined to furnish any written authority. This transaction is not the least scandalous of Sir Francis Head's achievements. By refusing to accredit his ambas-

sador he placed Mr. Baldwin in an equivocal light before the country, and furnished the political enemies of the latter with a pretext for repeated insults. Everybody knows the rest of the story. Next day Dr. Rolph lost no time in making the best of his way across the Niagara River, where he admitted his complicity in the rebellion. Both Mr. Mackenzie and the unhappy men who suffered on the gallows for their share in that day's work gave the same account of the message delivered by Dr. Rolph to the insurgents, which, as they declared, enjoined the latter to wait until nightfall, and then not to lose a moment in advancing on the city, as the Governor was only pretending to negotiate in order to gain time. Assuming this message to have been really delivered by Dr. Rolph, it must be admitted that it places him in an unenviable light, for in that case he was guilty not merely of treason to his country, but of treachery to his friend. Mr. Baldwin never forgave him, and was never again on speaking terms with him.

The rebellion was, for a time, a serious blow to the Reform Party in Upper Canada. The ruling faction and their adherents saw their opportunity, and used it without stint. A cry of disloyalty was raised, and everything was done to create a false idea in the public mind as to what really constitutes Reform principles. Disloyalty and rebellion were represented as the inevitable outcome of the principles of Upper Canadian Reformers. Every man who professed liberal opinions was declared to be a rebel. Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Bidwell were placed in the same category as Mackenzie and Rolph. Those who were instrumental in promulgating this doctrine were morally guilty of a great crime, for none knew better than they that the leading spirits among the Reformers of Upper Canada were patriots, in the truest and best sense of that word. For some time Mr. Baldwin treated these calumnies with silent

contempt. By some, his silence was construed into inability to defend himself, and more than four years afterwards one gentleman—the late Sir Allan MacNab—presumed so far upon Mr. Baldwin's forbearance as to taunt him in a speech delivered in the House of Assembly. This was on the 13th of October, 1842. Mr. Baldwin rose to his feet and replied to the member for Hamilton in words which, so far as he was concerned, effectually silenced all further insinuations of disloyalty. He detailed the circumstances under which he had been induced to ride out with the flag of truce, and how the Governor had not had sufficient magnanimity to avow his own act. When the speaker resumed his seat the house resounded with cheers, and Sir Allan MacNab subsequently apologized for his language.

The unmerited reproach which had been brought upon the Reform Party was not the only disadvantage under which it laboured at this period. Not only was it subjected to public obloquy, and to the bitter taunts of its foes, but it contained discordant and irreconcilable elements within itself. It was for a time threatened with utter ruin. During the progress of the year 1838, Robert Baldwin set himself diligently to work to reconcile such discordant elements as were capable of assimilation, and to reconstruct the party on a consistent and definite basis of constitutional reform. The watchword of the reconstructed party was "Responsible Government." In May of the same year, Lord Durham arrived in Canada, in the double capacity of Governor-General and of Her Majesty's Commissioner for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting upon our political institutions. After spending nearly six months in the country, he returned home and compiled his elaborate report, in which he recommended the establishment of Responsible Government, and the legislative union of the two Provinces. The subsequent history of these recommendations belongs

more appropriately to the life of Lord Durham than to that of Robert Baldwin. At present it will be sufficient to record the fact that most of Lord Durham's recommendations with reference to Canadian affairs were adopted by the Home Government, and that during the session of 1839 a Bill providing for the union of Upper and Lower Canada was introduced into the Imperial Parliament. It was found, however, when the details of the measure came up for discussion in the Commons, that the House had not sufficient facts before them to enable them to deal with it satisfactorily. It became necessary to shelve the matter until the following session, and to send out to Canada some capable man to obtain the required information. The man fixed upon for this mission was Mr. Charles Poulett Thomson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, who held the post of President of the Imperial Board of Trade. Mr. Thomson accordingly came over to this country as Governor-General, armed with the same full powers which had previously been conferred upon Lord Durham. How he discharged his difficult task will be related at length in the sketch particularly devoted to his life. It may meanwhile be remarked that in the Upper Province the bulk of the Tories arrayed themselves in hostility to the policy of the Home Government. In their organ, the *Toronto Patriot*, they denounced Lord Durham and his Report in unmeasured terms. The new Governor-General also came in for a full share of censure. That gentleman soon discovered that the Legislature of the Upper Province would not easily be prevailed upon to consent to the proposed measures. The difficulty arose from the opposition of the Legislative Council. He put forth a message, in which he appealed strongly to the loyalty of the House, and urged the necessity of their co-operation. He also published a despatch from Lord John Russell, in which a similar appeal was embodied. The Family Compact,

members whereof composed a large majority in the Council, saw that their reign, which had long been insecure, would cease at once and forever upon the advent of Responsible Government. The Governor, however, had appealed to their loyalty, and ever since the Rebellion they had been proclaiming their devotion to the Crown in fulsome terms which left them no choice but to comply with what was asked of them, or else to admit that they had been preaching doctrines which they were not disposed to practise. The proposed measures, moreover, originated with the Government, and the members of the Council were thus compelled either to support them or to resign their places. By adopting the former course they would at least postpone the evil day. They accordingly supported the Government. The Assembly had all along approved of the proposed changes, and resolutions were passed in accordance with the policy outlined in the Governor's message. A Union Bill was framed and transmitted to England, where, with some slight modifications, it soon received the assent of both Houses. On the 23rd of July, 1840, it received the Royal sanction. A clause in the Bill provided that it should come into operation by royal proclamation. A protracted session of the Special Council in the Lower Province delayed the issue of the proclamation, and the Act of Union did not take effect until the 10th of February, 1841.

Robert Baldwin had meanwhile remained in the retirement of private life. A time had arrived, however, when he was once more to take an active part in the politics of his country. At the urgent request of the Governor-General, and upon the assumption that Government was to be carried on in accordance with the principles for which he had all along contended, he accepted the office of Solicitor-General, as successor to Mr.—afterwards Chief-Justice—Draper, who had been appointed Attorney-General

in place of Mr. Hagerman. Mr. Baldwin's acceptance of office did more than anything else could have done to strengthen the hands of the Governor, and to gain confidence for the Administration. This office he subsequently resigned under circumstances which occasioned not a little embarrassment to the Governor; and as he has been censured for this step, it is very desirable that we should clearly understand the motives by which he was actuated. We are fortunately able to arrive at such an understanding. Shortly after his appointment to office, in the month of February, 1840, being determined that there should be no misapprehension as to his actions, he wrote and published a letter in which occur the following words:—"In accepting office I consider myself to have given a public pledge that I have a reasonably well-grounded confidence that the Government of my country is to be carried on in accordance with the principles of Responsible Government, which I have ever held. It is therefore right that it should be distinctly understood that I have not come into office by means of any coalition with the Attorney-General, or with any others now in the public service, but have done so under the Governor-General, and expressly from my confidence in him."

So far all is clear enough. A year later—that is to say, on the 13th of February, 1841—the Governor, having determined to constitute the principal officers of Government the Executive Council, wrote to Mr. Baldwin as follows:

"I am called upon to name an Executive Council for this Province without delay, which at present will be composed exclusively of the chief officers of the Government, and I have therefore included your name in the list."

Now, the members of the Cabinet, with three exceptions, were persons with whom Mr. Baldwin had never acted, and with whom he had very little political affinity. He

moreover had good reason for believing that a Cabinet so composed would not find favour when the House should meet. He was desirous to make the Union a success, and was loth to embarrass the Governor at such a time by refusing to accede to his request, but he again resolved that there should be no misunderstanding as to his position. He accordingly, on the 19th of the month, replied to Lord Sydenham's letter as follows:

"With respect to those gentlemen,"—referring to the members of the Council,—"*Mr. Baldwin has himself an entire want of political confidence in all of them except Mr. Dunn, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Daly.* . . . He deems it a duty which he owes to the Governor-General, at once to communicate his opinion that such arrangement of the Administration will not command the support of Parliament."

By writing a letter couched in such language, Mr. Baldwin must certainly have meant to reserve to himself perfect freedom of action. He believed that the proper time for action would be when he was in possession of the facts as to the political situation, and this he could not possibly be until the assembling of Parliament. Here again, however, his perfect good faith towards all men was signally displayed. It would manifestly be disingenuous were he to accept a seat in the Council without acquainting his colleagues with his opinions. To Lord Sydenham he had, as we have seen, been sufficiently explicit already. He now wrote to each individual member, with the exception of the three gentlemen already named, acquainting them straightforwardly of his utter want of confidence in them politically.

The course pursued by him in this often-debated matter was thoroughly consistent throughout. When the members of the Parliament of the United Provinces met at Kingston, on the 13th of June, 1841, and previous to the opening of the session, Mr. Baldwin called together a meeting of

the Liberal members from both sections. The summoning of such a meeting was a political necessity, for many of the members from the different Provinces were totally unacquainted with each other, and were very imperfectly acquainted with each other's views on the questions of the day. One of Mr. Baldwin's principal objects was to ascertain how far the Government possessed the confidence of the Liberal party of the United Provinces. It was soon apparent that very few of the members felt any confidence whatever in the Government as a whole, although even the members from the Lower Province were almost unanimous in expressing confidence in Mr. Baldwin himself. Here again his course seemed perfectly clear. He must cease to hold office in a Government which had not the confidence of the people. Either there must be a reconstruction of the Cabinet or he must resign. He proposed the former alternative to Lord Sydenham, but his proposal was rejected. Accordingly, on the day when the session opened, he resigned his office. There can be no doubt that this was an embarrassing state of affairs for the Governor, but Mr. Baldwin was compelled to choose between two evils, and he chose what seemed to him to be the less. It was better that the Governor should be embarrassed than that a high-minded statesman should prove false to his convictions. He was assailed with coarse vituperation in the House for his resignation. He replied in moderate, but forcible language, explaining his position at considerable length. His opponents were not accessible to argument, but outside the House his conduct met with the full approbation of his constituents, and of the Reform party generally. At the next elections, as if to show how fully his course was approved of, he was returned for two constituencies—the County of Hastings and the North Riding of York. He chose to sit for the former, and recommended his friend Mr.

Lafontaine to North York. The latter was triumphantly returned for that Riding. All his former colleagues retaining their places, Mr. Baldwin found himself in Opposition. He took part in several warm debates during the session, and moved some important amendments to the Municipal Bill, which was the most hotly-contested measure before the House, and which, after repeated divisions, was finally passed. He also strenuously advocated a policy of conciliation towards the Lower Canadians. Early in September he moved and passed a series of resolutions in support of his "one idea" of Responsible Government. Almost immediately afterwards Lord Sydenham's death took place, and the session was brought to a close.

Sir Charles Bagot having succeeded Lord Sydenham as Governor-General, entered upon his duties early in January, 1842. He wisely resolved not to directly identify himself with either of the political parties in the country, but to carry on the Government in accordance with the popular will. After spending a few months in making himself acquainted with the condition of affairs, he discovered that no ministry could expect to command the public sympathy unless it favoured Responsible Government. The existing Ministry was evidently doomed as it stood, and needed reconstruction. Soon after the opening of the following session, the new Governor accordingly made overtures to Robert Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine, and a Government, with them at its head, was soon formed; several of the old members, including Sir Francis Hincks, retaining their seats. The new members returned to their constituents for re-election, and found themselves warmly supported. Thus was formed the Hincks-Baldwin Administration, as it was called in Upper Canada, in which Mr. Hincks held office as Inspector-General and Robert Baldwin as Attorney-General West. It came into existence on the 16th of September, 1842, when this, the first Responsi-

ble Ministry under the Union was sworn in, and Mr. Baldwin's "one idea" was realized. The ensuing session was a short but industrious one, and was signalized by the passing of several important measures, one of which was an Act authorizing the raising of a large loan for public works. The House was prorogued on the 22nd of October, and almost immediately afterwards the state of the Governor's health compelled his resignation.

Then followed the memorable contest with Sir Charles Metcalfe. Upon Sir Charles Bagot's death a good deal of anxiety was felt in Canada as to who would be his successor. The late Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby—father of the present representative of the title—was at this time Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Imperial Government. This nobleman disapproved of the recent changes in the Constitution of this country, and was vehemently opposed to the system of Responsible Government which had been introduced here. His selection of Sir Charles Metcalfe (afterwards Lord Metcalfe) as Bagot's successor, and his subsequent instructions to that gentleman, lead to the conclusion that he had resolved upon the overthrow of our newly-acquired constitutional system. Sir Charles Metcalfe was a man of ability, who had spent a great part of his life in the service of the East India Company. He had had some experience in administering the despotic governments of Indian Provinces, but had no knowledge of Parliamentary Government, and was about as unfit a man as could have been sent out to fill such a position as that of Governor-General of Canada. He remained here nearly three years, during which period he, with the best intentions, contrived to bring the country to the verge of ruin. The training and experience of a lifetime had totally unfitted him for constitutional rule. Responsible Government in a colony where Party Government prevailed was to him an anomaly, and he could

never be brought to understand it. He saw, however, that it had a firm hold upon the popular sympathies, and without meaning to be absolutely dishonest he was guilty of some dissimulation. While professing to approve of Responsible Government he was constantly showing his hostility to it. He had no sympathies in common with its advocates, and chose his associates and advisers from among the members of the defunct Compact. He endeavoured to exalt his own office by circumscribing the power of the Cabinet. He was wont to sneer at the pretensions of his Ministers, and in one of his letters he compares his position to that of an Indian Governor compelled to rule by means of a Mahomedan Ministry and a Mahomedan Parliament. It will readily be believed that there could be little unanimity of sentiment between such a man and Robert Baldwin. Their natures were thoroughly antagonistic, and this began to be apparent ere the new Governor-General had been many weeks in the country. They had several warm discussions as to the right of patronage. Mr. Baldwin, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, urged—what one would have thought must be sufficiently obvious in a country boasting of Responsible Government—that public appointments should be made in accordance with the will of the people. Sir Charles utterly scouted such a doctrine. He claimed that, as the representative of the Crown, the right of patronage was vested in himself alone. He was defective in perception, and surrendering himself to evil counsellors, formed most erroneous ideas as to the character and aims of the members of the Government. How erroneous those ideas were is sufficiently apparent from the language of his biographer, Mr.—afterwards Sir John William—Kaye. The latter gentleman never was in Canada, and knew nothing of Mr. Baldwin except what he gathered from the papers of Lord Metcalfe. His estimate of Mr. Baldwin may

therefore fairly be taken to have been that of Lord Metcalfe himself. People who are well-informed as to his life and character may well open their eyes when they read that Robert Baldwin was "the son of a gentleman of Toronto, of American descent, who had formerly been a member of what was called the 'Family Compact;'"—that "the elder Baldwin had quarrelled with his party, and with the characteristic bitterness of a renegade had brought up his son in extremest hatred of his old associates;"—that "the son grew up to be an enthusiast—almost a fanatic;"—that "he was to the last degree uncompromising and intolerant;"—that "he seemed to delight in strife;"—that "the might of mildness he laughed to scorn;"—that "he was not satisfied with a victory unless it was gained by violence;"—that "concessions were valueless to him unless he wrenched them with a strong hand from his opponent;"—that being "of an unbounded arrogance and self-conceit, he made no allowances for others, and sought none for himself;"—that "there was a sort of sublime egotism about him—a magnificent self-esteem, which caused him to look upon himself as a patriot whilst he was serving his own ends by the promotion of his ambition, the gratification of his vanity or his spite." Those of us "to the manner born" do not need to be informed that the proportion of truth to error in the foregoing extract is even less than the proportion of bread to sack in Falstaff's tavern-score. It is difficult, indeed, to understand how any one could have read the character of Robert Baldwin so utterly awry. The above passages are quoted from the early edition of Kaye's "Life of Charles Lord Metcalfe." In the later edition he modifies a few of the details, but the general portraiture of the man remains unchanged. All the assertions are so far the reverse of fact that it is hard to believe them to have been honestly made. The "gentleman of

American descent" was Dr. Baldwin, who, as has already been seen, was an Irishman, and a native of the county of Cork. His journey from Ireland to Canada was made by way of Quebec, and he probably never spent ten consecutive days in the United States, with the republican institutions whereof he had little sympathy. So far from his ever having been a member of the Family Compact, he had always been a pronounced Liberal, whose character and political opinions were so well known from the time of his first settlement in this country that it was deemed hopeless to attempt to allure him to the side of the oligarchy. Even Sir Francis Bond Head refers to him as "more ultra in his theory of reform than his son." The delineation of the son's character and principles is equally at variance with fact. It is not going too far to say that no man occupying an equally pronounced position in the arena of political life was ever less swayed by animosity or spite than Robert Baldwin. Sir Francis Hincks, a thoroughly competent and trustworthy authority, in his pamphlet on "The Political History of Canada between 1840 and 1855," published at Montreal several years ago, says, in speaking of the Baldwins:—"Neither the Doctor nor his son entertained bitter feelings against their opponents, and although firm in their adherence to cherished political opinions, they were both highly and universally respected." Sir Francis Head's early impressions of the son were chiefly derived from the leaders of the Family Compact—notably from its head and front, Sir John Beverley Robinson. Yet we find the Governor referring to that son, in a communication to Lord Glenelg, written in February, 1836, as "a gentleman highly respected for his moral character, being moderate in his politics, and possessing the esteem and confidence of all parties." It would be easy enough to fill page after page with extracts from books equally well

known, and equally contradictory of each other. Even Lord Sydenham's biographer fails to do justice to the motives which swayed Robert Baldwin. The fact that we encounter such contradictions in books to be found on the shelves of all large libraries is an additional reason why it is desirable that a true account of Robert Baldwin's life should be written.

The difference between the Governor and Mr. Baldwin involved, of course, differences between the Governor and the Ministry. The Ministry was composed of the following members: Attorney-General West, Robert Baldwin; Attorney-General East, Louis H. Lafontaine; Solicitor-General West, James Edward Small; Solicitor-General East, T. C. Aylwin; Receiver-General, J. H. Dunn; Inspector-General, Francis Hincks; Commissioner of Crown Lands, A. N. Morin; President of the Council, Robert Baldwin Sullivan; Provincial Secretary for Upper Canada, Dominick Daly; President of Board of Works, H. H. Killaly. The Surveyor-General, Mr. Thomas Parke, and the Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Malcolm Cameron, were not members of the Cabinet. The breach between Governor and Ministry gradually became wider and wider, for the former would not give way in the smallest particular, and had the Ministry given way they would have been false to the trust reposed in them by the public. Legislation was interfered with, and the general business of the country obstructed. A strong feeling arose throughout the land that the Governor-General was a tyrant and an aristocrat who had no sympathies in common with the people he had been sent out to govern. Some of Mr. Baldwin's colleagues advocated resignation, but he himself was loath to imperil Responsible Government by such a step, and clung to the hope that calmer thoughts would ere long prevail.

It may justly enough be concluded that the Governor's position was not a particu-

larly enviable one, but we are led unavoidably to the conclusion that for the most disagreeable features of it he was personally responsible. He was stubborn, fond of having his own way, and unable to recede with a good grace. "He was called upon," says his biographer, "to govern, or to submit to the government of Canada by a party; and the party by which he was to govern was one with which he had no sympathy." The answer to this is sufficiently obvious. He was not sent out to Canada to indulge his personal sympathy for any party, but to administer a Constitutional Government according to its constitution. A contemporary writer puts this matter very clearly. "How had he (Lord Metcalfe) seen the Queen, his Sovereign, act within the period of his return to England and his departure for Canada? Had he not seen her transfer her confidence from Lord Melbourne, for whom she had a filial attachment, to Sir Robert Peel, whom she never really liked? And why? Because she knew, as a Constitutional Sovereign, that her business was to give her confidence to, and call to her councils, those men who had the support of the representatives of the people."\*

Finally, towards the close of November, 1843, the Governor, as though wilfully to defy and provoke his Council, made an appointment without reference to them, and when remonstrated with by Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine he declared that he had acted within the legitimate scope of his power. He positively declined to pledge himself not to make any further appointments without the sanction of his Ministers. Mr. Baldwin, still peacefully inclined, left the matter open for two days, at the expiration of which he and his colleague, Mr. Lafontaine, once more pressed their views upon the Governor. The latter was adamant. "You, Mr. Baldwin," said he, "are not so

\* See *The Irishman in Canada*, p. 488.



fond of giving pledges yourself that you should demand them from others." "I trust, your Excellency," was Mr. Baldwin's reply, "that I shall always be willing to pledge myself on matters as to which my sentiments cannot possibly undergo any change." And thus, with mutual courtesies, the two Ministers withdrew. A conference was held that same night, and the result was that all the members of the Ministry except Mr. Dominick Daly resigned their seats. Several days afterwards—on the 2nd of December—the Assembly passed a vote approving of the conduct of the retired Ministers.

A good deal of difficulty was experienced in forming a new Ministry. In about a fortnight, however, a Provisional Government was formed under the leadership of Mr. Draper and the Hon. D. B. Viger. Then followed the dissolution of the House, and an appeal to the country. It is simply a matter of fact that the Governor-General interfered with the elections for his own purposes, and used every influence within his reach to secure the return of members hostile to the late Ministry. He succeeded in securing a small majority favourable to his policy. Mr. Baldwin was returned for North York, and from that time until the month of March, 1848, he remained in Opposition. His services to his party during this interval were invaluable. His conduct was then, as always, marked by prudence and moderation, and won respect even from his political opponents. It is possible enough that had he been less moderate; had he been a man of greater energy and determination; had he resorted to crooked measures to accomplish his ends; he might have proved himself more than a match for Metcalfe, and might have compelled that Governor's resignation at an earlier period of his career in this country. But it may be doubted whether such a policy would in the end have proved beneficial to the permanent interests of our land, for Metcalfe's

three years' tenure of power furnished the best possible evidence of the desirability of establishing Responsible Government on a firm basis.

After Metcalfe's departure from our shores the Earl of Cathcart administered affairs for a little more than a year. In 1846 there was a change in the Imperial Government, and the new Colonial Minister, Earl Grey, appointed Lord Elgin to the office of Governor-General of Canada. Lord Elgin reached Canada early in 1847. A general election took place at the close of the year, which resulted in a sweeping Reform victory both in the Upper and Lower Provinces. The old Ministry resigned, and Lord Elgin called on Mr. Lafontaine to form a Ministry. The call was responded to. Mr. Lafontaine conferred with Mr. Baldwin, and thus was formed what is known as the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration, one of the ablest Administrations known to Canadian political history. Its original composition was as follows:—Robert Baldwin, Louis H. Lafontaine, the Hon. William Hume Blake, Robert Baldwin Sullivan, T. C. Aylwin, Francis Hincks, James Lesslie, D. B. Viger, James Hervey Price, Etienne P. Tache, R. E. Caron, and Malcolm Cameron. It subsequently underwent several modifications, but as a Government it continued in power until the session of 1851, when Mr. Baldwin resigned his position. The ostensible ground of his resignation was a vote on a resolution moved by Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie to abolish the Court of Chancery. This resolution, though hostile to the views of the Ministry, was supported by a majority of Upper Canadian votes, several of the hostile voters being members of the legal profession. Mr. Baldwin was surprised as well as mortified, and promptly resigned office. At the election which followed he offered himself as a candidate for his old constituency of North York. He was opposed by Mr. Joseph

Hartman, who was returned by a considerable majority. This was also a surprise and a disappointment to Mr. Baldwin, who forthwith retired from active political life. His friend and ally, Mr. Lafontaine, retired soon afterwards, and the political career of both these distinguished men may be said to have closed with the year 1851.

The Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration was signalized by many public measures of the greatest importance. Early in its history came the furious debate on the Rebellion Losses Bill, a legacy left by the preceding Administration. The account of this Bill belongs more properly to the life of Lord Elgin, and will be given at length there. We have referred to the vote on the resolution for the abolition of the Court of Chancery as being Mr. Baldwin's ostensible reason for resigning office. There were, however, other causes which doubtless actuated him in taking that step. His health had already begun visibly to decline, and his physicians informed him that his official labours were rapidly shortening his life. He was sensitive—almost morbidly sensitive—on the subject of his personal popularity. The vote on Mr. Mackenzie's resolution was no fair test of that popularity, and many members who had supported it begged Mr. Baldwin to reconsider his determination, alleging that they would without hesitation have opposed the resolution if they had believed he would take the matter so much to heart. But he was also aware that many prominent members of the Reform Party were not fully in accord with his views on other important public questions. He was too conservative for them. The demand for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves had become imperative, and though Mr. Baldwin approved of the principles of that measure, and had previously voted in favour of it, he was not disposed to go so far as public opinion required. He was a sincere and zealous Churchman,

and had a high respect for vested rights. His zeal for Episcopacy did not blind him to the public weal, and he had given adequate testimony of his high and disinterested sense of justice by rescuing our University from Episcopal control. At the same time, he could not see his way to dealing with the Clergy Reserves in such a manner as at once to satisfy his conscience and the country's imperative demands. Mr. Mackenzie, the late Premier of the Dominion, in a speech delivered several years since, referred to Robert Baldwin as a pre-meditated but timid statesman. True, he was, in a certain sense, timid; but the sense is one in which he has had few imitators. *He was afraid to do wrong.* In the sense of being true to his conscience, and ready in expressing his sincere convictions at all times and in all places, no Canadian statesman has ever been more fearless than Robert Baldwin.

His speech to the electors of North York in 1851, after the poll had been closed, and when his defeat was made known, was his last public utterance. As his remarks on that occasion were eminently characteristic of the man, and fully explanatory of his sentiments, we subjoin the following epitome of them. He began by saying that the audience had just heard the declaration of a fact that severed the political tie which had for the last eleven years connected him with the North Riding of York. It might be said, and no doubt was said by many, that he ought to have withdrawn from the representation of the Riding, rather than contest it under the circumstances which led to the result just announced. He did not view the matter in that light. He felt that a strong sense of duty required him to take a different course, and not to take on himself the responsibility of originating the disruption of a bond which had been formed, and repeatedly renewed, between him and the electors of the North Riding. So far as

he was able impartially to review the course he had hitherto, and especially for the last four years, pursued, he could see no change in himself; nothing which should have induced them to withdraw a confidence repeatedly expressed at former elections. All circumstances duly considered, he could not recall any act of importance which he had performed, or for which he was responsible, that his sense of duty to his country did not require, or, at least, did not justify. In the course of the canvass just ended, he had had frequent opportunities of explaining his views to those who sustained, and occasionally to those who opposed him. It was unnecessary for him then to repeat those views; but he felt it due to his own sense of right, and to the opinions of his friends, to say that under present circumstances he saw no reason to withhold a sincere re-assertion of them. In his own mind he could find nothing that would justify him, under all the circumstances, in pursuing a different course from that which he had taken. He had the satisfaction of knowing that there were intelligent men of a noble spirit in the Riding who concurred with him—staunch friends of former days, who had on the recent occasion given him their assistance and votes, in the face of, as the result showed, very discouraging circumstances. Principles so approved in his own mind, and so supported by such friends, he could not abandon. Until constitutionally advised to the contrary by the votes of the majority, he felt bound to believe that what he had always supported—what his constituents had frequently affirmed at former elections—what he still believed to be right—what he knew to be still sustained by men of valuable character, was also concurred in by a majority, at least, of his constituents. He believed, indeed, that his successful opponent did not differ from him in his view of his (Mr. Baldwin's) position. Under these circumstances he felt he would

not be justified in accepting any evidence of a change in the minds of his constituents less doubtful than that of their own recorded votes. It could not now be said of him in leaving that he had abandoned them. These considerations had impelled him not to shrink from the ordeal of a contest, nor from the announcement now made of its result, however discouraging that result might be considered. It only remained for him now to return his cordial thanks, first and most especially to the staunch friends who in the face of disheartening circumstances had manfully recorded their votes for him, and actively assisted him at the polls and otherwise. To these he felt he could not adequately express his obligations. He would also say that his acknowledgments were due to those who had been his supporters on former occasions, not excepting out of this number his successful rival, for the kindness he had met with among them, and for the courteous manner to himself personally, in which the opposition to him had been conducted. They would part, but part in friendship. They had withdrawn their political confidence from him, and he was now free from responsibility to them. There were, among the points of difference between him and their member elect, some not unimportant principles, but although he could not without some alarm observe a tendency which he considered evil, still, to all of them personally he wished the utmost prosperity and happiness they could desire. To his friends, then, of the North Riding, gratefully, and not without regret; to his opponents without any feeling of unkindness, he would now say—Farewell!

During his tenure of office Mr. Baldwin laboured with might and main in the direction of law reform. If some of his measures were less practicable in their working than might have been desired, there were others which must be regarded in the light

of national blessings. He contributed very materially towards the establishing of our excellent municipal system, and while Attorney-General extended and codified that system into a complete and harmonious whole. He remodelled the Courts of law, and extended the scope of those of inferior jurisdiction. His successful efforts at University Reform have already been referred to. From the time of his defeat in North York down to the day of his death he never emerged from the seclusion of private life. He continued to reside at Spadina, spending his time chiefly in study, and preparing himself for the end which he knew was not far distant. His close application to his official labours had undermined his constitution, and for several years his system had shown unmistakable symptoms of decay. He lingered on for seven years longer, but declined perceptibly from year to year. He attended to no business, but continued to receive visits from his friends, and occasionally drove into town. In December, 1854, the dignity of Companion of the Bath was conferred upon him by Her Majesty—a very inadequate requital for all his valuable public services to his country and the Empire. In the autumn of 1858 it was evident that he was rapidly sinking. Early in December he had an attack of *angina pectoris*, and on the 9th of the month he breathed his last. His mortal remains were interred in the private family sepulchre called St. Martin's Rood, at Spadina, where his wife and father and other members of his family had previously been laid to rest. The sepulchre remained undisturbed until the month of September, 1874, when—Spadina having meanwhile passed out of the possession of the Baldwin family—the remains were removed to St. James's Cemetery, where they now repose.

Ever since his call to the Bar, Mr. Baldwin had been a prominent member of the Law Society. He had been elected to the

dignity of a Bench as early as 1830, and had been Treasurer of the Society since 1850. Two days after his death a meeting of the members of the Bar was held in the Convocation Room at Osgoode Hall, for the purpose of paying a tribute to his memory. Appropriate resolutions were passed, and the members agreed to attend the funeral in their professional robes, and to wear mourning for a period of one month. The funeral was one of the largest ever seen in this Province. Among those assembled were the Judges of the Superior Courts, a large array of members of the Bar, the Bishop of Toronto, and a numerous body of the Clergy, most of the members of the Government, many members of both branches of the Legislature, a large number of prominent non-professional residents of the city, and a considerable representation of the country districts. The burial service of the Church of England was read by the Rev. Mr. Grasett. During the afternoon business was suspended in most of the stores on the principal streets of the city, and, pursuant to a recommendation of the City Council, a similar mark of respect was paid to Mr. Baldwin's memory in Hamilton. His death, indeed, was felt from one end of the Province to the other. Of all the long array of Canadian statesmen who have passed away, not one has been more widely regretted, and not one has left behind him a more spotless name.

Mr. Baldwin's personal appearance was not remarkably striking, and was suggestive of the quiet, subdued, prosperous, portly, and withal rather delicate professional man. He was above the medium height—about five feet ten inches—but did not look so tall, owing, more especially during his later years, to his stoutness of physique. He was broad in the shoulders, and stooped perceptibly. Even in youth his features were rather pale and stolid, and his eyes, which were gray, were wanting in sharp-

ness and brilliance. His hair was dark brown, of fine texture, and, during the last few years of his life, inclined to iron gray. In manner he was reserved, and not given to unnecessary self-assertion. He had little imagination, and, as a public speaker, was not fluent or brilliant. He could, however, rise with an occasion, and was sometimes eloquent. At times, too, he was not wanting in a ready humour, which was all the more expressive coming from a quarter where such a quality was not looked for. Once, while in Opposition, in the course of a speech in the Assembly, he compared the Hon. Dominick Daly to the lily of the valley—"for," said he, "the honourable gentleman toils not, neither does he spin,"—and quoted the rest of the passage. The quality of this *jeu d'esprit* will be materially enhanced to those who remember the character and appearance of the gentleman referred to. Such attempts as these, however, were the exception, and by no means the rule, with Robert Baldwin, who was of too kindly and amiable a nature to take pleasure in saying severe things. There was little of that personal magnetism about him which attracts a numerous circle of warm friends, and by many he was—though unjustly—considered cold and repellent. The great secret of his success was his unbending honesty, and his adherence to the convictions which he arrived at by the exercise of a well-trained, though not extraordinarily powerful, intellect. One of his contemporaries has justly said of him that his whole career supplies a pregnant example of the homage which even bad men pay to virtue, and a brighter star could not be set up for the guidance of Canadian politicians. The truth is that Mr. Baldwin contended during his whole political life for the simplest rights of the people of Canada—rights of which, as British subjects, no man should ever have thought of depriving them. His keen sense

of justice induced him to take the part he did; and in pursuing his course he was not actuated by any love of change for its own sake. No unprejudiced man can doubt that he was a sincere patriot, or that he was induced to enter public life chiefly by a desire to promote the general good. His frequent sacrifices of personal advantages when required by adherence to his principles are sufficient proof of this; and he will long be remembered in Canada as possessing singular purity of motive, and freedom from the lower influences which operate upon politicians. Our country has perhaps produced greater men, but she has produced none better, and there is no name in our annals to which we can point with more unfigured respect and admiration than his.

Mr. Baldwin left four children. Eva Maria, the eldest, died unmarried in Toronto in 1866. The other three still survive. William Willecks Baldwin, called after his maternal grandfather, lived for some years at Larchmere, a fine property in the township of Whitechurch, in the county of York, originally settled by his maternal grandfather, Mr. William Willecks. He now resides in Toronto, and is Distributor of Stamps to the Law Society at Osgoode Hall. Eliza, the third child, is the widow of the late Hon. John Ross, of Toronto, and now resides at Brighton, England. Robert, the youngest, named after his father, also resides in Toronto, and is Secretary of the Upper Canada Bible Society. William Augustus Baldwin, a younger brother of the deceased statesman, and the only surviving child of Dr. Baldwin, resides at Mashquatch, an estate a short distance north of Toronto.

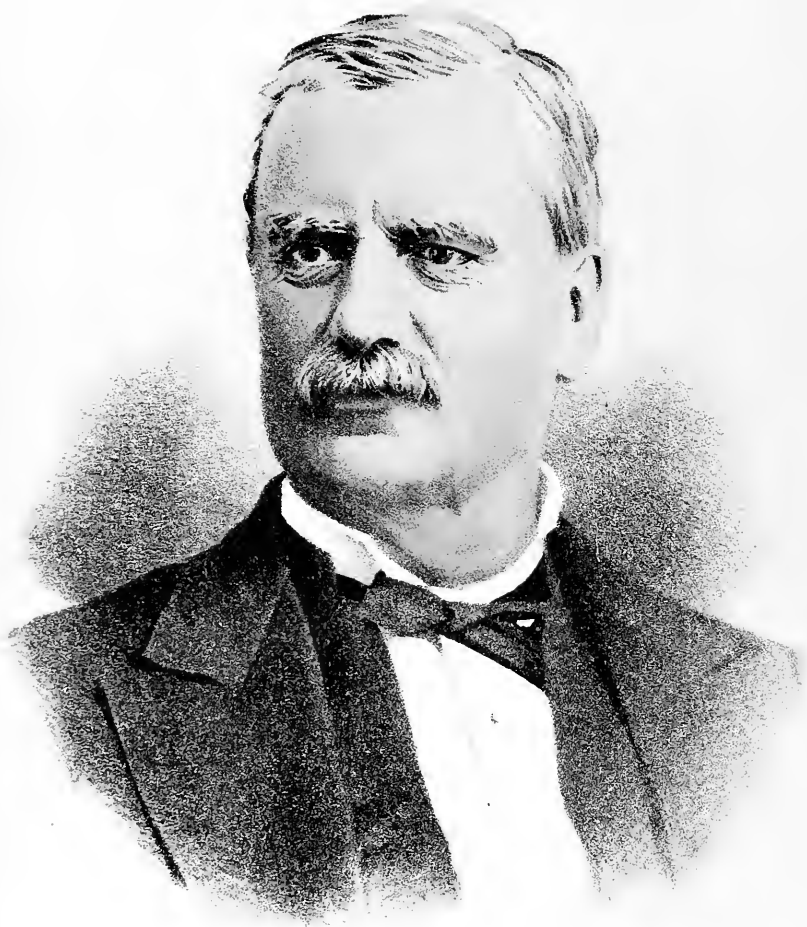
But little has been said as to the religious side of Mr. Baldwin's life. It will readily be inferred, however, that a man with such tenderness of conscience, and with such a high sense of duty to his country and to

his fellow-men, would not be unmindful of his responsibility to his Maker. Robert Baldwin was neither a bigot nor a fanatic, but he was in the best and truest sense of the word a Christian. He was strict in his observance of religious duties, and brought up his children to seek those things which make for righteousness rather than the things of this world. His piety was an ever-present influence in his life, and was practically manifested in his daily walk and conversation. As we contemplate the fifty-four years which made up the measure of his earthly span, we cannot fail to be impressed by its uniform consistency, its thorough conscientiousness, its devotion to high and noble objects. It is a grand thing to acquire a famous name, but it is a much grander thing to live a pure and noble life; and in estimating the character of Robert Baldwin it should be remembered that he was not merely a statesman and a lawyer, but was, over and above all else, a man and a Christian.

The compilation of the foregoing sketch

has been a grateful, but withal a somewhat laborious task. Mr. Baldwin was not in the habit of keeping a journal, and he left behind him few manuscripts or papers bearing upon the most important epochs in his career. He was not a man who wore his heart upon his sleeve. He was of a singularly retiring, self-contained disposition, and was not accustomed to unbosom himself unreservedly, either to his most intimate friends, or even to the members of his own family. Finally, many of his contemporaries who knew him well, and who fought by his side in the struggle to which a great part of his life was devoted, have passed away. These are a few among the difficulties to be encountered by the biographer of Robert Baldwin. In the foregoing pages, however, the principal events of his life have been outlined somewhat more in detail than has been done heretofore, and there has been an honest attempt to portray his character and idiosyncrasies with some approach to historic truthfulness.





*Hotellier*



## THE HON. LUC LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.

THE name of M. Letellier has been conspicuously before the public of his native province for a period of thirty years or thereabouts. During more than half that period his celebrity has not been confined to the Province of Quebec, but has been recognized throughout the country at large. Within the last year or two, certain complications—to be hereafter more fully referred to—have combined to bring his name into special prominence, and his position has been discussed in every land where constitutional government prevails. His conduct has been made the subject of rigid scrutiny, and of important diplomatic correspondence. After due consideration, and a delay not greater than the importance of the subject demanded, judgment has been pronounced upon his case. So far as at present appears, that judgment must be regarded as final; but it can hardly be said that the discussion aroused by the circumstances which gave rise to it has even yet entirely quieted down. Sufficient time has elapsed to enable outsiders, of whatever shade of political opinion, to take a calm and dispassionate view of the matter, but it will probably be long before the people of the Lower Province will be able to discuss the situation with entire freedom from political bias. It will be for the disinterested historian of the future to review the question in all its bearings, and to strike a perfectly fair and judicial balance between the parties to the dispute.

Whatever conclusion may be arrived at as to the main incidents in M. Letellier's career, it must be admitted that that career has been very largely of his own making; the result of exceptionally high abilities, and of great energy and strength of character. From both his parents he inherited a good social position, but for the eminence which he has attained in political life he is largely, if not altogether, indebted to his personal talents and qualifications. His social status was doubtless of assistance in enabling him for the first time to obtain a seat in Parliament, but he has since needed no adventitious aid to ensure him a foremost place among the legislators of his Province.

His great-grandfather, on the paternal side, was a soldier in the French army, who retired from active military service about the time of the Conquest of Canada. Upon his retirement he received a certificate authorizing his withdrawal from the army. This certificate, which is still preserved by his descendants, refers to his long and meritorious services in Louisiana and elsewhere, and describes him by the family patronymic of "St. Just." His son, François Letellier, the father of the subject of this memoir, devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, and in process of time settled down upon a farm near the village of St. Valier, in the county of Bellechasse. He had received a better education than commonly falls to the lot of persons in his

walk of life, and seems to have been a man of high character, shrewd common sense, and liberal and enlightened views. He married a daughter of the late Charles Casgrain, Seigneur of Rivière Ouelle, where the late Lieutenant-Governor was born on the 12th of May, 1820.

Not long before his birth a gentleman named Slevin had been induced to take up his abode in the neighbourhood of St. Valier. Mr. Slevin was a sound and accomplished scholar, whose reading had been wide and various, and who possessed in an eminent degree the faculties requisite for a successful instructor of youth—qualities which were much less common in the rural districts of Canada in those days than they are at the present time. From this gentleman young Letellier received his earliest educational training. Soon after he had completed his tenth year he was entered by his father as a seminarian at the College of Ste. Anne. Here he remained for some time, but he does not seem to have taken kindly to the discipline of the establishment, which he found irksome, and unsuited to the energy and enthusiasm of his temperament. The prosaic and monotonous life enjoined by the rules and course of study in vogue at the college was not in accordance with the bent of his mind, and he longed for change. It is to be presumed that this state of things was due not so much to any defect in the management of the seminary itself as to the natural promptings of an active and enthusiastic boyish mind. Whatever the inducement may have been, he proposed to his father that he should be permitted to abandon his scholastic pursuits, and devote his future life to agriculture. His father, who knew his son's character, and had much more faith in the efficacy of lessons taught by experience than in those inculcated by precept merely, determined to comply with the request, rightly judging that the passion

for agriculture would not be of long duration. A private understanding was accordingly arrived at between the father and a neighbouring farmer, and then the happy youth, full of glee at what he considered his escape from dry and barren studies, was indentured with due formality to serve as a farmer's boy for a term of five years. Imagination will serve to depict the result upon young Letellier's feelings of a few weeks' experience of heavy farm work. For a week or two he endeavoured bravely to endure the hardships of his position, until finally he acknowledged that he had gained wisdom by experience, and asked to be released from his engagement. This request was met with a stern refusal. He was informed that a solemn obligation had been entered into with his master, which could not be thus lightly set aside. Disheartened and disappointed, young Letellier next had recourse to his master, and vainly endeavoured to obtain his release. He was again told that the solemn engagement, which had been entered into with his full knowledge and consent, could not be terminated without the payment of damages, or the consent of all the parties interested. Nor was it until after the future Lieutenant-Governor had become fully impressed with the nature of an obligation of this kind, and had learned by bitter experience—and therefore well—a lesson which has never been forgotten, that he found himself freed from his self-imposed bondage, and able to return to his books and his college. One can easily conceive that so salutary a lesson must have been an important event in the young man's career. He doubtless found the restrictions imposed by the collegiate discipline much less irksome than they had seemed before his self-imposed rustication, and resumed his studies with a zeal which he had never previously displayed. He soon became known as a diligent and promising scholar, and those who knew him best

began to form sanguine anticipations as to his future. He determined to fit himself for the profession of a notary, and entered upon a course of study with that end in view. Upon attaining his majority he was admitted to practice. A year or two previous to this time he sustained a heavy bereavement by his father's death, which event threatened to seriously interfere with his views, as he was left without the means of maintaining himself as a student. The difficulty was bridged over, however, by the kindly intervention of his uncle, the late Hon. Judge Panet, who took the young man under his own special protection, treated him in every way as a son, and furnished him with the means of pursuing his professional studies.

A somewhat unusual incident occurred in connection with M. Letellier's admission as a notary. The licenses authorizing candidates to practise the various professions were at that time issued by the Governor in Council, and it happened that simultaneously with the issue of the batch of licenses which included young Letellier's, the Government issued a number of commissions appointing new Legislative Councillors. Through some official blunder Luc Letellier, instead of his license to practise as a notary, received a commission appointing him a Legislative Councillor. He knew that an error had been committed, and showed the document to his guardian, who told him that the day would assuredly come when he would in reality be a member of the Legislative Council, inasmuch as he possessed within himself the material of which legislators are made. The Judge was not accustomed to speak confidently as to matters respecting which he had no certain knowledge, and the fact that he indulged in such a prediction is evidence of the high estimate which he had formed of his ward's qualifications. His prediction has been abundantly verified. M. Letellier has not

only sat in the Legislative Council, but has creditably filled a much higher place. Independently of the imbroglia which culminated last year, there has been nothing in his official life to which even the bitterest of his opponents can take serious exception.

But at the period under consideration these triumphs were still in the far future. Meanwhile M. Letellier was simply a young notary with small provision for the future, except such as was furnished by his own ability. He devoted himself assiduously to his profession, and soon succeeded in building up a practice which, though not so large as was that of some of his competitors, lay largely among wealthy and influential people, and was attended with much pecuniary profit. He soon came to be looked upon as a rising man, who would sooner or later have to find his way into political life. The time was not long in arriving. At the elections which took place in the autumn of 1850, M. Letellier for the first time offered himself to the electors of the county of Kamouraska as a candidate for a seat in the House of Assembly of Canada. He was successful, and during the following session took his seat in the House as member for that constituency. He presented himself for re-election at the general elections which took place in 1852, but this time, his opponent, M. Chapais, headed the poll, and M. Letellier was left without a seat. It may be noticed, in passing, that nowhere in the Lower Province are the lines of party more finely drawn than in the county of Kamouraska. This has been the case ever since the Union of the Provinces in 1841. A local writer, who is well acquainted with the state of political feeling there, recently recorded that "the people of this fine agricultural constituency guard their allegiance to their party-leaders almost as scrupulously as their adhesion to their articles of faith, and defections from the ranks of either political party in Kamouraska are therefore

of very rare occurrence." Up to this day the inhabitants of the county are in the habit of speaking of their neighbours as "un Chapais," or "un Letellier"—meaning that the person referred to is an adherent of the Chapais or the Letellier faction, as the case may be. For more than twenty years, and in many an election contest, the fight was maintained between the leaders of the two parties, the present Senator Chapais on the one side, and the subject of this sketch on the other. The conflict was always close, and always carried on with much bitterness.

At the general election of 1857, M. Letellier was again compelled to endure defeat. Three years later he offered himself as a candidate for the Legislative Council for the Grandville Division, which includes the county of Kamouraska. His candidature on that occasion was successful, and he continued to sit in the Council until the Union. In the month of May, 1863, he was appointed Minister of Agriculture in the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Government, and upon presenting himself before his constituents he was re-elected by acclamation. This position he held until March, 1864, retaining meanwhile his seat in the Legislative Council. In May, 1867, he was called to the Senate, by royal proclamation, for the Division of Grandville. During the next five or six years he was leader of the Opposition in the Senate. The abolition of dual representation not having then been effected, he was induced in February, 1869, to offer himself as a candidate for election to the Quebec Assembly for the county of Kamouraska, and in 1871 for the county of L'Islet. He was unsuccessful in both these contests, but on each occasion the majority against him was very small, owing to the close division of party lines above referred to, which lines seem to be drawn almost as finely in L'Islet as in Kamouraska.

On the 7th of November, 1873, Sir John A. Macdonald's Ministry having resigned, a

new Government being in process of formation, M. Letellier, who had spent the whole of his political career in Opposition, was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Minister of Agriculture in the Government of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. He was also *ex-officio* Commissioner of Patents, and co-leader with the Hon. R. W. Scott for the Government in the Senate, up to the date of his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. He was also President of the Canadian Division at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, in 1875. Towards the close of the following year—on the 13th of December, 1876—the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Province of Quebec became vacant in consequence of the death of the Hon. René Edouard Caron. The vacant position was offered to, and accepted by M. Letellier de St. Just, who assumed his governmental functions on the 15th of the month.

His tenure of office was characterized, as is well known, by a series of events which produced great excitement in the minds of the people of his Province. He had not long occupied the position of Lieutenant-Governor before he began to find himself more or less at variance with certain members of the Local Government, especially with the Premier, M. De Boucherville. The variance originally arose partly from the different points of view from which they contemplated public affairs generally, and each seems to have been of opinion that the other was trying to usurp functions foreign to his office. M. De Boucherville on several occasions showed a disposition to substitute the power of the Executive for that of the ordinary Courts of Law. It is fair to add that he was urged on to this course by some of his colleagues, and that the offence was by no means confined to him alone. The Lieutenant-Governor all along manifested a good deal of firmness, and used great plainness of speech in his conferences with the Premier. By degrees the differences between them became wider

and wider, and ere long all the members of the Administration were parties to the dispute. Finally, on the 24th of March, 1878, matters were brought to a crisis. On that day it was announced to the world that the Lieutenant-Governor had dismissed his Cabinet, and was about to form a new one. The Province was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement by this announcement, which soon extended in a less degree over all the Dominion. The principal cause of disagreement between the Lieutenant-Governor and M. De Boucherville arose out of a Bill relating to the Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railway. This Bill had been introduced into the Assembly, and had actually passed that House before the Lieutenant-Governor was made acquainted with its provisions. This the Lieutenant-Governor believed to be not only an evil in itself, and an infringement upon his prerogative, but actually subversive of the Constitution. It is impossible to understand the nature of this dispute without some knowledge of the history of the measure which directly occasioned it. A few years ago, the Quebec Government, yielding to urgent petitions from the various municipalities situated along the north shore of the river St. Lawrence, agreed to assume a charter previously granted to a private company to build a railway along the north shore, from Quebec to Ottawa. The route of the projected road was laid out, and the municipalities through which it ran granted bonuses to assist in its construction. The bonuses varied in amount, and were presumed to be proportionate to the actual benefit which the respective municipalities were to derive from the projected railway. Then began a reign of wire-pulling and bribery such as the lobbyists at Washington have long been familiar with, but which we in Canada have fortunately had but little experience of. Rings, partly composed, in some cases, of members of the

Local Legislature, were formed for the securing of undue advantages in connection with this and other enterprises. The most shameless corruption was practised, and M. De Boucherville, the head of the Administration, declared his inability to restrain the evil. The location of the line was altered in places, and in many instances the original features of the undertaking were completely changed. The municipalities affected by the change of route protested, but to no purpose; and finding that their representations were of no avail, and that the agreement with them had been violated, they refused to pay over their bonuses. Here the trouble culminated. The Provincial Exchequer was empty. The work on the railway was unpaid for; contractors were clamorous, and the Government determined to appropriate the bonuses itself as the most direct way out of the difficulty. To effect this they introduced a Bill to the Assembly which, among other things, empowered the Government to determine the date of the maturity of the whole or of part of the municipal subscriptions. It then declared that no objection, exception, reason, plea, or opposition should avail to justify any of the municipalities or corporations in refusing to sign, execute, and deliver to the Treasurer of the Province its debentures, appropriated to the construction of the road, as soon as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council should have declared that the debentures might be exacted. As if these provisions were not sufficiently stringent, it was further enacted that, in the event of a municipality or corporation refusing to pay its subscriptions, or to sign and execute its debentures, the mayor or warden should be vested with authority to sign and execute them without the consent of the municipal council; and should the mayor or warden decline to act, the Government could proceed to appoint a syndic, with power to issue debentures in the name of the municipality for the amount

of its subscription. When the contents of this Bill came to the knowledge of the Lieutenant-Governor he expressed great astonishment and disapproval, and it was in resisting its adoption that he found himself at variance with his advisers. M. De Boucherville said that the measure had the sanction of the majority of the people's representatives. The Lieutenant-Governor took the ground that in his opinion the majority did not reflect the views of the people on that subject. He positively refused to accept their verdict, and asked M. De Boucherville to name his successor. This M. De Boucherville declined to do, and M. Letellier had then no resource left but to select a successor himself, and appeal to the country. M. Joly, leader of the Opposition, was asked to undertake the task of forming a new Administration, and he shortly afterwards appealed to the people on the distinct announcement that he assumed full responsibility for the course taken by the Lieutenant-Governor. His appeal was successful, the Government formed by him being sustained by a small majority. Soon afterwards, in consequence, it is presumed, of pressure brought to bear upon him by his Quebec supporters, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced into the House of Commons a motion condemnatory of M. Letellier's conduct. The motion was defeated, but the change of Government, consequent upon the elections of the following September, aroused in the opponents of the Lieutenant-Governor the hope of his dismissal by the Governor-General, on the advice of his Ministers. On the 7th of November, three gentlemen who had been members of M. De Boucherville's Government, Messrs. Chapleau, Church and Angers, took a decisive step. They addressed a petition to Sir Patrick L. Macdougall, in his official capacity, as Administrator of the Government, praying that M. Letellier might be dismissed from his office of Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. In this

petition all the grounds of dispute were set forth at great length. A copy of it was officially forwarded to M. Letellier, who formally replied to it, traversing its allegations, and defending his conduct by elaborate and well-sustained arguments. There was a subsequent rejoinder and sur-rejoinder, after which the matter was referred to the Home Government for decision. The sequel is still fresh in the memories of all readers of these pages. The Home Government declined to interfere in the matter. In the Colonial Secretary's despatch on the subject to the Governor-General of Canada, however, it was intimated that under the British North America Act the Lieutenant-Governor of a Province has an unquestionable constitutional right to dismiss his Provincial Ministers, if from any cause he feels it incumbent upon him to do so. In the exercise of this right, as of any other of his functions, he should, of course, maintain the impartiality towards rival political parties which is essential to the proper performance of the duties of his office; and for any action he may take he is, under the 59th section of the Act, directly responsible to the Governor-General. It was further intimated that the power to dismiss a Lieutenant-Governor rests with the Governor-General and the Dominion Cabinet, and not with the Governor-General alone. The latter was recommended to discuss the matter carefully with his Ministers, and to be guided by their views. Under these circumstances there was but one course open to His Excellency, who found that the minds of his Ministers were fully made up on the subject. On the 25th of July last His Excellency signed the Order in Council dismissing M. Letellier from his office. A day or two elapsed before his successor was appointed in the person of Dr. Robitaille. The interval gave occasion to a prominent Montreal newspaper to discuss the usefulness of Local Governors generally. It was asked

whether, if a Province can get along without a Lieutenant-Governor, being in the interval ruled from Ottawa, for forty-eight hours, such a functionary might not be altogether dispensed with. The final decision, so long delayed, was contrary to the expectations commonly entertained throughout the country, and may be said to have taken the public by surprise. The most opposite opinions were expressed by the various organs of opinion as to the Premier's conduct, and some of the papers in the Lower Province even went so far as to express disapproval of what they termed His Excellency's supineness. For the latter imputation there is, it is scarcely necessary to say, no justification whatever. His Excellency had no other course open to him than to submit to the advice of his Ministers. The Premier's conduct will be estimated accord-

ing to the political sympathies of the person sitting in judgment upon it. The political allies of M. Letellier throughout the Dominion felt strongly on the subject, and expressed the opinion that a great wrong had been inflicted on the late Lieutenant-Governor personally, and on the people of his Province who had stood by him and endorsed his acts. Public demonstrations in his favour were held in Quebec and elsewhere, and strong sympathy was expressed for his position. The anxiety and worry consequent upon the ordeal through which he had passed were not without effect upon M. Letellier's health, and during the few months which have elapsed since that time he has not taken any prominent part in public affairs. There has since been a change of Government in Quebec, M. Joly's Ministry having given place to that formed by M. Chapleau.

## SIR SAMUEL LEONARD TILLEY.

SAMUEL LEONARD TILLEY, son of Thomas N. Tilley, and great-grandson of Samuel Tilley, whose name figures in Sabine's "Loyalists of the American Revolution" as a grantee of the city of St. John, was born at Gagetown, Queen's County, N.B., on the 8th of May, 1818. The first twelve years of his life were passed in his native village, one of the most picturesque and inviting spots on the river St. John. He was educated here at the county grammar school. In 1830 he went to St. John, became an apothecary's apprentice, and before going into business on his own account entered the employ of Mr. Wm. O. Smith, druggist. Mr. Smith, whose death occurred in March 1871, was an exceedingly able public man, and it has been said that young Tilley received much of his political education and ambition from his old employer; though in after years he differed from him on questions of policy, Mr. Smith being a Conservative, and the future statesman an ardent Liberal.

The family name of Tilley is of Dutch origin, and was originally written "Tilly," the great grandsire of the subject of this sketch never spelling his name otherwise than without the "e." Samuel Tilly was in early life a resident of Brooklyn, New York. He was a U. E. Loyalist, and at the close of the American revolution left the United States and settled in St. John.

The fact that young Tilley belonged to

Loyalist "stock" was a signal passport to success, in a Province which is as clannish and as proud of her sons as any county in Scotland. Smart, active, of pleasing address, of irreproachable character and genial manners, he soon attracted very general attention in the commercial capital. While yet young he went into business with a gentleman who belonged to a family distinguished in the prominent politics of the time. He joined a debating society, and became a strong exponent of the temperance cause. His eloquence and argument in the former, and his zeal and fervour in the latter, soon won to his side a large number of admirers who have followed his fortunes ever since, with the same anxiety and pleasure as a mother watching the career of a favourite son. It was not, however, till 1849 that Mr. Tilley's name appeared in connection with the politics of the country. A vacancy had been caused in the House of Assembly by the elevation of the Hon. R. L. Hazen to the Legislative Council. Mr. B. Ansley was nominated for the seat by Mr. L. H. Develer, and the seconder on his paper was Mr. S. L. Tilley, who took an exceedingly active and prominent part in the election of his candidate, who was returned by a good majority, on the Protection platform. The Protective policy of the Government, however, was found to please nobody. The scheme provided for the levying of a duty of ten per cent. on all articles alike, and an





*R. Lacey*



ad valorem duty, additional, on spirits, tobacco, sugar, molasses, etc. This movement created intense dissatisfaction among merchants and consumers, and a petition, numerously signed in St. John, was sent up to the House requesting members not to pass the bill. This had the desired effect, and the tariff was changed. In this same year Mr. Tilley's name was again before the people, and this time in a much more ambitious way. He became a foremost member of the New Brunswick Railway League—an organization which was formed for the purpose of building a line of railway from St. John to Shediac. This league grew out of a five-hour indignation meeting of citizens in St. John, which was called to denounce the action of the Legislature in defeating the various schemes of railway enterprise which had been before that body during the session. The failure of the Shediac scheme, in which the hopes of so many were bound up, enraged the people beyond all reason, and a petition was at once prepared and despatched to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Edmund Walker Head, asking him to dissolve the House. Mr. Tilley's activity in this movement gave him a prominence in the affairs of his native land from which he has never receded. The general elections were held in the Province in June 1850, and Mr. Tilley's patience was rewarded by a seat in the Assembly as the representative for the city of St. John. The old coalition government was broken up, and the Reformers of that day rejoiced greatly over their success. In 1851, however, the Liberals were much exercised over the defection from their side of two of the leading men in their party, viz., the Hon. J. H. Gray, now a Supreme Court Judge in British Columbia, and the author of a History of Confederation, and the Hon. R. D. Wilmot, now Speaker of the Canadian Senate. These gentlemen entered the Government on the day their secession was

made known to their former allies and friends. Messrs. Tilley, Ritchie and Simonds were indignant, and the whole Liberal party were greatly astonished and pained at the treachery of their quondam associates. A meeting was held and an agreement made between Messrs. Tilley, Simonds, Ritchie, and W. H. Needham, that was, to say the least of it, most extraordinary. These four members issued a card to their constituents in which they put forward their views regarding the conduct of the recreant members, and asked the electors to pronounce their judgment on Messrs. Wilmot and Gray's course by their votes at the polls. Should the deserters be sustained by the people, the four representatives declared their intention of immediately relinquishing their seats in the House. The issue was placed before the electors fairly and squarely, and the fickle public choosing at a former election two men to oppose the present Government, now returned them triumphantly as members of that same ministry which had proved so obnoxious in their eyes but a few months before. Messrs. Tilley, Simonds and Ritchie at once resigned their seats in accordance with their promise. Mr. Needham, however, clung to his place in the House, and with the remark that "it was too much trouble to get there," he refused to resign. Mr. Tilley retired into private life.

In 1854 the general elections were held, and the staunch Reformer, elected by a fine majority, was offered in November a portfolio in a Liberal Government. He accepted office, and began from that day a long lease of power which has continued almost unbroken up to the present time. On two occasions he suffered defeat, but his absence from the House was, in each case, of a few months' duration only. In June, 1856, he was beaten at the polls on the Prohibitory Liquor Law question. The act had become law during the session, but

the people had expressed themselves so strongly against it that, pressure being brought to bear, the Lieutenant-Governor remonstrated with his advisers and hinted at a dissolution. The Ministry resigned, and an appeal was made to the country on the direct issue. The result was a disastrous defeat. The new Government met a House determined on a repeal of the obnoxious act. It was repealed, but on other measures the tenure of power was so slight and the smooth working of affairs so uncertain, that in the following year a dissolution took place, and Mr. Tilley and his confederes were victoriously returned to power. In a few days he was reinstated in his old position as Provincial Secretary of the Province, and shortly afterwards became leader of the Government. In these years, 1854 and 1856, two new political terms were invented which attached themselves to the fortunes of the two parties for a period extending from that day up to the date of the union of the provinces, when their usefulness ceased. These were the well known words, "Smasher," and "Stub-tail," phrases which old politicians in New Brunswick will readily recall. Their origin is of sufficient interest to note down here: indeed so popular were they at one time that "Liberal" and "Tory" readily gave place to "Smasher" and "Stub-tail," and a famous journalist predicted that they would become historic, and that the local parties would be known by them for all time to come. "Smasher" was first used in 1854. A leading member of the Legislature announced in the House that the policy of the Liberal party, should be "to the victors belong the spoils." Great objection was taken to this assertion by the Opposition, and they called the party "smashers," as it appeared they seemed disposed to break up all old usages in respect to the tenure of office. At the general election in 1856, it was alleged that the then Opposition sought to influence

votes by a liberal distribution of an inferior description of flour, the brand being "stub-tail." The result was that the party were nicknamed the "stub-tail" party.

From June, 1857, to March, 1865, Mr. Tilley remained at the head of affairs. In 1864, he went to Quebec, as one of the New Brunswick delegates to the Confederation Scheme Conference. Thirty-three representatives met together on the 10th of October, in a room in the old parliament buildings, to discuss the great project which had occupied men's minds since 1808. At one time, earlier in the year, a plan was on foot for a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces, and a conference was arranged to take place at Charlottetown, P. E. I. Thither Mr. Tilley and his confederes had gone; when some members of the Canadian Government, then on a visit to the Lower Provinces, hearing of the meeting, intimated a wish to be present. Invitations were sent to them, and they attended, and so carried the delegation away with them that the smaller scheme was thrown aside for that broader and larger confederation which was to embrace all the Provinces belonging to British North America. The greater assembly met in the ancient capital, with closed doors, and sat from day to day, until the 27th of October, when the famous "Quebec scheme," as it was popularly termed in New Brunswick, was completed. The plan proposed was for the different governments to submit the question to the Houses of Assembly in each Province, without allowing a line of its provisions to be changed. The utmost secrecy was enjoined, and until the subject should come regularly before the House it was agreed that no publication of the scheme should be made. Public curiosity had not long to wait, however, for some one did reveal the plan and scope of the design, and a Prince Edward Island newspaper by some surreptitious means secured a copy of the important

document, and published it. The people of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were filled with alarm and consternation. The greatest excitement prevailed, and war on the Confederates was instantly declared. The country was overrun with pamphlets and broadsides. Printing presses were kept going night and day; and pamphleteers on both sides exhausted themselves in finding arguments for and against the topic which was uppermost in everyone's mind. The rival parties, forgetting that they were Liberals and Tories, Smashers and Stub-tails, allied themselves under fresh banners, and were known henceforth as Confederates and Anti-Confederates. In March the elections were held, and Mr. Tilley, with all his popularity and prestige, was beaten in his stronghold by a large majority. His party suffered severely with him, and not a single member of the ill-fated conference was returned. The whole Province, with but few exceptions, pronounced an adverse opinion against the hopes and ambitions of the Confederate party, who though defeated, did not in the least despair of a later triumph. An Anti-Confederate Government was formed, under the auspices of the Hons. A. J. Smith, and George L. Hatheway, aided by a strong and vigorous support in the Assembly. But while the Lower Chamber was Anti-Confederate in its views, the Upper House was entirely the other way. That body, led by the Hon. Peter Mitchell, presented an address to the Hon. A. H. Gordon, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Cardwell, informed the representative of the Queen that the Imperial Government approved of Confederation. These and other means had their effect on the Government and the people, and a convenient Fenian excitement coming on about this time, a complete reaction immediately set in. The Smith Cabinet resigned; Mr. Tilley was sent for; a new election took place, and in 1866

the Anti-Confederates experienced even a more disastrous reverse than their opponents had endured the previous year. The Liberal Premier found only a mere corporal's guard to oppose him in the new House; and New Brunswick entered the Confederation with the almost unanimous consent of the people. Delegates from Old Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were next sent to London, to complete the terms of union; and at this conference Mr. Tilley filled no unimportant place. In 1867 he was made a C.B. (civil), as a reward for distinguished colonial services; and on resigning his seat in the New Brunswick Assembly for a seat in the Commons, he was sworn of the Canadian Privy Council, and appointed Minister of Customs in the first Cabinet of the Dominion. From November, 1868, to April, 1869, he was acting Minister of Public Works; and on the 22nd of February, 1873, he was made Minister of Finance, until his Government resigned on the 5th of November, in the same year; when he accepted the Lieutenant-Governorship of his native Province, as the successor of the Hon. Lemuel A. Wilmot. This office he held until the 11th of July, 1878, and could have retained it for a second term, had he felt so disposed; but, yielding to the importunities of his friends, and the wishes of his former colleagues, he allowed himself to be nominated in his old constituency for a seat in the Commons. The elections took place on the 17th of September, 1878; and notwithstanding his extraordinary popularity he was elected by a bare majority of nine votes. This was altogether due to his espousal of the National Policy, as a part of the platform of the Liberal Conservatives—a measure which found little favour in a city bred on the strictest principles of free trade. In October the member for St. John City accepted the portfolio of Minister of Finance, and on presenting himself for re-election he was returned by acclamation. On the 13th of February,

1879, the Fourth Parliament of the Dominion held its first session; and in due time Mr. Tilley formulated the Protective Policy of the Ministry, in a masterly speech of great power and force. This important measure was carried, after much discussion, and has since become the policy of the country. On May 24th the Finance Minister was created a Knight of the noble order of St. Michael and St. George, at an investiture of the Order held in Montreal by the Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada. The honourable gentleman also holds a patent of rank and precedence from Her Majesty, as an Ex-councillor of New Brunswick; is a Commissioner to assist the Speaker in the internal economy of the House of Commons; President of the Diocesan Church Society, N.B.; Vice-president of the Auxiliary Bible Society, Ottawa; and a local director of the Canada Life Assurance Co.

He has been twice married—first to Julia Ann, daughter of James T. Hanford, of St. John; and second, in 1867, to Alice, elder daughter of Z. Chipman, of St. Stephen, N.B.

Sir Leonard Tilley has always been a consistent temperance man, and during his occupancy of Government House no liquors of any kind were allowed to be used in his household. He is an attractive and convincing speaker, ready in debate, fond of opposition, quick at figures, and nervous and rapid in utterance. He has great tact, and fine administrative talent, and never makes an enemy of a political opponent. He has always commanded respect, and may be said to have won his present high and honourable position through his own individual efforts, unwearying industry, and an unswerving faith in himself.





Jos. Brant  
Thayendanegea



## JOSEPH BRANT.—THAYENDANEGBA.

FEW tasks are more difficult of accomplishment than the overturning of the ideas and prejudices which have been conceived in our youth, which have grown up with us to mature age, and which have finally become the settled convictions of our manhood. The overturning process is none the less difficult when, as is not seldom the case, those ideas and convictions are widely at variance with facts. Most of us have grown up with very erroneous notions respecting the Indian character—notions which have been chiefly derived from the romances of Cooper and his imitators. We have been accustomed to regard the aboriginal red man as an incarnation of treachery and remorseless ferocity, whose favourite recreation is to butcher defenceless women and children in cold blood. A few of us, led away by the stock anecdotes in worthless missionary and Sunday-school books, have gone far into the opposite extreme, and have been wont to regard the Indian as the Noble Savage who never forgets a kindness, who is ever ready to return good for evil, and who is so absurdly credulous as to look upon the pale-faces as the natural friends and benefactors of his species. Until within the last few years, no pen has ventured to write impartially of the Indian character, and no one has attempted to separate the wheat from the chaff in the generally received accounts which have come down to us from our forefathers. The

fact is that the Indian is very much what his white brother has made him. The red man was the original possessor of this continent, the settlement of which by Europeans sounded the death-knell of his sovereignty. The aboriginal could hardly be expected to receive the intruder with open arms, even if the latter had acted up to his professions of peace and good-will. It would have argued a spirit of contemptible abjectness and faintness of heart if the Indian had submitted without a murmur to the gradual encroachments of the foreigner, even if the latter had adopted a uniform policy of mildness and conciliation. But the invader adopted no such policy. Not satisfied with taking forcible possession of the soil, he took the first steps in that long, sickening course of treachery and cruelty which has caused the chronicles of the white conquest in America to be written in characters of blood. The first and most hideous butcheries were committed by the whites. And if the Indians did not tamely submit to the yoke sought to be imposed upon their necks, they only acted as human beings, civilized and uncivilized, have always acted upon like provocation. Those who have characterized the Indian as inhuman and fiendish because he put his prisoners to the torture, seem to have forgotten that the wildest accounts of Indian ferocity pale beside the undoubtedly true accounts of the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. Christian Spain—nay, even

Christian England—tortured prisoners with a diabolical ingenuity which never entered into the heart of a pagan Indian to conceive. And on this continent, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, men of English stock performed prodigies of cruelty to which parallels can be found in the history of the Inquisition alone. For the terrible records of battle, murder, torture and death, of which the history of the early settlement of this continent is so largely made up, the white man and the Christian must be held chiefly responsible. It must, moreover, be remembered that those records have been written by historians who have had every motive for distorting the truth. All the accounts that have come down to us have been penned by the aggressors themselves, and their immediate descendants. The Indians have had no chronicler to tell their version of the story. We all know how much weight should be attached to a history written by a violent partisan; for instance, a history of the French Revolution written by one of the House of Bourbon. The wonder is, not that the poor Indian should have been blackened and maligned, but that any attribute of nobleness or humanity should have been accorded to him.

Of all the characters who figure in the dark history of Indian warfare, few have attained greater notoriety, and none has been more persistently vilified than the subject of this sketch. Joseph Brant was known to us in the days of our childhood as a firm and staunch ally of the British, it is true; but as a man embodying in his own person all the demerits and barbarities of his race, and with no more mercy in his breast than is to be found in a famished tiger of the jungle. And for this unjust view of his character American historians are not wholly to blame. "Most historians of that period wrote too near the time when the events they were describing occurred, for

a dispassionate investigation of the truth; and other writers who have succeeded have been content to follow the beaten track, without incurring the labour of diligent and calm inquiry." And, as is too often the case with writers, historical and other, many of them cared less for truth than for effect. Even the author of "Gertrude of Wyoming" falsified history for the sake of a telling stanza in his beautiful poem; and when, years afterwards, Brant's son convinced the poet by documentary evidence that a grave injustice had been done to his father's memory, the poet contented himself by merely appending a note which in many editions is altogether omitted, and in those editions in which it is retained is much less likely to be read than the text of the poem itself. It was not till about forty-two years ago that anything like a comprehensive and impartial account of the life of Brant appeared. It was written by Colonel William L. Stone, from whose work the foregoing quotation is taken. Since then, several other lives have appeared, all of which have done something like justice to the subject; but they have not been widely read, and to the general public the name of Brant still calls up visions of smoking villages, raw scalps, disembowelled women and children, and ruthless brutalities more horrible still. Not content with attributing to him ferocities of which he never was guilty, the chroniclers have altogether ignored the fairer side of his character.

"The evil that men do lives after them;  
The good is oft interred with their bones."

We have carefully gone through all the materials within our reach, and have compiled a sketch of the life of the Great Chief of the Six Nations which we would fain hope may be the means of enabling readers who have not ready access to large libraries to form something like a fair and dispassionate estimate of his character.

Joseph Brant—or to give him his Indian

name, Thayendanegea—was born in the year 1742. Authorities are not unanimous as to his paternity, it being claimed by some that he was a natural son of Sir William Johnson; consequently that he was not a full-blood Indian, but a half-breed. The better opinion seems to be that none but Mohawk blood flowed through his veins, and that his father was a Mohawk of the Wolf Tribe, by name Tehowaghwengaraghkin. It is not easy to reconcile the conflicting accounts of this latter personage (whose name we emphatically decline to repeat), but the weight of authority seems to point to him as a son of one of the five sachems who attracted so much attention during their visit to London in Queen Anne's reign, and who were made the subject of a paper in the *Spectator*, by Addison, and of another in the *Tatler*, by Steele. Brant's mother was an undoubted Mohawk, and the preponderance of evidence is in favour of his being a chief by right of inheritance. His parents lived at Canajoharie Castle, in the far-famed valley of the Mohawk; but at the time of their son's birth they were far away from home on a hunting expedition along the banks of the Ohio. His father died not long after returning from this expedition. We next learn that the widow contracted an alliance with an Indian whose name was Barnet, which name, in process of time, came to be corrupted into Brant. The little boy, who had been called Joseph, thus became known as "Brant's Joseph," from which the inversion to "Joseph Brant" is sufficiently obvious. No account of his childhood has come down to us, and little or nothing is known of him until his thirteenth year, when he was taken under the patronage of that Sir William Johnson who has by some writers been credited with being his father. Sir William was the English Colonial Agent for Indian Affairs, and cuts a conspicuous figure in the colonial annals of the time. His connection with the Brant family was long and inti-

mate. One of Joseph's sisters, named Molly, lived with the baronet as his mistress for many years, and was married to him a short time before his death, in 1774. Sir William was very partial to young Brant, and took special pains to impart to him a knowledge of military affairs. It was doubtless this interest which gave rise to the story that Sir William was his father: a story for which there seems to be no substantial foundation whatever.

In the year 1755, the memorable battle of Lake George took place between the French and English colonial forces and their Indian allies. Sir William Johnson commanded on the side of the English, and young Joseph Brant, then thirteen years of age, fought under his wing. This was a tender age, even for the son of an Indian Chief, to go out upon the war-path, and he himself admitted in after years that he was seized with such a tremor when the firing began at that battle that he was obliged to steady himself by seizing hold of a sapling. This, however, was probably the first and last time that he ever knew fear, either in battle or out of it. The history of his subsequent career has little in it suggestive of timidity. After the battle of Lake George, where the French were signally defeated, he accompanied his patron through various campaigns until the close of the French war, after which he was placed by Sir William at the Moor Charity School, Lebanon, Connecticut, for the purpose of receiving a liberal English education. How long he remained at that establishment does not appear, but he was there long enough to acquire something more than the mere rudiments of the English language and literature. In after years he always spoke with pleasure of his residence at this school, and never wearied of talking of it. He used to relate with much pleasantry an anecdote of a young half-breed who was a student in the establishment. The half-breed, whose name was William,

was one day ordered by his tutor's son to saddle a horse. He declined to obey the order, upon the ground that he was a gentleman's son, and that to saddle a horse was not compatible with his dignity. Being asked to say what constitutes a gentleman, he replied—"A gentleman is a person who keeps racehorses and drinks Madeira wine, and that is what neither you nor your father do. Therefore, saddle the horse yourself." The grammar of this reply might be improved, but the sentiment was doubtless the legitimate result of the young man's daily observation.

In 1763, Thayendanegea, then twenty-one years of age, married the daughter of an Oneida chief, and two years afterwards we find him settled at Canajoharie Castle, in Mohawk Valley, where he for some years lived a life of quiet and peaceful repose, devoting himself to the improvement of the moral and social condition of his people, and seconding the efforts of the missionaries for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. Both missionaries and others who visited and were intimate with him during this time were very favourably impressed by him, and have left on record warm encomiums of his intelligence, good-breeding, and hospitality. Early in 1772 his wife died of consumption, and during the following winter he applied to an Episcopal minister to solemnize matrimony between himself and his deceased wife's sister. His application was refused, upon the ground that such a marriage was contrary to law; but he soon afterwards prevailed upon a German ecclesiastic to perform the ceremony. Not long afterwards he became seriously impressed upon the subject of religion, and experienced certain mental phenomena which in some communities is called "a change of heart." He enrolled himself as a member of the Episcopal Church, of which he became a regular communicant. The spiritual element, however, was

not the strongest side of his nature, and his religious impressions were not deep enough to survive the life of active warfare in which he was soon afterwards destined to engage. Though he always professed—and probably believed in—the fundamental truths of Christianity, he became comparatively indifferent to theological matters, except in so far as they might be made to conduce to the civilization of his people.

Sir William Johnson died in 1774. He was succeeded in his office of Colonial Agent for Indian affairs by his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson. Brant was as great a favourite with the Colonel as he had been with that gentleman's predecessor. The new agent required a private secretary, and appointed Brant to that office. The clouds that had been gathering for some time over the relations between the mother country and her American colonies culminated in the great war of the revolution. The Americans, seeing the importance of conciliating the Six Nations, made overtures to them to cast in their lot with the revolutionists. These overtures were made in vain. Brant then and ever afterwards expressed his firm determination to "sink or swim with the English;" a determination from which he never for a moment swerved down to the last hour of his life. Apart altogether from the consideration that all his sympathies impelled him to adopt this course, he felt himself bound in honour to do so, in consequence of his having long before pledged his word to Sir William Johnson to espouse the British side in the event of trouble breaking out in the colonies. Similar pledges had been given by his forefathers. Honour and inclination both pointing in the same direction, he exerted all his influence with the native tribes, who did not require much persuasion to take the royal side. Accordingly, when Colonel Guy Johnson fled westward to avoid being captured by the Americans, Brant and the principal

warriors of the Six Nations accompanied him. The latter formed themselves into a confederacy, accepted royal commissions, and took a decided stand on the side of King George. To Brant was assigned the position of Principal War Chief of the Confederacy, with the military degree of a Captain. The Crown could not have secured a more efficient ally. He is described at this time as "distinguished alike for his address, his activity and his courage; possessing in point of stature and symmetry of person the advantage of most men even among his own well-formed race; tall, erect and majestic, with the air and mien of one born to command; having been a man of war from his boyhood, his name was a tower of strength among the warriors of the wilderness. Still more extensive was his influence rendered by the circumstance that he had been much employed in the civil service of the Indian Department under Sir William Johnson, by whom he was often deputed upon embassies among the tribes of the confederacy, and to those yet more distant, upon the great lakes and rivers of the north-west, by reason of which his knowledge of the whole country and people was accurate and extensive."

In the autumn of 1775 he sailed for England, to hold personal conference with the officers of the Imperial Government. Upon his arrival in London he was received with open arms by the best society. His usual dress was that of an ordinary English gentleman, but his Court dress was a gorgeous and costly adaptation of the fashions of his own people. In this latter dress, at the instigation of that busiest of busybodies, James Boswell, he sat to have his portrait painted. The name of the artist has not been preserved, nor is the preservation of much importance, as this is the least interesting of the various pictures of Brant, the expression of the face being dull and commonplace. A much better portrait of him was painted during this visit for the Earl of

Warwick, the artist being George Romney, the celebrated painter of historical pictures and portraits. It has been reproduced by our engraver for these pages.

The effect of this visit was to fully confirm him in his loyalty to the British Crown. Early in the following spring he set sail on his return voyage. He was secretly landed on the American coast, not far from New York, from whence he made his way through a hostile country to Canada, at great peril of his life. All would it have fared with him if he had fallen into the hands of the American soldiery at that time. No such contingency occurred, however, and he reached his destination in safety. Upon his arrival in Canada he at once placed himself at the head of the native tribes, and took part in the battle of "the Cedars," about forty miles above Montreal. This engagement ended disastrously for the Americans; and after it was over, Brant did good service to the cause of humanity by preventing his savage followers from massacring the prisoners. From that time to the close of the war in 1782, Joseph Brant never ceased his exertions in the royal cause. From east to west, wherever bullets were thickest, his glittering tomahawk might be seen in the van, while his terrific war-whoop resounded above the din of strife. In those stirring times it is not easy to follow his individual career very closely; but one episode in it has been so often and so grossly misrepresented that we owe it to his memory to give some details respecting it. That episode was the massacre at Wyoming.

This affair of Wyoming can after all scarcely be called an episode in Brant's career, inasmuch as he was not present at the massacre at all, and was many miles distant at the time of its occurrence. Still, historians and poets have so persistently associated it with his name, and have been so determined to saddle upon him whatever obloquy attaches to the transaction, that a

short account of it may properly be given here.

The generally-received versions are tissues of exaggerations and absurdities from first to last. Wyoming has been uniformly represented as a terrestrial paradise; as a sort of Occidental Arcadia where the simple-hearted pious people lived and served God after the manner of patriarchal times. Stripped of the halo of romance which has been thrown around it, Wyoming is merely a pleasant, fertile valley on the Susquehanna, in the north-eastern part of the State of Pennsylvania. In the year 1765 it was purchased from the Delaware Indians by a company in Connecticut, consisting of about forty families, who settled in the valley shortly after completing their purchase. Upon their arrival they found the valley in possession of a number of Pennsylvanian families, who disputed their rights to the property, and between whom and themselves bickerings and contests were long the order of the day. Their mode of life was as little Arcadian as can well be imagined. Neither party was powerful enough to permanently oust the other; and although their warlike operations were conducted upon a small scale, they were carried on with a petty meanness, vindictiveness and treachery that would have disgraced the Indians themselves. From time to time one party would gain the upper hand, and would drive the other from the valley in apparently hopeless destitution; but the defeated ones, to whichever side they might belong, invariably contrived to re-muster their forces, and return to harass and drive out their opponents in their turn. The only purpose for which they could be induced to temporarily lay aside their disputes and band themselves together in a common cause was to repel the incursions of marauding Indians, to which the valley was occasionally subject. When the war broke out between Great Britain and the colonies, the denizens of the

valley espoused the colonial side, and were compelled to unite vigorously for purposes of self-defence. They organized a militia, and drilled their troops to something like military efficiency; but not long afterwards these troops were compelled to abandon the valley, and to join the colonial army of regulars under General Washington. On the 3rd of July, 1778, a force made up of four hundred British troops and about seven hundred Seneca Indians, under the command of Colonel John Butler, entered the valley from the north-west. Such of the militia as the exigencies of the American Government had left to the people of Wyoming arrayed themselves for defence, together with a small company of American regular troops that had recently arrived in the valley, under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler. The settlers were defeated and driven out of the valley. In spite of all efforts on the part of the British to restrain them, the Indian troops massacred a good many of the fugitives, and the valley was left a smoking ruin. But the massacre was not nearly so great as took place on several other occasions during the revolutionary war, and the burning was an ordinary incident of warfare in those troubled times. Such, in brief, is the true history of the massacre in the Wyoming valley, over which the genius of Thomas Campbell has cast a spell that will never pass away while the English language endures. For that massacre, Brant was no more responsible, nor had he any further participation in it, than had George Washington. He was not within fifty (and probably not within a hundred) miles of the valley. Had he been present his great influence would have been put forward, as it always was on similar occasions, to check the ferocity of the Indians; but it is doubtful whether even he could have prevented the massacre.

Another place with which the name of Brant is inseparably associated is Cherry

Valley. He has been held responsible for all the atrocities committed there, and even the atrocities themselves have been grossly exaggerated. There is some *show* of justice in this, inasmuch as Brant was undoubtedly present when the descent was made upon the valley. But it is not true that he either prompted the massacre or took any part in it. On the other hand, he did everything in his power to restrain it, and wherever it was possible for him to interfere successfully to prevent bloodshed he did so. Candour compels us to admit that his conduct on that terrible November day stands out in bright contrast to that of Butler, the white officer in command. Brant did his utmost to prevent the shedding of innocent blood; but even if he had been in command of the expedition, which he was not, Indians are totally unmanageable on the field of battle. There is at least evidence that he did his best to save life. Entering one of the houses, while the massacre was raging, he found there a woman quietly engaged in sewing. "Why do you not fly, or hide yourself?" he asked; "do you not know that the Indians are murdering all your neighbours, and will soon be here?" "I am not afraid," was the reply: "I am a loyal subject of King George, and there is one Joseph Brant with the Indians, who will save me." "I am Joseph Brant," responded the Chief, "but I am not in command, and I am not sure that I *can* save you; but I will do my best." At this moment the Indians were seen approaching. "Get into bed, quick," said Brant. The woman obeyed, and when the Indians reached the threshold he told them to let the woman alone, as she was ill. They departed, and he then painted his mark upon the woman and her children, which was the best assurance of safety he could give them. This was merely one of several similar acts of Brant upon that fatal day; acts which do not rest upon mere tradition, but upon evidence as strong as human testimony can make it.

It would not be edifying to follow the great Chief through the various campaigns—including those of Minisink and Mohawk Valley—in which he was engaged until the Treaty of 1782 put an end to the sanguinary war. In that Treaty, which restored peace between Great Britain and the United States, the former neglected to make any stipulation on behalf of her Indian allies. Not only was this the case: not only was Thayendanegea not so much as named in the Treaty: but the ancient country of the Six Nations, "the residence of their ancestors from the time far beyond their earliest traditions," was actually included in the territory ceded to the United States. This was a direct violation of Sir Guy Carleton's pledge, given when the Mohawks first abandoned their native valley to do battle on behalf of Great Britain, and subsequently ratified by General Haldimand, to the effect that as soon as the war should be at an end the Mohawks should be restored, at the expense of the Government, to the condition in which they had been at the beginning of the war. No sooner were the terms of the Treaty made known than Brant repaired to Quebec, to claim from General Haldimand the fulfilment of his pledge. General Haldimand received his distinguished guest cordially, and professed himself ready to keep to the spirit of his promise. It was of course impossible to fulfil it literally, as the Mohawk Valley had passed beyond British control; but the Chief expressed his willingness to accept in lieu of his former domain a tract of land on the Bay of Quinté. The General agreed that this tract should at once be conveyed to the Mohawks. The arrangement, however, was not satisfactory to the Senecas, who had settled in the Genesee Valley, in the State of New York. The Senecas were apprehensive of further trouble with the United States, and were anxious that the Mohawks should settle in their own neighbourhood, to assist them in the event of

another war. They offered the Mohawks a large tract of their own territory, but the Mohawks were determined to live only under British rule. Accordingly, it was finally arranged that the latter should have assigned to them a tract of land on the Grand River (then called the Ouse), comprehending six miles on each side of the stream, from the mouth to the source. This tract, which contains some of the most fertile land in the Province, was formally conveyed to them by an instrument under Governor Haldimand's hand and seal, in which it was stipulated that they should "possess and enjoy" it forever. The Indians, unversed in technicalities, supposed that they now had an absolute and indefeasible estate in the lands. Of course they were mistaken. Governor Haldimand's conveyance did not pass the fee, which could only be effected by a crown patent under the Great Seal.

These several negotiations occupied some time. Towards the close of the year 1785, Brant, feeling aggrieved at the non-payment of certain pecuniary losses sustained by the Mohawks during the war, again set sail for England, where in due course he arrived. As on the occasion of his former visit, he was received with the utmost consideration and respect, not by the nobility and gentry alone, but by royalty itself. He seems to have lived upon terms of equality with the best society of the British capital, and to have so borne himself as to do no discredit to his entertainers. The Baroness Riedesel, who had formerly met him at Quebec, had an opportunity of renewing acquaintance with him, and has left on record the impression which he produced upon her. She writes: "His manners are polished. He expresses himself with great fluency, and was much esteemed by General Haldimand. His countenance is manly and intelligent, and his disposition very mild."

During this visit a dramatic episode oc-

curred which occupies a conspicuous place in all books devoted to Brant's life. The present writer has told the story elsewhere as follows:

One gusty night in the month of January, 1786, the interior of a certain fashionable mansion in the West End of London presented a spectacle of amazing gorgeousness and splendour. The occasion was a masquerade given by one of the greatest of the city magnates; and as the entertainment was participated in by several of the nobility, and by others in whose veins ran some of the best blood in England, no expense had been spared to make the surroundings worthy of the exalted rank of the guests. Many of the dresses were of a richness not often seen, even in the abodes of wealth and fashion. The apartments were brilliantly lighted, and the lamps shone upon as quaint and picturesque an assemblage as ever congregated in Mayfair. There were gathered together representatives of every age and clime, each dressed in the garb suited to the character meant to be personified. Here, a magnificently-attired Egyptian princess of the time of the Pharaohs languished upon the arm of an English cavalier of the Restoration. There, high-ruffed ladies of Queen Elizabeth's court conversed with mail-clad Norman warriors of the time of the Conqueror. A dark-eyed Jewess who might have figured at the court of King Solomon jested and laughed with a beau of Queen Anne's day. If the maiden blushed at some of the broad jokes of her companion, her blushes were hidden by the silken mask which, in common with the rest of the guests, she wore upon the upper part of her face, and which concealed all but the brilliancy of her eyes. Cheek by jowl with a haughty Spanish Hidalgo stood a plaided Highlander, with his dirk and claymore. Athenian orators, Roman tribunes, Knights of the Round Table, Scandinavian Vikings and Peruvian Incas jostled one another



against the rich velvet and tapestry which hung from ceiling to floor. Truly, a motley assemblage, and one well calculated to impress the beholder with the transitoriness of mortal fame. In this miscellaneous concourse the occupants of the picture frames of all the public and private galleries of Europe seemed to have been restored to life, and personally brought into contact for the first time. And though, artistically speaking, they did not harmonize very well with each other, the general effect was in the highest degree marvellous and striking.

But of all the assembled guests, one in particular is the cynosure of all eyes—the observed of all observers. This is the cleverest masquer of them all, for there is not a single detail, either in his dress, his aspect or his demeanour, which is not strictly in conformity with the character he represents. He is clad in the garb of an American Indian. He is evidently playing the part of one of high dignity among his fellows, for his apparel is rich and costly, and his bearing is that of one who has been accustomed to rule. The dress is certainly a splendid make-up, and the wearer is evidently a consummate actor. How proudly he stalks from room to room, stately, silent, leonine, majestic. Lara himself—who, by the way, had not then been invented—had not a more chilling mystery of mien. He is above the average height—not much under six feet—and the nodding plumes of his crest make him look several inches taller than he is in reality. His tomahawk, which hangs loosely exposed at his girdle, glitters like highly-polished silver; and the handle which ever and anon toys with the haft is long and bony. The dark, piercing eyes seem almost to transfix every one upon whom they rest. One half of the face seems to be covered by a mask, made to imitate the freshly-painted visage of a Mohawk Indian when starting out upon the war path. He is evidently bent upon preserving a strict incognito, for

the hours pass by, and still no one has heard the sound of his voice. The curiosity of the other guests is aroused, and, pass from room to room as often as he may, a numerous train follows in his wake. One of the masquers composing this train is arrayed in the loose vestments of a Turk, and indeed is suspected to be a genuine native of the Ottoman Empire who has been sent to England on a diplomatic mission. Being emboldened by the wine he has drunk, the Oriental determines to penetrate the mystery of the dusky stranger. He approaches the seeming Indian, and after various ineffectual attempts to arrest his attention, lays violent hold of the latter's nose. Scarcely has he touched that organ when a blood-curdling yell, such as has never before been heard within the three kingdoms, resounds through the mansion.

"Ah, then and there was hurrying to and fro!"

The peal of the distant drum did not spread greater consternation among the dancers at Brussels on the night before Waterloo. What wonder that female lips blanched, and that even masculine cheeks grew pale? That yell was the terrible war-whoop of the Mohawks, and came hot from the throat of the mysterious unknown. The truth flashed upon all beholders. The stranger was no disguised masquerader, but a veritable brave of the American forest. Of this there could be no doubt. No white man that ever lived could learn to give utterance to such an ejaculation. The yell had no sooner sounded than the barbarian's tomahawk leapt from its girdle. He sprang upon the luckless Turk, and twined his fingers in the poor wretch's hair. For a second the tomahawk flashed before the astonished eyes of the spectators; and then, before the latter had time—even if they could have mustered the courage—to interfere, its owner gently replaced it in his girdle, and indulged in a low chuckle of laughter. The amazed and

terrified guests breathed again, and in another moment the mysterious stranger stood revealed to the company as Joseph Brant, the renowned warrior of the Six Nations, the steady ally of the British arms, and the terror of all enemies of his race. Of course the alarm soon quieted down, and order was restored. It was readily understood that he had never intended to injure the terrified Oriental, but merely to punish the latter's impertinence by frightening him within an inch of his life. Probably, too, that feeling of self-consciousness from which few minds are altogether free, impelled him to take advantage of the interest and curiosity which his presence evidently inspired, to create an incident which would long be talked about in London drawing-rooms, and which might eventually be handed down to posterity.

The anecdotes preserved of his stay in London at this time are almost innumerable. He was a great favourite with the King and his family, notwithstanding the fact that when he was first introduced at Court he declined to kiss His Majesty's hand; adding, however, with delightful *naïveté*, that he would gladly kiss the hand of the Queen. The Prince of Wales also took great delight in his company, and occasionally took him to places of questionable repute—or rather, to places as to the disrepute of which there was no question whatever, and which were pronounced by the Chief to be “very queer places for a prince to go to.” His envoy was successful, and his stay in London, which was prolonged for some months, must have been very agreeable, as “he was caressed by the noble and great, and was alike welcome at Court and at the banquets of the heir-apparent.” After his return to America his first act of historical importance was to attend the great Council of the Indian Confederacy in the far west. He used his best endeavours to preserve peace between the Western Indians and the United States, and steadily opposed the

confederation which led to the expedition of Generals St. Clair and Wayne. We next find him engaged in settling his people upon the tract which had been granted to them on the banks of the Grand River. The principal settlement of the Mohawks was near the bend of the river, just below the present site of the city of Brantford. They called the settlement “Mohawk Village.” The name still survives, but all traces of the village itself have disappeared. Brant built the little church which still stands there, and in which service has been held almost continuously every Sunday since its bell first awoke the echoes of the Canadian forest. Brant himself took up his abode in the neighbourhood for several years, and did his best to bring his dusky subjects under the influence of civilization. In order to facilitate his passage across the Grand River he threw a sort of temporary boom across, at a spot not far from where the iron bridge now spans the stream at Brantford. From this circumstance the place came to be known as “Brant's ford;” and when, years afterwards, a village sprang up close by, the name of “Brantford” was given to it.

The Indians had not been long settled at Mohawk Village before difficulties began to arise between them and the Canadian Government as to the nature of the title to their lands. The Indians, supposing their title to be an absolute one, began to make leases and sales to the white settlers in the neighbourhood. To this proceeding the Government objected, upon the ground that the Crown had a pre-emptive right, and that the land belonged to the Indians only so long as they chose to occupy it. Many conferences were held, but no adjustment satisfactory to the Indians was arrived at. There has been a good deal of subsequent legislation and diplomacy over this vexed question, but so far as any unfettered power of alienation of the lands is concerned Governor Haldimand's

grant was practically a nullity, and so remains to this day. These disputes embittered the Chief's declining years, which were further rendered unhappy by petty dissensions among the various tribes composing the Six Nations; dissensions which he vainly endeavoured to permanently allay. Another affliction befel him in the shape of a dissipated and worthless son, whom he accidentally killed in self-defence. The last few years of his life were passed in a house built by him at Wellington Square, now called Burlington, a few miles from Hamilton. He had received a grant of a large tract of land in this neighbourhood, and he built a homestead there in or about the year 1800. Here he kept up a large establishment, including seven or eight negro servants who had formerly been slaves. He exercised a profuse and right royal hospitality, alike towards the whites and the Indian warriors who gathered round him. On the first of May in each year he used to ride up with his coach-and-four, to Mohawk Village, to attend the annual Indian festival which was held there. On these occasions he was generally attended by a numerous retinue of servants in livery, and their procession used to strike awe into the minds of the denizens of the settlements through which they passed.

He died at his house at Wellington Square, after a long and painful illness, on the 24th November, 1807, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His last thoughts were for his people, on whose behalf he had fought so bravely, and whose social and moral improvement he had been so desirous to promote. His nephew, leaning over his bed, caught the last words that fell from his lips: "Have pity on the poor Indians; if you can get any influence with the great, endeavour to do them all the good you can."

His remains were removed to Mohawk Village, near Brantford, and interred in the yard of the little church which he had built many years before, and which was the

first Christian church erected in Upper Canada. And there, by the banks of the Grand River,

"After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

Sufficient has been said in the course of the preceding sketch to enable the reader to form a tolerably correct idea of the character of this greatest representative of the heroic Six Nations. No expression of opinion was ever more unjust than that which has persistently held him up to the execration of mankind as a monster of cruelty. That the exigencies of his position compelled him to wink at many atrocities committed by his troops is beyond question. That, however, was a necessary incident of Indian warfare; nay, of *all* warfare; and after a careful consultation and comparison of authorities we can come to no other conclusion than that, for an Indian, reared among the customs and traditions of the Six Nations, Joseph Brant was a humane and kind-hearted man. No act of perfidy was ever brought home to him. He was a constant and faithful friend, and, though stern, by no means an implacable enemy. His dauntless courage and devotion to his people have never been seriously questioned. The charges of self-seeking and speculation which Red Jacket attempted to fasten upon him only served to render his integrity more apparent than it would otherwise have been. He was not distinguished for brilliant flights of eloquence, as were Tecumseh and Cornstalk; but both his speeches and writings abound with a clear, sound common-sense, which was quite as much to the purpose in his dealings with mankind. His early advantages of education were not great, but he made the best use of his time, and some of his correspondence written during the latter years of his life would not discredit an English statesman. He translated a part of the prayers and services of the Church of England, and also a portion

of the Gospels, into the Mohawk language, and towards the close of his life made some preparation for a voluminous history of the Six Nations. This latter work he did not live to carry out. In his social, domestic and business relations he was true and honest, and nothing pleased him better than to diffuse a liberal and genial hospitality in his own home. Taking him for all in all, making due allowance for the frailties and imperfections incidental to humanity, we must pronounce Joseph Brant to have possessed in an eminent degree many of the qualities which go to make a good and a great man.

Brant was thrice married. By his first wife, Margaret, he had two children, Isaac and Christina, whose descendants are still living. By his second wife he had no issue. His third wife, Catharine, whom he married in 1780, survived him, and was forty-eight years of age at the time of his death. She was the eldest daughter of the head chief of the Turtle tribe, the tribe first in dignity among the Mohawks. By the usages of that nation, upon her devolved the right of naming her husband's successor in the chieftaincy. The canons governing the descent of the chieftaincy of the Six Nations recognize, in a somewhat modified form, the doctrine of primogeniture; but the inheritance descends through the female line, and the surviving female has a right, if she so pleases, to appoint any of her own male offspring to the vacant sovereignty. Catharine Brant exercised her right by appointing to that dignity John Brant, her third and youngest son. This youth, whose Indian name was Ahyouwaighs, was at the time of his father's death only thirteen years of age. He was born at Mohawk village, on the 27th of September, 1794, and received a liberal English education. Upon the breaking out of the war of 1812 the young chief took the field with his warriors, on behalf of Great Britain, and was engaged in

most of the actions on the Niagara frontier, including the battles of Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane, and Beaver Dams. When the war closed in 1815 he settled at "Brant House," the former residence of his father, at Wellington Square. Here he and his sister Elizabeth dispensed a cheerful hospitality for many years. In 1821 he visited England for the purpose of trying to do what his father had failed in doing; viz., to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the disputes between the Government and the Indians respecting the title of the latter to their lands. His mission, however, was unsuccessful. While in England he called upon the poet Campbell, and endeavoured to induce that gentleman to expunge certain stanzas from the poem of "Gertrude of Wyoming"—with what success has already been mentioned.

In the year 1827 Ahyouwaighs was appointed by the Earl of Dalhousie to the rank of Captain, and also to the superintendency of the Six Nations. In 1832 he was elected as a member of the Provincial Parliament for the county of Haldimand, but his election was contested and eventually set aside, upon the ground that many of the persons by whose votes he had been elected were merely lessees of Indian lands, and not entitled, under the law as it then stood, to exercise the franchise. Within a few months afterwards, and in the same year, he was carried off by cholera, and was buried in the same vault as his father. He was never married, and left no issue. His sister Elizabeth was married to William Johnson Kerr, a grandson of that same Sir William Johnson who had formerly been a patron of the great Thayendanegea. She died at Wellington Square in April, 1834, leaving several children, all of whom are since dead. By his third wife Brant had several other children, whose descendants are still living in various parts of Ontario. His widow died at the advanced age of

seventy-eight years, on the 24th of November, 1837, being the thirtieth anniversary of her husband's death.

The old house in which Joseph Brant died at Wellington Square is still in existence, though it has been so covered in by modern improvements that no part of the original structure is outwardly visible. Mr. J. Simeoe Kerr, a son of Brant's daughter Elizabeth, continued to reside at the old homestead down to the time of his death in 1875. It has since been leased and refitted for a summer hotel, and is now known as "Brant House." The room in which the old chief was so unhappy as to slay his son is pointed out to visitors, with stains—said to be the original blood-stains—on the floor. Among the historical objects in the immediate neighbourhood is a gnarled oak, nearly six feet in diameter at the base, known as "The Old Council Tree," from the fact that the chief and other dignitaries of the Six Nations were wont to hold conferences beneath its spreading branches. Close by is a mound where lie the bodies of many of Brant's Indian contemporaries, buried, native fashion, in a circle, with the feet converging to a centre.

Thirty years ago the wooden vault in which Brant's remains and those of his son John were interred had become dilapidated. The Six Nations resolved upon constructing a new one of stone, and re-interring the remains. Brant was a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity in his day, and the various Masonic lodges throughout the neighbourhood lent their aid to the Indians in their undertaking. The project was finally carried out on the 27th of November, 1850. There was an immense gathering at Mohawk village on the occasion, which is generally referred to as "Brant's second funeral." The Indians and whites vied with each other in doing honour to the memory of the departed chief. The remains were interred in a more spacious vault, over which a plain granite

tomb was raised. Upon the slab which covers the aperture is the following inscription:

This Tomb  
Is erected to the memory of  
THAYENDANEGEA, or  
CAPT. JOSEPH BRANT.

Principal Chief and  
Warrior of  
The Six Nations Indians,  
By his Fellow Subjects,  
Admirers of his Fidelity and  
Attachment to the  
British Crown.

Born on the Banks of the  
Ohio River, 1742, died at  
Wellington Square, U.C., 1807.

It also contains the remains  
Of his son Ahyouwaghs, or

CAPT. JOHN BRANT,  
Who succeeded his father as

TEKARIHOGEA,

And distinguished himself  
In the war of 1812-15.

Born at the Mohawk Village, U.C., 1794;  
Died at the same place, 1832.

Erected 1850.

This sketch would be incomplete without some allusion to the project which was set in motion about six years ago, having for its object the erection of a suitable monument to the great Chief's memory. On the 25th of August, 1874, His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin, in response to an invitation from the Six Nations, paid them a visit at their Council House, in the township of Tuscarora, a few miles below Brantford. He was entertained by the chiefs and warriors, who submitted to him, for transmission to England, an address to His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, who had been enrolled an Honorary Chief of the Confederacy on the occasion of his visit to Canada in 1869. The

address, after referring to Brant's many and important services to the British Crown, expressed the anxious desire of his people to see a fitting monument erected to his memory. Lord Dufferin transmitted the address, and received Prince Arthur's assurances of his approval of, and good will towards, the undertaking. A committee, consisting of many of the leading officials and residents of the Dominion, was at once formed, and a subscription list was opened at the Bank of British North America, at Brantford. A good many contributions have since come in, but the fund is still insufficient to enable the committee to carry out their project in a fitting manner. We have referred to the fact that no village is now in existence at Mohawk. The Indians have deserted the neighbourhood and taken up their quarters elsewhere. Brant's tomb by the old church, being in an out-of-the-way spot, remote from the haunts of men, has fallen a prey to the sacrilegious hands of tourists and others, who have shamefully mutilated it by the repeated chipping-off of fragments which have been carried away as relics. It is proposed to place the new monument in the centre of Victoria Park, opposite the Court House, in Brantford, where it will be under the surveillance of the local authorities, and where there will be no danger of mutilation. That Brant's memory deserves such a tribute is a matter as to which there can be no differ-

ence of opinion, and the undertaking is one that deserves the hearty support of the Canadian people. We owe a heavy debt to the Indians; a heavier debt than we are likely to pay. We have not, perhaps, been utterly unmindful of our obligations to them; nor have we, like our neighbours across the lines, carried on against them a systematic course of robbery and spoliation. We have not set ourselves deliberately to work to kill them off with fire-water, nor have we in anywise carried on against them a war of extermination. But, on the other hand, we have been too much accustomed to treat and think of them as a dwindling race of mere barbarians; as a people whose doom has long since been pronounced; as hindrances to civilization, which have been imposed upon us by the ruthless force of circumstances. That the Indian, in his higher development, is something more than a barbarian, does not, at the present day, stand in any need of proof. But it is incumbent upon us to keep faith, even with barbarians. It becomes us to prove that we are not insensible to courageous deeds done in our behalf, and to true fealty gratuitously rendered to us at a time when the market-price of fealty was high. It does not reflect credit upon our national sense of gratitude that no fitting monument marks our appreciation of the services of those two great Indians, Brant and Tecumseh.







## SIR GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER.

IN the village of St. Antoine, in the county of Verchères, was born, on the 6th of September, 1814, George Etienne Cartier. It was claimed for him that he was descended from one of the nephews of Jacques Cartier, the adventurous Breton navigator, who showed to France the ocean pathways to a Western Empire. But George Etienne stood in no need of the dim and flickering lustre reflected from remote family achievement. He made for himself, in the history of his country, a name and a fame which, by right of native ability and resolute and fortunate effort, are permanently his own.

His immediate ancestors were of the better class of French Canadians. His grandfather, a successful merchant, was one of the first members chosen for the county of Verchères, when the Constitutional Act of 1791 gave to Lower Canada the right to representative institutions. In Lower Canada, in the early days of George Etienne Cartier, two avocations possessed, and still possess, a strong attraction for the more gifted amongst the younger population. These avocations were the Church and the Bar. Cartier chose the latter. To qualify himself for his intended profession, he pursued, for eight years, a course of study at the College of St. Sulpice, in the city of Montreal. There is no tradition to show that he was a brilliant student. In this respect he adds another to the number of eminent men who reserved, not for the ideal world of

the school-room, but for the actual world of after life, powers and faculties previously unsuspected, because undisplayed. After leaving college he entered upon the study of the law; in 1835 he began practice in the city of Montreal. The legal profession, crowded at that period, over-crowded at the present time, still affords, to use the simile of Daniel Webster, "room in the upper story." To that place of vantage Cartier made his way. The explanation of his success is not far to seek. He possessed at that time, and until the end of his life, an industry that never knew cessation, an energy that never faltered, and an ever-present consciousness of his own ability.

But, for young Cartier, another pursuit besides law presented imperative claims to attention. This was politics. To him, and to the majority of his countrymen, they seemed to mean political existence, and the preservation of their language and institutions. Cartier had scarcely begun the practice of his profession when he was drawn into the vortex. Louis Joseph Papineau, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly since the year 1817, had been flaming, like a portentous meteor, in the troubled sky of Canadian politics. Under his influence, Cartier, like the overwhelming majority of French-Canadians, fell. It was no wonder. Papineau was an impetuous leader; he had a popular cause; he appeared to be fighting an unequal battle. To narrate in detail the causes which created a leader out of Papineau,

and which attracted to his banner all the more enthusiastic among the French-Canadians, would be to fill volumes: to write a history of a country, and not the brief biography of a man. But a few words may serve to convey a faint idea of the political condition of Lower Canada, at the time when Cartier ventured into the perilous pathways of the Provincial politics of that epoch.

From the conquest of Canada, in 1760, to 1791 (the year of the passing of the Constitutional Act), Canada was a portion of the British Empire, but was an alien in respect to British institutions. This Act divided what was known as the Province of Quebec into two new Provinces—Upper and Lower Canada. A Legislature was, by the Act, established in each Province. It consisted of a House of Assembly and a Legislative Council. The people elected the Assembly; the Crown nominated the Council. Herein lay the monstrous defect of the Constitutional Act; the poisonous leaven that corrupted the body politic in Upper and Lower Canada; the pestilent germ that developed into outrageous misgovernment, jeopardy of British connection, and ultimate rebellion. The Upper House, nominated by the Crown, was not only irresponsible to the people, but set their wishes at absolute defiance. The popular Assembly might pass necessary measures; the Council expunged the provisions that made them useful, or trampled them under foot. The oligarchy, which was continually in a minority in the Assembly, but always in a majority in the Council, lorded it over Lower Canada in contemptuous indifference to the wishes of the French Canadian majority.\* The Governor, who was commissioned to represent the King,

was the mere puppet of the oligarchy. While they flattered him they ruled him, and cajoled while they enslaved. Thus, for long and weary years, was enacted the wretched drama of despotism under a constitutional mask. There seemed no sign of relief. The Governors and the oligarchy, by their machinations, had gained the ear of the Imperial authorities, and tricked them into the belief that to rule in contempt of British institutions was the only means of perpetuating British rule in Upper and Lower Canada. With the intention to act justly, the British Government, above all others, seemed, at this period, to be beyond the reach of the warnings of experience; seemed doomed never to know the truths as to the dismal history of colonial misgovernment. The loss of the thirteen Colonies had been a lesson taught in vain. Not until the Earl of Durham, in a state paper which eclipses, for ability, conscientiousness, vast industry, and fearless truthfulness, any other of the kind in the diplomatic literature of the British American Colonies—not until he laid bare the ulcers and festering wounds on the Canadian body politic, did the Imperial authorities learn the truth, and set themselves to prepare a remedy. In the year 1837 the patience and prudence of the French-Canadian leaders gave way. The pleading for Reform had been scouted as treason; now insurrection was about to take the place of argument. Among the deplorable elements engendered in the long struggle for a better state of things was that of race-hatred. For this dangerous passion, Papineau, often violent in language and unwise in denunciation, was more responsible than his opponents. To this passion, Cartier, even in his hot youth, would not surrender himself. But, when the movement which Papineau for nearly a quarter of a century had fostered, burst away from his control, and leapt from agitation into rebellion, George Etienne Cartier,

\* It is but justice, however, to the Legislative Council of Lower Canada to say that, on more than one occasion, in those times of political tumult, the refusal of that body to yield to the Legislative Assembly was the means of preserving British connection, and of preventing the interests of the British minority from being sacrificed.

throwing to the winds considerations of selfishness and prudence, boldly took his life in his hand, and appealed to the arbitrament of the sword.

The autumn of 1837 was ominous of coming troubles. The Government, even if no other sources of information had been at their command, could not fail to perceive in the speeches of the more impetuous of the French Canadian leaders that an appeal to arms was in immediate contemplation.

After waiting for a period which to their friends seemed perilously prolonged, the authorities determined at length to grapple with the incipient insurrection.

On the 16th of November, 1837, warrants for high treason were issued against the Montreal agitators who were inciting the people to rebellion. Papineau was included in the number, but he had been warned in time. He placed the St. Lawrence between himself and arrest, and made good his way towards the Richelieu River. His arrival in that locality brought to a focus the latent elements of revolt. The disaffected peasantry of the surrounding districts trooped to their headquarters, a village named De-lartzeh, in the parish of St. Charles.

But, in addition to the encampment at St. Charles, there was another and more memorable mustering-place of the "patriots." This was at St. Denis, on the Chambly River. The leader of the patriots was Dr. Wolfred Nelson, a man whose energy, courage and principles won him the unshaken confidence of the peasantry.

At St. Denis we find George Etienne Cartier.

A British Force under Colonel Gore, a Waterloo veteran, was sent against St. Denis. Accompanying the expedition was a deputy-sheriff armed with a warrant for the arrest of Dr. Wolfred Nelson on a charge of high treason.

On the morning of the 23rd of November, 1837, the troops, after a twelve hours' march

through the sloughs, mud, and pit-falls of a winter road in Lower Canada, approached the village of St. Denis. A contemporary account thus narrates the result of the attack on the position of the insurgents:—

"The necessary orders were given for the troops to advance; an order which was promptly obeyed, notwithstanding the harassing and fatiguing march of the night. Towards the north-eastern entrance of the village of St. Denis there is a large stone house, of three or four stories, which was discovered to be full of armed men, who opened a sharp and galling fire upon the troops. The skirmishing party here consisted of the light company of the 32nd, under Captain Markham. Within a quarter of an hour after the firing commenced, Captain Markham was severely wounded in the leg; and, almost at the same moment, received two dangerous wounds in the neck, which brought him to the ground. In conveying him to the rear, he received another wound, a proof of the dexterity and precision of the fire kept up by the patriots. It was found by Colonel Gore that the infantry, deprived of the assistance of Colonel Wetherall's force, was inadequate to cope with the terrible fire of musketry that was kept up and directed against them from the stone house. The field-piece, accordingly, was brought to bear upon this fort of the insurgent army, and injured it considerably, sending many of the inmates to their final account. Notwithstanding, as the ammunition was nearly exhausted, it was deemed prudent to retire, in order to maintain the communication with Sorel, as many of the inhabitants were seen gathering from all directions to the scene of action. About half-past two in the afternoon, the order to fall back was given; and, with the loss of six men killed and ten wounded, a retreat was commenced. The roads were so bad it was impossible to get farther than three miles that night, and Colonel Gore was

under the necessity of bivouacking till daylight of Friday morning (24th), when he again commenced his march upon Sorel, which he reached that afternoon."

On the 25th of November, 1837, Lieutenant-Colonel Wetherall and a British force drove the patriots from their position at St. Charles. A few days after this event Colonel Gore, with his command reinforced, marched upon St. Denis. But the victory at St. Charles had caused defections in the ranks of Dr. Nelson. He did not await a second attack, but abandoned his position, and sought to make his escape to the United States. Thus ended the operations on the Richelieu, and with them the rebellion south of the River St. Lawrence.

George E. Cartier was with Dr. Nelson in the combat at St. Denis. In after life, a political opponent would sometimes taunt him with cowardice on that occasion. To such reproaches he never replied, and hence there were some persons who suspected that there might be truth in the accusation. But Cartier himself knew better, and could afford to be silent. Ten years or so after St. Denis his conduct was described by Dr. Nelson, who was qualified to speak on the subject. In *La Minerve*, of Montreal, under date of September 4th, 1848, Dr. Nelson's "attestation," dated Montreal, 21st August, 1848, was published in French. "Seeing," says the Doctor, "that an appeal has been made to me to give my testimony concerning certain events at St. Denis, in 1837, I will do so in the interests of truth and justice. I owe this to my friends, and to the country in general.

"It is true that *M. Henri Cartier*\* remarked that it would be well to retreat, seeing the destruction caused by the discharges of the enemy, the want of muni-

tions, and the flight of a number of persons of consequence. I strongly opposed this retreat; but, notwithstanding that, M. Henri Cartier vigorously supported us during all the day. M. GEORGE CARTIER never made allusion to the retreat, and he, like his cousin, M. H. Cartier, valiantly and effectively contributed to the success of this struggle. And these gentlemen only left me when I was myself obliged to leave, nine days after this event, when the second expedition of troops moved against St. Denis; resistance then having become impossible. I sent M. George Cartier, towards two o'clock in the afternoon, for some stores to St. Antoine, and he promptly returned with succour, after about an hour's absence. M. George Cartier did not wear a *tuque bleu*\* on the day of the battle.

"WOLFRED NELSON.

"MONTREAL, 21st August, 1848."

The authority of Dr. Wolfred Nelson must be accepted as conclusive evidence respecting the personal courage of Cartier, who, it would seem, acted in the capacity of Aide-de-camp to the valiant Doctor. Cartier, at this battle, was in the twenty-third year of his age. It was also charged against him by some of his political opponents that, for his participation in the events of 1837, a reward was offered for his head. The present writer has not been able to verify this fact. The name of Cartier does not appear in the lists of those for whose apprehension the Governor proclaimed rewards. Some time after the fight at St. Denis, Cartier took refuge in the United States. Although he was unnamed in the proclamations, his course of action was well known to the Government. He would have been arrested at the time if it had been possible, and his fate would probably have been like that of his

\* The italics and small capitals are in the original.

\* The *tuque bleu* is the blue woollen night-cap, the distinctive national head-dress of the *habitants*.

commander at St. Denis—banishment. He returned secretly from the United States to Canada, and remained in hiding for a time. His seclusion, however, was not of very long duration. An intimation from the authorities assured him that on presenting himself in public he would not be arrested. The promise was faithfully kept.

The result of M. Cartier's participation in the rebellion of 1837 was that for nearly ten years after its close he took no active part in public life. In 1848, yielding to the pressure of his friends, he was returned to Parliament as the representative of his native county of Verchères. He could not have made his entry into public life at a more favourable moment for a man of the liberal tendencies which then dominated him. The Governor-General was the Earl of Elgin, the greatest man, with the exception of the Earl of Durham, ever commissioned by the British Government to perform the functions of Viceroy of Canada. The Lafontaine-Baldwin Cabinet, never before or since excelled for ability and administrative talent, swayed the political destinies of the Province. A seat in the House of Assembly, for two sessions, in the time of Baldwin and Lafontaine, was in itself a political education. Cartier was an apt learner. In the session of 1850 he showed how well he understood the needs of his native Province. In that year Lafontaine proposed, in the House of Assembly, a series of resolutions for the abolition of the Seigniorial Tenure. Like every other abuse which has the plea of age for its defence, the Seigniorial System found determined advocates. But its opponents were not only more numerous, but had an infinitely better cause. Some great debates arose on this subject, for it was one that went home to the whole body of the French Canadian peasantry. It appealed, also, to the dearest interests of the seigneurs. Cartier was one of those who offered strong opposition to

the tenure. As the representative of a purely agricultural country he could take no other course, but the position he assumed was in accordance with his convictions. In his place in the House he boldly stated that that portion of the Province which had been settled under the Seigniorial Tenure had not made as much progress as the part which had been settled under the Free Tenure. He contended that it was as much the advantage of the seigneur as of the tenant to abolish the Feudal System; and that the proper time for so doing had presented itself. The general opinion of the House was that the session was too far advanced to deal effectively with the question. It was also considered that the seigneurs had not had time enough afforded them to plead their cause. The Hon. Robert Baldwin and M. Cartier were in favour of settling the Seigniorial question at once, and would have prolonged the session for that purpose; but M. Lafontaine refused to consent. He considered that the legal remedies proposed would not lead to a definite settlement of the problem. He had no desire to reform and perpetuate the Tenure; he wished to sweep it out of existence.

The Tenure was abolished in the year 1854, by the Hincks-Morin Administration. Those two leaders having retired in 1855, Sir Edmund Head, then Governor-General, called upon Sir Allan Macnab to form a Cabinet. Sir Allan allied himself with Col. E. P. Taché; and the latter, on the 27th of January, 1855, selected M. Cartier as Provincial Secretary. He was not eager for office. Under the previous Administration he had refused the position of Commissioner of Public Works.

The Legislature, in 1856, devoted a great deal of attention to the subject of public education. M. Cartier entered heartily into the question. He had the principal share in preparing two measures which were adopted by the House. The one provided

for the establishment of a Council of Public Instruction for Lower Canada, and for allowing school municipalities to levy their own quotas. The other authorized the establishment of Normal Schools in Lower Canada, and created a permanent fund of \$88,000, to be devoted to superior education in that Province. Part of this money was made up out of the revenues of the Jesuits' estates; \$20,000 of it came from the Consolidated Fund. A sum of \$20,000 was at the same time voted for the purposes of superior education in Upper Canada.

The Opposition endeavoured to alter these two measures. It was contended that the distribution of \$88,000 by the Superintendent of Education, under an Order in Council, would be placing means of corruption in the hands of the Government. It was further contended that it was unconstitutional to deprive the House of Assembly of the right to vote, annually, the public moneys. The arguments of the Opposition were sound, but were urged in vain, and the Government measures were carried.

The Macnabb-Taché Administration, in 1856, fell to pieces. There was weakness within its membership. There was, in addition, the disturbing question of the settlement of the seat of Government. The House, at the end of a long and exciting debate, resolved that, after the year 1859, the city of Quebec should be the permanent capital of Canada. A considerable number of the representatives of Upper Canada were discontented with this arrangement. They considered that Quebec was too far removed from the centre of the Province.

The Government, in accordance with the Resolution of the House, placed in the estimates the sum of \$200,000 for the erection of Public Buildings. The Hon. Luther Hamilton Holton proposed the following amendment:—

"That the conduct of the Administration on the subject of the question of the seat

of Government, and on other questions of public importance, has disappointed the just expectation of the great majority of the people of this Province."

The discussion which followed lasted some days. The amendment of Mr. Holton was defeated by a majority of twenty-three. But, among the forty-seven yeas, were thirty-three members from Upper Canada; while, from that Province, twenty-seven only voted with the Ministry. The vote was followed by the resignation of two members of the Government, Messrs. Spence and Morrison. These gentlemen belonged to the Upper Canada section of the Ministry. The Hon. John A. Macdonald was the next to secede. He was of opinion that the vote on the question of the capital had weakened the Government, and as there was no security that the same votes would not be repeated he thought it best to remain no longer in the Cabinet. The Hon. Mr. Cayley, also from Upper Canada, followed the footsteps of Mr. Macdonald. Sir Allan Macnabb was reluctantly forced to resign. The Governor-General requested Colonel Taché to form a new Administration. He chose for his colleague the Hon. John A. Macdonald, in the stead of Sir Allan Macnabb. The new Ministry was virtually a continuation of the old one, with two exceptions: Mr. Vankoughnet replaced Sir Allan Macnabb in the Upper Canada section; Mr. Terril replaced Mr. Drummond in the Lower Canada section.

M. Cartier, in passing from one Ministry to the other, changed his portfolio. He became Attorney-General for Lower Canada, in the place of Mr. Drummond. His new office was no sinecure. The session which opened on the 26th of February, 1857, was signalized by a Ministerial project which was of far-reaching importance to Lower Canada. This was the codification of the Civil Laws, and of the Laws of Procedure. The measure was the work of Attorney-General Cartier. He expended on it great industry; he made

it a labour of love. As he himself observed, the necessity of codification made itself felt the more because the Province was settled by people of different races. The knowledge which everyone should possess of the laws of his country could only be attained by codification. The sources whence those laws were derived were so varied that an acquaintance with them demanded great research. Part of the Civil Laws of Lower Canada had been borrowed from the Roman Law; part from a body of jurisprudence known as the Custom of Paris; part was found in the Edicts and Ordinances, and in the Provincial Statutes.

The time was ripe for this great and beneficent work. The peasantry of Lower Canada had been emancipated from the control of the Seigneurs. The Land Laws which had ruled them had been swept away, and an improved system of jurisprudence, suited to the new state of things, was demanded. M. Cartier was determined to satisfy this demand. But there were those in Parliament who wished to proceed farther than he then wanted to go. The Hon. Mr. Drummond, Attorney-General in the late Administration, and an able jurist, was of opinion that the laws of both Provinces should be assimilated, so that there might be but one code for Canada. The reply of Attorney-General Cartier was to the effect that it was necessary to begin first with the codification of those laws which Lower Canada imperatively demanded. After this, it would be time to think about accomplishing what was proposed. The measure passed through the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council without opposition. The commissioners appointed by the Government to codify the laws began their labours in 1859, and finished them in 1864.

Some readers of this sketch will remember the occasion on which, in the Legislative Assembly in the city of Quebec, At-

torney-General Cartier rose to move the resolution which would make the Civil Code the law of the land. He addressed the House in French, and with more seriousness and deliberation than marked his ordinary utterances. He spoke with the feeling of a man who is conscious that he is placing the crowning stone on an edifice which has cost him years of labour and anxiety to build. As he finished with the words, "I desire no better epitaph than this—'He accomplished the Civil Code,'" the House did honour to itself and to him by a hearty burst of applause.

The Eastern Townships of Lower Canada are peopled mainly by an English-speaking population. But the French-Canadians, in course of time, found their way into these districts. The result was, that there were two systems of Civil Law. To remedy this evil, M. Cartier prepared and carried through Parliament a measure which introduced the French Civil Laws into the Eastern Townships, and rendered uniform the holding of lands.

Another most important measure which he succeeded in passing during the session of 1857 was an Act for the Decentralization of Justice. Its object was to cheapen justice, and to render it more easily attainable. "The administration of justice in criminal cases, and in all civil matters where the amount involved was over fifty pounds, was confined to seven places: Quebec, Montreal, Three Rivers, St. Francis, Aylmer, Sherbrooke and Gaspé, in a country exceeding seven hundred or eight hundred miles in length." The Act divided Lower Canada into nineteen Judicial Districts, adding twelve to those already mentioned. It provided for the erection of Courts of Justice and prisons in the new districts, increased the number of the Judges of the Superior Court to eighteen, and the number of the Judges of the Court of Appeal to five. The Act provided that there

should be four terms of the Court of Appeal in Quebec, and made other regulations respecting procedure and the salaries of the Judges. The care and labour which this statute imposed on M. Cartier, in originating it, in passing it through the House, and in devising the multifarious machinery necessary to put it into successful operation, were enough to have overcome a man of less mental and physical energy. The majority of the people of Lower Canada welcomed the Act with open arms, and it endeared its author to his French-Canadian fellow-countrymen.

The Parliament of 1857 had not been long in session when the question of the permanent seat of Government again came to the front. In the previous session, as we have seen, the Assembly had decided that Quebec should be the capital, and had authorized the expenditure of \$200,000 for the erection of necessary buildings. But the Legislative Council had refused its assent to the supplies. The question, therefore, in 1857, was practically undecided; and so thought a great many of the members. The Ministry decided to overlook the Assembly's vote of last session in favour of Quebec; and resolved to leave the question of the permanent seat of Government to the decision of the Queen. The Ministry further proposed that a vote of \$900,000 should be taken for the erection of new Parliamentary and Departmental Buildings. Attorney-General Cartier was of opinion that many of the members could not have been serious in voting in favour of Quebec; his reason being that they had voted immediately afterwards against the expenditure of the \$200,000. Besides, the Legislative Council had refused assent to the supplies. The Government would not act unless the two branches of the Legislature were in agreement; but it was impossible to have the consent of the Council. The better plan, therefore, in his opinion, was to leave to Her

Majesty the selection of the future capital of Canada. This proposition was opposed by many members from the Lower Province. M. J. E. Thibault moved an amendment to the effect that it was not expedient to take into consideration the question of the seat of Government, because it had been decided the previous session. He contended that the rejection of the supplies by the Legislative Council was not a sufficient ground for annulling the decision of the Legislative Assembly, the more especially as many Councillors from Lower Canada were absent when the vote was taken. The amendment was lost. The same fate befell a motion to make Montreal the seat of Government. The result was that an address to the Queen, praying her to select the capital, was carried by a majority of nine. Her Majesty selected Ottawa as the seat of Government.

On the 25th of November, 1857, Colonel Taché, the nominal head of the Administration, resigned office. The Hon. John A. Macdonald was called upon to form a new Government. He made no change in the Upper Canada section of the Cabinet. At his request, M. Cartier proceeded to select the Ministers for Lower Canada. His object was to combine the two political parties in his native Province. Two moderate Liberals, Messrs. Belleau and Sicotte, accepted office under M. Cartier. The offer of a portfolio to the Hon. A. A. Dorion was, with the consent of M. Cartier, made through M. Sicotte. But M. Dorion refused the inducement, and remained true to his political allegiance. The Macdonald-Cartier Administration was formed on the 26th of November, 1857. M. Cartier was the only Lower-Canadian Minister who belonged to the old Cabinet. His colleagues from that Province were all new men.

On the 28th of July, 1858, M. Piché moved an amendment: "That, in the opinion of this Chamber, the city of Ot-



tawa ought not to be the seat of the Government of this Province." The amendment was carried by a majority of six. The Ministry, on account of this vote, tendered their resignation next day, the 29th of July.

Sir Edmund Head requested Mr. George Brown to form an Administration. This gentleman, as the leader of the Opposition, had for years waged a resolute battle against the party represented by the defeated Ministry. Following constitutional precedents, it was the duty of the Governor-General to ask Mr. Brown to form a Cabinet. It was also his duty to smooth the way for the accomplishment of the object he wished Mr. Brown to accomplish. But the Governor, instead of removing obstacles from Mr. Brown's path, was the first to place them in that gentleman's way. He would not give to Mr. Brown the promise of a dissolution, but he would consent to a prorogation, if one or two measures were passed, and if a vote of credit were taken for the Supplies.

Mr. Brown was thus over-weighted from the very beginning. Still, with that political courage which has always characterized him, he undertook the formation of a Cabinet. He chose as his colleague, and as leader of the Lower Canada section of the Government, the Hon. A. A. Dorion, a gentleman with an untarnished political record. On the 2nd of August, 1858, Mr. Brown had completed his task, and the Cabinet took the oath of office. The subsequent history of this Administration, which was the shortest known to our history, will be given at length in the sketch of the life of Mr. Brown. At present it will be sufficient to say that after holding office two days, the new Cabinet resigned.

The Governor-General having in vain requested Mr. Galt to form a Cabinet, M. Cartier became the head of a new Administration. He chose the Hon. John A. Macdonald as the leader of the Upper Canada section. The

Government was completed on the 6th of August. Then followed what is known as the "Double Shuffle." By the Independence of Parliament Act of 1857, it was provided that if a Cabinet Minister in either House should resign his office, and within a month afterwards accept another, he should not go back to his constituents. Some of the members of the Macdonald-Cartier Government, who had entered the Cartier-Macdonald Government, took advantage of this law in order to avoid the ordeal of re-election. They accepted, on the 6th of August, in the Cartier-Macdonald Cabinet, offices different from those they had held in the Macdonald-Cartier Cabinet. But on the 7th of August they discarded their portfolios of the 6th, and resumed those which they had held in the Macdonald-Cartier Administration when it resigned on the 29th of July. M. Cartier, when he resigned, on the 29th of July, was Attorney-General for Lower Canada. On the 6th of August he became Inspector-General. On the 7th of August he resumed the office of Attorney-General. This constituted the "Double Shuffle." The action cannot be defended, and he never attempted to defend it. The Ministry seemed to be ashamed of the part they had played. Many of their own supporters blamed them. The political conscience of the country seemed to have become sensitive, when it fully realized the extent of the wrong which had been done to Constitutional and Parliamentary Government. The Ministry were forced, by public opinion, to repeal the Independence of Parliament Act, under which they had accomplished the "Double Shuffle."

The Cartier-Macdonald Administration, after it had been formed, announced that it would give serious attention to the question of a Federal Union of the Provinces of North America. They further promised that they would approach the Imperial authorities on the subject, and also enter into communication with the Governments of the Maritime

Provinces. After the Session of 1858, Messrs. Cartier, Galt and Ross visited England in the interests of a Federal Union. To communications from the Colonial Secretary on the subject of union, the Governments of the Maritime Provinces answered by requesting time for the consideration of the project. The result was that no action was at that time taken. The Cartier-Macdonald Government proceeded no farther in the direction of union. On this visit to England, Attorney-General Cartier was, for three days, the guest of the Queen at Windsor Castle.

Parliament was opened, in Toronto, in the month of January, 1859. The question of the seat of Government again came to the front. The Ministry stated that they were obliged to uphold the Queen's decision in favour of Ottawa. Mr. Sicotte, who had left the Cabinet on this question, proposed an amendment to the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. He had succeeded because he held that, after the vote of the Legislative Assembly at its last session, the Government could not abide by the decision of the Queen without violating the principle that the majority should rule. The amendment he now proposed was to the effect that the principles of the Constitution required that the opinion of the majority should be respected; and that, in declaring, during the preceding session, that Ottawa should not be the capital, the House had expressed its views in conformity with the ordinary and constitutional exercise of its privileges. M. Langevin seconded the amendment. He was of opinion that Attorney-General Cartier could not make any one believe that Ottawa was the most convenient place for the seat of Government. The capital ought not to be fixed before the question of Confederation was decided. M. Cartier argued that the conduct of the Cabinet in this matter was constitutional. The simple declaration, by

the House, that Ottawa ought not to be the capital, did not suffice to set aside the Queen's decision, and bind the Ministry to take account of it. The choice of Ottawa was a good one, because the immediate pressure of public opinion would make itself less felt there than elsewhere. The French-Canadians would find, in Ottawa, a population in part Catholic, and having the same institutions. The result of the debate was a Government majority of only five. The Upper Canada Opposition contributed to the victory so narrowly won. Ottawa, sorely pressed, snatched the capital from the other competitors.

The session of 1859 was marked by another advantage secured by M. Cartier for his native Province. This was an Act to amend the Seigniorial Act of 1859. The object of his measure was the complete redemption of the Seigniorial rights, with one exception. It was stated that the funds provided by the Seigniorial Act of 1854 had proved insufficient for the redemption of certain feudal obligations still pressing upon the *habitants*. For this purpose a new appropriation of between \$1,600,000 and \$2,000,000 was demanded by M. Cartier. With the exception of one member, Mr. Somerville, all the Lower Canada representatives supported this measure. But the Upper Canada Liberals, led by the Hon. George Brown, assailed the proposal with the utmost vigour. They proclaimed that it was nothing more than an attempt to rob Upper Canada. They opposed it in the press, and combated it with unflinching courage on the floor of the House. But in vain: the Lower Canada phalanx voted down all attempts to amend the measure, and with them voted their Upper Canada allies. The end was, that the law was carried by 66 to 28.

The Session of 1861 was marked by a long and vehement debate on the question of Representation by Population. It was

opened by Mr. Ferguson proposing an amendment to the Address. The amendment declared the regret of the House that the Governor-General had not been advised to allude to the recent census of the people, which census the House could not but regard as preliminary to legislation upon the great question of Parliamentary Reform, based upon the numbers and wealth of the people, etc. The amendment was voted down by 72 to 38. The Lower Canada phalanx and its Upper Canada allies were again victorious. Mr. Ferguson then proposed a measure in modification of the existing system of representation. The new project was to give to a county of at least 15,000 inhabitants one representative; to a county of 20,000, two representatives. M. Cartier, in a strong and uncompromising speech, announced his unalterable opposition to what he styled the unjust pretensions of Upper Canada. He maintained that the Upper Province had no right, under the Union Act, to claim a larger representation than Lower Canada. The union had been consummated with the understanding that the equality of the representation would be maintained. He concluded in protesting that he would never sacrifice the rights of Lower Canada. The Government of which he was First Minister would not yield Representation by Population, in spite of the efforts of the members from Upper Canada who advocated that measure.

It must be admitted that, on this particular question, M. Cartier shows to great disadvantage. The lawyer and the sectionalist are seen everywhere: the statesman and the Canadian nowhere. Because the Union Act was silent on the subject of representation, the great Upper Province must chafe under a galling injustice. Containing 285,000 people more than Lower Canada, this vast number was to remain without a voice to make known their wishes in the councils of the country. In this instance, M. Car-

tier showed himself devoid of that rare element, political equity: the element that distinguishes the statesman from the politician. After a discussion prolonged through several days, the measure of Mr. Ferguson was defeated by a majority of 18. For the motion, 49; against it, 67. Upper Canada had 49 representatives who voted for the motion, and a dozen who voted against it. If M. Cartier had been a man of ordinary political prudence on this question he would have foreseen, from this vote, that Upper Canada was determined to have her claims satisfied, and that it would not be possible much longer to refuse them.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of May, 1861. On the 16th of June following, it was dissolved by Proclamation. In the general election which followed, M. Cartier defeated M. Dorion in Montreal East.

The Seventh Parliament of the Province of Canada was opened on the 20th of March, 1862. In the debate on the Address, the burning question of Representation by Population again came up. The Hon. William Macdougall, one of its most able and ardent supporters, moved an amendment to the Address. It set forth that, by the recent census, the population of Upper Canada exceeded that of Lower Canada, in February, 1861, by no fewer than 285,427 souls. The amendment expressed the regret of the House that the Governor-General had not been advised to recommend some measure for securing to this large population in Upper Canada their rightful share of the Parliamentary representation, and their just influence in the Government. The Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, thorough Conservative as he was, raised his eloquent voice in favour of the claims of Upper Canada. But facts, reasoning, justice, pleaded in vain. The Lower Canada majority, to a man, voted down Mr. Macdougall's proposition; but he was supported by forty-two

of the representatives of Upper Canada. M. Cartier, this session, failed again to see that the headlong voting of his followers was paralyzing the constitution which, in their common political blindness, they fancied they were perpetuating. But the day of his supremacy was drawing to a close. His colleague, the Hon. John A. Macdonald, brought forward a measure intended to increase the efficiency of the militia. It was based on the suggestions of a special commission, amongst whose members were M. Cartier and Mr. Macdonald. The commissioners recommended that an active force of 50,000 men should submit to a drill extending over twenty-eight days in each year; and that a reserve of an equal number should be embodied. The Opposition at once began to question the Ministry. The Hon. Mr. Galt, the Minister of Finance, informed them that he would ask for \$850,000 to set the new scheme in operation. After this outlay, the annual expenditure would be about \$500,000. The French-Canadian constituencies took the alarm. They dreaded a conscription which would every year take away so many thousands of needed workers from their homes and farms. They raised their voices against the enormous increase of the Provincial liabilities which this new scheme would necessitate. Some of the friends of the Government sought in vain to induce them to modify the measure. They defied a vote. On the second reading the vote was taken. The Government was beaten by 61 to 51. Mr. Macdonald was supported by a majority of seven votes from Upper Canada; but M. Cartier was left in a minority of thirteen. His political power was shattered. On the 21st of May, 1862, he tendered his resignation.

The Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, at the invitation of Lord Monck, succeeded in forming a Cabinet. How it was compelled to resign, and how successive cabinets were subjected to a similar ordeal; how the

scheme of Confederation was matured, as the only way out of the dead-lock; it will be the province of other sketches to detail. At present, our concern is with M. Cartier alone. To those who can remember the political events of 1864 and 1865, it is needless to say that M. Cartier succeeded in forcing the scheme of Confederation on Lower Canada. He had managed to array on his side, amongst other influences, those of the Roman Catholic Church. Against a scheme thus supported the efforts of the Liberals were directed in vain. The "cry" of Confederation swept Lower Canada like a hurricane.

Under the new system of Confederation, M. Cartier was, on the 18th of July, 1867, appointed Minister of Defence for the Dominion. In August, 1868, he was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom. He represented Montreal East in the Quebec Legislature from the union until the general election of 1871, when he was chosen as Member for Beauharnois. He remained in the Local Parliament until the abolition of dual representation. To his credit be it said that the majority of the British population of Lower Canada looked up to him, when he was a member of the Quebec Assembly, as their special champion. This they did, to the setting aside of the timid and trimming Representatives of their own nationality.

It must be admitted that, from the era of Confederation, the political stature of Sir George Cartier began to grow less. Larger interests than those of Lower Canada usurped the public attention. His Province had no grievances to bring into the Confederation. He was still her foremost man, but she needed him no longer as her champion. In the general election of 1872 he suffered the mortification of defeat in Montreal East. He sought political shelter in the distant Manitoban county of Provencher, a region wherein he had never set foot. He was in

England when, in 1873, the Pacific Scandal burst, like a thunder-clap, upon the people of Canada. That Sir George was deeply implicated in the degrading bargain was only too clear.

He died in England, on the 20th of May, 1873. On the 13th of June following, his remains were accorded, in Montreal, the honour of a public funeral. Men of all ranks and nationalities made up the multitudes who escorted his remains to their last resting-place, in the cemetery on the Montreal mountain.

Contemporary opinion as to M. Cartier differed as widely as it is wont to differ when friends and opponents pronounce judgment on a public man. A compatriot of his own thus portrays him:—"M. Cartier did not possess the elevated sense, the calm and profound judgment of Lafontaine; the breadth of understanding, the political science and the spirit of sacrifice of M. Morin; neither the moderation nor the political dignity of either of them. But he surpassed them in action, in energy, in knowledge of the world, in Parliamentary strategy, in fecundity of intellect, in ardour and ability in contest. They were men of principle: he was a man of success; a man of combat above everything. M. Cartier was essentially a party chief; an organizer; an administrator. The ruling traits in his character were energy, impetuosity, the spirit of domination, the desire to make a name, confidence in himself and love of work. His vivacity, his impatience, and his absolutism caused him to bear, with difficulty, contradiction and resistance. He saw little of anything outside of himself. He wished to concentrate everything, to absorb everything, to see in his orbit none but his satellites; and believing that he personified all his race, he thought that all was going well from the moment that he himself became satisfied. If he had been able to excommunicate, as here-

ties, all those who did not think as he did, he would not have failed to do so; he would even have burned them. He did not spare them, at least offensive words, persecutions and mortifications; his friends themselves had sometimes trouble to bear up under his harshness and his fits of anger. This contributed, without doubt, to deprive him of the support and counsels of many men of talent; others remained attached to him only by terror. His discourses were dry as the desert of Sahara; the flowers of literature and eloquence did not flourish in them. . . . His words resounded in the Chamber (Parliament) like the blows of a hammer on the anvil. His eloquence, rough, unconstrained, sarcastic, and solid, pleased, however, the people and the majority of the Chamber."

Sir George Cartier was wont to describe himself as "An Englishman speaking French." In this light he was regarded by the majority of the British population of Lower Canada. In his veins there was no taint of the bitter poison of an exclusive nationalism. On St. George's Day he would wear the flower of England on his breast, because it was the festival of his Patron Saint, and because he was so strong, politically and socially, that he could dare to display the emblem. No French-Canadian public man, since the days of Lafontaine, wielded equal power. That power he devoted, often with reason, sometimes without reason, to the political and material aggrandizement of his native Province. There may arise in Lower Canada, in the near or in the immediate future, men who may stand as high in her regard. But the troubles which she called upon him to settle, the grievances she urged upon him to abolish, will not, in the nature of things, again arise. As the years pass, and the healing hand of time pours the balm of oblivion on the wounds which he gave to his own reputation, his biography will again have to be written.

## THE HON. ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD.

THE Archibalds belong to one of the oldest as well as one of the most prominent families in Nova Scotia. For many years they have been more or less intimately associated with almost every public question which has, from time to time, agitated that Province. Few men have deserved so well of their country as the Archibalds, and in the various leading positions which, at different periods in their lives, they have been called upon to fill, their administration of such offices has been characterized by firmness, executive skill, and abilities of no common order. The subject of this sketch was born at Truro, Nova Scotia, on the 18th of May, 1814. He is the son of Samuel Archibald, and grandson of the late James Archibald, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Nova Scotia. He was educated at the Pictou Academy, when, under the management of the late Rev. Dr. McCulloch, that favoured institution took a high rank among the educational establishments of the Maritime Provinces. While at school young Archibald was a boy of great promise, quick to learn, bright and chivalrous to a degree. He possessed characteristics that made him courted by his youthful companions; nor was this popularity confined to the members of his own class. His teachers took a warm and parental interest in him from the first, and he got on rapidly with his studies. Designed for a lawyer, he was placed at an early age in a law office. In

1838 he was called to the Bar of Prince Edward Island, and a year later he became a barrister of his native Province. In June, 1843, he married Elizabeth A., the only daughter of the late Rev. John Burnyeat.

Previous to August 14th, 1856, when he became a member of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, as Solicitor-General, Mr. Archibald had taken no very active part in the politics of the day, though he had represented Colchester county since 1851. He was conspicuous, however, in 1854, as the seconder of an important motion which had grown out of the Reciprocity question. In December of that year the Legislature of Nova Scotia met to consider the treaty with the United States. Prominent members such as the Hon. Joseph Howe, Johnston and others, strongly condemned the conduct of the Imperial authorities in settling so momentous a treaty without consulting Nova Scotia, whose interests were so much involved by it. Great offence had been caused in June by Great Britain's ready acquiescence in the demand of the American Government that American fishermen should not be molested if they at once used the privilege conferred by the stipulations of the treaty, without waiting for their ratification by the Colonial Legislatures. The bitterness was aggravated ten-fold when it became known that the United States Government had intimated its inability to grant interim reciprocal advantages. The Recipro-



*Adams, G. Archibald*





city Bill was passed in the Nova Scotia Assembly, after a warm expression of opinion had been heard, by 32 to 10. Later, Mr. Howe and Mr. Archibald introduced a series of resolutions vindicating the right of the Province to be consulted on questions in which her people were deeply concerned. On the 14th of February, 1857, the Ministry resigned.

From 1854 to 1857, the Government of Nova Scotia discussed in her Legislature the question of union with the other British North American provinces, and in June of the last named year Mr. Archibald, then in opposition, and the Hon. J. W. Johnston, Attorney-General, were sent to England to confer with the Secretary of State for the Colonies—Mr. Labouchere—on the subject. They were informed that the decision of the question must rest with the Colonies themselves. The Imperial Government, however, would not oppose the scheme should it be harmoniously decided upon. At this time also, the delegates were entrusted with a most important mission, the arrangement of terms of settlement with the British Government, and the General Mining Association, with respect to the Nova Scotia mines. This question had been a vexed one for over half a century. The Duke of York had obtained from his brother, King George IV., a lease of the ungranted mines and minerals of the country. In 1825 he transferred this lease to Rundell, Bridge & Co., on condition that he was to be paid a share of the profits as they accrued. The firm, discovering that there was no copper ore, turned their attention to coal, and proceeded to develop that industry, under the name of The General Mining Association. From time to time the different Provincial Governments declared that the King had no right to cede away the minerals of the Province without the consent of the people having been obtained. Things went on in this way until 1845, when the Crown en-

tered into arrangements with the Association, and in 1849 a contract was framed. In this same year, but before the contract was made, the Civil List Act was passed in the Provincial Legislature, and by its terms the legal estate of the Crown was vested in that body. This Act clearly established the fact that no lease could be considered valid until or unless it emanated from the Assembly of Nova Scotia. The result of this legislation, of course, had a disastrous effect on the mining business of the Province. Things came to a standstill, and there was immediately a dead-lock. It was to settle this affair that a prominent member of the Government and an equally prominent member of the Opposition were despatched to England to make terms. Both gentlemen performed their duties with great tact and judgment, and the conclusion of their labours was an agreement which secured to the Association all their rights and liberties. This greatly helped the mining affairs of Nova Scotia. On the return of the delegates, the House went into a debate on their report, and after an earnest discussion a vote of 30 to 19 established the confidence which the Assembly had in their Commissioners.

In February, 1860, on a change of Ministry, Mr. Archibald was called upon to take the position of Attorney-General. This office he retained until the 11th of June, 1863. In 1861 he attended the conference in Quebec on the subject of the Intercolonial Railway. In 1864 Mr. Archibald seconded Dr. Tupper's motion in the Assembly for an address to His Excellency, the Administrator of the Government, requesting him to appoint delegates, not more than five, to confer with the delegates who might be appointed by the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for the purpose of considering the subject of the union of the three Provinces under one Government and Legislature. In the same

year Mr. Archibald went to the Charlottetown, P.E.I., Conference, and later in the same year to Quebec, and to the final conference in London, England, to complete the terms of the union in 1866-67. Both in Halifax and in London Mr. Archibald worked zealously for Confederation. In the former city he, with Dr. Tupper and others, held public meetings and delivered speeches in favour of the scheme, and met the counter demonstrations which were held by the Annand-Power Party. In England Mr. Archibald took an active part in the pamphlet war which raged so violently for a time between the Confederate Party on the one side, and the Anti-Confederates, led by Messrs. Howe and Annand, on the other.

When Mr. Archibald returned home the greatest excitement prevailed. The Anti-Confederates had worked unceasingly to break up the scheme, and to visit with condign punishment all those who had taken part in the movement which had brought about so much opposition among the people. In March, 1867, the House of Assembly met. General Williams, who was Administrator at the time, congratulated the members on the success which the delegates had achieved in London. The reply to the Address was moved by the Hon. J. Bourinot, and a great and able debate followed. In this discussion Mr. Archibald took an important part, and made one of the happiest and best speeches of his life. Among other things he said: "When the British Parliament found it necessary to change the arrangements connected with the succession to the Crown, and to bring in a new dynasty—when those noble men who guarded the rights of the country, and were determined to get rid of the Stuart family, had induced Parliament to adopt their views, there was not an appeal to the people, although the leading men in the movement knew that their action might be made a ground of impeachment. There was

a union consummated in the history of England to which I might refer, although it is not exactly a precedent. I refer to the union of Scotland with England. It was hardly to be expected in that case that the lesser nation would have concurred. We all know the spirit of Scotchmen—how the ancestors of the men of our day had, with their backs to the unconquerable Highlands, and their faces to the foe, repelled the English invader on every occasion—and the same spirit led them to oppose the union with England. They feared, as our opponents profess to do, that the smaller state would be swamped by the greater—but what was the result? From that day Scotland went on in the path of improvement, and Scotchmen could take their place with Englishmen in any part of the world. . . . From the date of the union, there has not been a Ministry in England in which Scotland has been unrepresented."

On the 7th of May the House was prorogued, and in September the elections were held. The scheme of union—the "Quebec Scheme" as it was popularly called—was made the question on which the appeal to the people was to be fought out. The measure had been carried in the Assembly, and because the electors had not been afforded an opportunity of rendering their verdict for or against the scheme, the utmost hostility towards it existed among the inhabitants of Nova Scotia. So bitter indeed was this feeling that out of thirty-eight seats in the Local Legislature, two unionists only were returned, and out of the nineteen seats in the Commons, but one—Dr. Tupper—succeeded in gaining his election.

During his career as a member of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, Mr. Archibald was very prominently identified with the various bills which provided for the regulation of Municipal Assessments, the gold fields, restricting the election franchise, and a number of educational measures.

On the 1st of July, 1867, he was sworn of the Privy Council of Canada, and became Secretary of State for the Provinces from that period until the beginning of 1868, when he resigned. On the 20th of May, 1870, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. This office he filled with faithfulness and great capacity until May, 1873, when he resigned. His administration of affairs in the newly created Province developed one important issue, and from a circumstance which grew out of it the authority of Lieutenant-Governors with special reference to the Royal Prerogative of pardon was firmly established. In 1871 the Province was agitated over the threatened attack of a body of Fenians, under the leadership of a man named O'Donoghue. The executive had no resources at command by which this invasion of the territory by a band of lawless men, acting in concert, it was said, with the French Metis, could be met. The Lieutenant-Governor was alone, and far beyond the ear of the central authorities. The case was an urgent one, and it demanded prompt and vigorous action. Thrown upon his own resources entirely, Mr. Archibald resolved to appeal to the loyalty of the French insurgents and their leaders, Riel and Lepine. Writs had been issued for the apprehension of these men for the murder of the unfortunate Scott, whose savage butchery had sent a thrill of horror throughout Canada. Extraordinary circumstances only could justify a Lieutenant-Governor's action in opening up communication with outlaws and murderers. But there was no other course open to Mr. Archibald. He had no military force at his command worthy of the name. He was powerless either to defend or to attack. Under all the circumstances he did the best, perhaps the only thing that could be done in a like situation. He entered into relations with Riel and Lepine, received the troops under their command, accepted their

services, and in return for these favours he promised them what was afterwards construed into a free pardon. Mr. Archibald admitted that he had promised the leaders at least temporary immunity from molestation, and that he had shaken hands with them. He also through his secretary addressed them an official reply, and complimented them on their loyalty and the efficient character of the services which they had rendered. He also clearly established the fact that without the aid of these men he would have been powerless to do anything, and that his action gave the Dominion a Province to defend and not one to conquer—a sentiment which has since passed into the history of the country. Mr. Archibald had full faith in the fidelity of Riel and Lepine, though Sir John Macdonald and others at a distance had serious misgivings on this point. In reviewing this important case, Lord Dufferin, while holding that the Lieutenant-Governor had no legal right to promise a pardon—that power being vested solely in the hands of the Governor-General of Canada—admitted that he would have difficulty in convincing himself “that after the Governor of a Province has put arms into the hands of a subject, and invited him to risk his life—for that, of course, is the implied contingency—in defence of Her Majesty's Crown and dignity, and for the protection of her territory,—with a full knowledge at the time that the individual in question was amenable to the law for crimes previously committed,—the Executive is any longer in a position to pursue the person thus dealt with as a felon.” “The acceptance of the service,” he continued in this ablest of his state papers, “might be held to bar the prosecution of the offender; for, undesirable as it may be that a great criminal should go unpunished, it would be still more pernicious that the Government of the country should show a want of fidelity to its engagements, or exhibit a narrow

spirit in its interpretation of them." The case went home for settlement, and Lord Carnarvon in his despatch said: "Mr. Archibald cannot, in my opinion, be held to have represented the Crown in such a way as to have any power of pledging its future actions in regard to such transactions as those now under review. The Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces of the Dominion, however important locally their functions may be, are a part of the Colonial Administrative Staff, and are more immediately responsible to the Governor-General in Council. They do not hold their Commissions from the Crown, and neither in power nor privilege resemble those Governors, or even Lieutenant-Governors of Colonies, to whom, after special consideration of their personal fitness, the Queen, under the Great Seal and her own hand and signet, delegates portions of her prerogatives and issues her own instructions." This clearly established the fact that Lieutenant-Governors had no authority to pardon offenders, however momentous and peculiar the circumstances might be. Though Mr. Archibald's action was not sustained by either the

Imperial or Dominion authorities, his ability as an administrator and a statesman was held in high esteem by Lord Lisgar, who referred to him in terms of great praise. Lord Dufferin spoke of him as "an undoubtedly able, prudent and conscientious man." The Queen created him a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1872, and in various other ways his country recognized his paramount ability and talent. On the 24th of June, 1873, he became Judge in Equity of Nova Scotia. This position, however, he held only until the 4th of July of the same year, when, upon the death of the late Lieutenant-Governor Howe, Mr. Archibald was raised to the dignity of that high office. So acceptably and well has he carried out his duties that on the expiration of the term for which he had been appointed, he was earnestly solicited by the Government to resume his functions as Lieutenant-Governor for another term—a position which he accepted, and continues to occupy. He has been a Queen's Counsel, President of the Acadia Provident Association, and has filled several other positions of more or less note.





*Phyllis*

## THE HON. TOUSSAINT A. R. LAFLAMME.

ON the 15th of May, 1827, the subject of this sketch was born at Montreal. His father was Toussaint Laflamme, a merchant in good standing in the commercial capital of Canada, and his mother was Marguerite Suzanne Thibault, of Pointe Claire—a lady who traced her descent from one of the first families of France. Her father had lived in Grand Pré at the time of the expulsion of the Acadians, and he, in common with his compatriots, was forced to leave the land of his birth, for reasons which are familiar to all students of the history of French domination in America. Coming from such a stock, and early inheriting the active principles of civil and religious liberty, young Laflamme did not in the least surprise his friends, when, even before he had arrived at man's estate, and while still very young, he boldly espoused the Liberal cause, and identified himself with the great national political movements of the day. He was educated at St. Sulpice College, and while there exhibited remarkable powers of study and love for the classics. When the time came for him to make choice of a profession, he selected that of the law. He entered the office of the Hon. L. T. Drummond, Q.C., afterwards a Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench. Here he made rapid progress, and in 1849 he was called to the Bar of Lower Canada.

Two years before this, however, and while barely in his twentieth year, young

Laflamme was elected to the responsible post of President of the Institut Canadien of Montreal, a society which he had been mainly instrumental in founding, and which in its time has exercised considerable influence on the mental activity of the Province of Lower Canada. He was by birth, instinct, and education a Liberal, and when the *Rouge* element formed itself into a strong party machine, Laflamme became one of its first and earliest members. Young, impetuous, ardent and full of the fancied wrongs which he inherited from his grandfather, he soon became a leading spirit among the youthful politicians of the period. These young men, the oldest of whom had scarcely reached his twenty-second year, had banded themselves together for a purpose, which it was their pride and boast to reveal. Had they been men in 1837, they would have been found at the side of Louis Joseph Papineau, with whose cause every one of them heartily sympathized. As it was, these young men, whose talent and sincerity cannot be doubted, plunged into the veriest excesses of political partisanship. They sought to reform not only the political world, but the whole social fabric of civilization, and the regeneration of the country was also included in their programme. The organization spread, and, its success assured, the next step was to found a newspaper devoted to the interests of the *Rouge* party.

*L'Avenir* was accordingly started, and Laflamme, one of the boldest and most brilliant members of the Club, was chosen to take a leading position on the editorial staff of the paper. The policy of the party was re-echoed in the impassioned columns of the new journal. A programme containing twenty-one articles was published. One of these advocated the election of Justices of the Peace, another the annual parliament, while the twenty-first paragraph advised annexation to the United States. These various features were discussed in the broadest light possible, and so largely did revolutionary ideas prevail among the *Rouge* party of that day, that every outbreak of the people in other lands was warmly and openly applauded by the conductors of *L'Avenir*, who lost no opportunity of showing their hostility to existing institutions. The young party, however, went too far with their reforms, and they too openly espoused anarchy and revolution. The Church became alarmed, and the clergy waged a bitter war against Laflamme and his friends. Against such a formidable and perfect organization as the Roman Catholic Church, as it existed in those days, the young Liberals found themselves unable to cope. Nor was that powerful force their only opponent. The English population denounced the *Rouge* policy, and entered the lists against them with all their strength. In the end, after a short but brilliant battle, the party succumbed before the superior force which had been allied against them. The moderate men left the organization and formed another and less hot-headed party, calling themselves Liberal-Conservatives, and joining the ranks of the Conservatives of Upper Canada. The minority remained true to their principles, and when the division between Mr. Papineau and Mr. Lafontaine occurred, they left the latter in a body, and associated themselves with their old leader. For a quarter of a century the

*Rouges* remained in Opposition, though they managed from time to time to initiate a number of valuable reforms. In 1852 the *Pays* was started as the organ of the Moderates, while *L'Avenir* continued its advocacy of ultra-Liberal views.

Mr. Laflamme was very active as the professional adviser of the Seigneurs who claimed their indemnity in virtue of the Seigniorial Act, 1857-8. While one of the editors of *L'Avenir* he had done much to bring about a settlement of the vexed Seigniorial question. He had thus for a long time made the subject a special study, and was well qualified to act in the capacity of counsel for the Seigneurs, a position which he filled with great ability and judgment. On several occasions he appeared before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. In 1856 McGill College, Montreal, conferred on him the honorary degree of B.C.L., and, in 1873, that of D.C.L. In 1863 he was created a Queen's Counsel. He is a professor of the Law of Real Estate in McGill University, and a member of the Executive of the Reform Association of the *Parti Nationale* of Montreal. In 1875 he was offered a puisné judgeship in the Supreme Court—an honour which he declined.

Though Mr. Laflamme has for many years interested himself in politics, and intimately associated himself with the marked public events of his time, it was not until the general elections of 1872 that he was returned to Parliament. He was elected the representative in the Commons for Jacques Cartier County, and in 1874 he was chosen by acclamation. In November 1876 he was sworn of the Privy Council, as Minister of Inland Revenue, *vice* the Hon. Mr. Geoffrion, and was re-elected on November 28th. On the 8th of June, 1877, Mr. Laflamme became Minister of Justice, a position which he continued to hold until September, 1878. While ad-



ministering the affairs of this office, he introduced a bill for further securing the independence of Parliament. This act provided a remedy in cases where the former bill was found hampered with difficulties, and after a few modifications in the Senate it was agreed to and passed. Another bill which was introduced under his auspices was the measure which gives to the decrees of the Ontario Maritime Court the same meaning and force as are attached to those of the Court of Chancery. On the same day, the 18th of March, 1878, Mr. Laflamme's other bill did not fare so well. This was the scheme for the abolition of the office of Receiver-General and the creation of the office of Attorney-General, who should be a Cabinet Minister and preside over the Law Department along with the Minister

of Justice. This bill the Senate rejected on various grounds, several of the honourable gentlemen taking the view that while the abolition of the Receiver-Generalship was a wise move, the creation of an Attorney-Generalship was a most injudicious and unnecessary step. An act was passed during this session, under Mr. Laflamme's advice, amending the Supreme Court Act, so as to increase the number of the terms of the court from two to four—a veritable boon to litigants—also to regulate appeals from the Lower Provinces. A bill to amend the Elections Act, introduced by Mr. Laflamme, also became law about this time.

Mr. Laflamme is the head of the important law firm in Montreal of Laflamme, Huntington & Laflamme, and is unmarried.

## THE RIGHT REV. JOHN STRACHAN, D.D., LL.D.

*(FIRST BISHOP OF TORONTO).*

THE life of the late Bishop Strachan was marked by a much greater variety of incident than commonly falls to the lot of a clergyman of the Church of England. That it was also marked by an unusual degree of physical vigour is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that it embraced a period of nearly ninety years, and that until a short time before his death he never knew what it is to be seriously ill. That his mental vigour was at least of no common order is rendered sufficiently obvious by the variety and extent of his intellectual labours, and by the respect which was paid to his opinions by persons of undoubted mental capacity. No name in our history suggests a stronger individuality, or has left a more distinct impress behind, than his. If he was not intellectually in advance of his time, he was at least capable of quickly and firmly grasping the salient points of new movements, and of adapting himself to any situation in which he found himself placed. If he disapproved of the movements he always had the courage of his opinions, and fought against the innovations with a dauntless intrepidity which knew no fear. If worsted in the combat, as not unfrequently happened, he disciplined his mind to accept defeat. There were subjects on which he was not open to conviction, and as to which his mind was as thoroughly made up after being worsted in the dispute a score of times as it had been when the matter had first

come up for discussion. He arrived in this country without a pound in his pocket, or at his command. He rose to wealth, affluence, and a power of dictatorship which was almost imperial. In matters ecclesiastical he early obtained complete ascendancy in this Province, and his political ascendancy was long paramount to that of any of his contemporaries. The latter supremacy was not destined to be permanent, but the former was maintained with untiring energy and vigour long after he had reached an age at which most men would have been glad enough to resign it to younger hands. He was subject to disadvantages which would have effectually precluded even the temporary success of a commonplace man. Those disadvantages he not only contrived to surmount, but even in some cases to make subservient to his ambition. He was not clever. He was not brilliant. He made up for his defects by daring courage, dogged persistence, and a native tact and shrewdness which are among the most noteworthy characteristics of his countrymen. His education, for a high ecclesiastical dignitary, was singularly defective, and his reading was not wide. He began to fight the stern battle of life at an age too early to admit of his having acquired profound learning, and his subsequent career was too busy for systematic reading or study. But he covered up his deficiencies by never venturing beyond his depth, and his innate sagacity was such



*John Ferriols*



that, with many persons whom it would be unfair to set down as illiterate, he passed for a learned prelate. Like the Lady of Burleigh, he was subjected to

"the burthen of an honour  
Unto which he was not born ;"

but, though not possessed of "woman's meekness," he "shaped his heart to all duties of his rank," and, though himself of humble origin, became the leader and mouthpiece of the most exclusive aristocracy in Upper Canada. Though a clergyman of a Church wherein the English language is generally spoken with a pleasantness of modulation and a purity of accent which are the peculiar birthright of educated Englishmen, his dialect was of the broadest and most uncouth Doric of his native Aberdeen. His rasping pronunciation and strident voice seemed as much out of place in the pulpit of an Episcopal cathedral as a red plush waistcoat and a billycock hat would seem on the person of an Archbishop of Canterbury. No matter; his sermons were generally full to overflowing with practical wisdom and good sense. Those persons who were privileged to listen to them generally felt that they had been sitting under a preacher who had a genuine message to deliver to his flock. Over and above all these things, he possessed the will and the power to speak with effect on behalf of the hierarchy, both in the pulpit, on the platform, and in the Executive Council. He had a special faculty for administration, and had ever a shrewd eye to the practical. His whole heart and soul were given up to the welfare of his Church. That Church owes a heavy debt to his memory, and has never shown any disposition to shirk its responsibility. Of all these anomalies the facts of his life go far to furnish an explanation.

His father, John Strachan, after whom he was named, was an overseer of some of the famous granite quarries in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, Scotland, and resided

within the city limits. His mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Findlayson. The couple were in humble circumstances, but not indigent, the husband's income being sufficient for the comfortable maintenance of the family. They enjoyed the respect of their neighbours, and lived a happy, domestic life. The head of the family was a nonjuror and an Episcopalian, and attended St. Paul's Chapel, in the Gallowgate, whither the subject of this memoir, when in his childhood, was wont to accompany him. The mother was a Presbyterian, and so continued to the end of her life; but the pair were tolerant of each other's opinions, and lived together in the utmost harmony. Bishop Strachan's biographer, the late Bishop Bethune, records the curious fact that his mother, though a staunch Presbyterian, used to make her children sign themselves with the sign of the cross, every night before retiring to rest.

The future Bishop of Toronto was born at the paternal home in Aberdeen, on the 12th of April, 1778. He was early set apart by his parents for the clerical profession, and to this end they pinched and denied themselves, after the manner of Scottish folk of their class, in order to give him an education. It does not appear that his parents had settled between themselves whether their son was to be a minister of the Kirk or a clergyman of the Church of England. It was probably agreed between them—though of this there is no evidence either on one side or the other—that in so serious a matter the lad should be permitted to choose for himself, upon arriving at years of discretion. He was taught his letters and his catechism by his mother, and at six years of age began to attend one of the common schools in Aberdeen. Later on, he entered the grammar school, where he manifested a good deal of industry and application, but no special precocity or talent. In the month of May, 1794, when he was sixteen years old, his father fell a victim to a blasting acci-

dent in one of the quarries where he was employed as overseer, and died two days afterwards. The family—which, in addition to the mother, and John, who was the first-born, contained at least one other son and two daughters—were thus left without any means of support. It was necessary that John should obtain employment. Through the intervention of the poet Beattie, who had long held the chair of Moral Philosophy in Marischal College, and who had been a sort of patron of his father, the young man obtained employment as a private tutor. He contrived to study diligently, and to contribute to the support of his family, as well as to pass through the University of King's College, Aberdeen, where he obtained his master's degree in 1796. The economy which he practised during this period must have been most rigid, and his industry very great, as he was compelled to earn sufficient during the vacations to support himself all the rest of the year, besides rendering assistance to his mother. His only source of revenue was teaching, the recompense for which was very small. It was fortunate for him that the College sessions extended over only about five months in the year, thus leaving the remaining seven at his disposal. These intervals he spent in coaching boys for College, and in teaching the elementary branches of education in various parts of Aberdeenshire and the country thereabout. Upon the opening of the session he would return to his mother and place his small earnings in her hands. He also obtained a small bursary of five or six pounds per annum, and this sum, insignificant as it seems when compared with the munificent scholarships of Oxford and Cambridge, made all the difference to his family between absolute want and comparative comfort. He seems to have been tenderly attached to his mother. Years afterwards, when he had gained wealth, fame, and social position, he often recalled the last years spent by him beneath her roof.

"Never," said he, "was there a more excellent mother than mine. She made religion amiable to me, and the source of moral strength."

After obtaining his master's degree he found employment in a parish school near St. Andrew's, at a salary of thirty pounds a year. While so employed he joined the Divinity class of the neighbouring University, and formed the acquaintance of several persons who afterwards rose to high eminence in various walks of life. With two of them, Dr. Chalmers and Professor Thomas Duncan, he kept up a correspondence which only terminated with their lives. After leaving St. Andrew's he was for a short time engaged in private tuition in Angus-shire, but his earnings were so small that he found it necessary to look out for more remunerative employment. When he had barely reached the age of nineteen he heard of a vacancy in the parish school of Kettle, in Fifeshire, where the salary was fifty pounds a year. He offered himself as a candidate, but before the day of examination came he learned that there were five other applicants for the position, all of whom were older than himself, as well as more experienced in teaching. He lost heart, and had serious thoughts of withdrawing his application, but the minister of the parish, who had taken a liking to him, urged him to persevere. This minister was the Rev. Dr. Barclay, father of the gallant naval officer, Captain Robert H. Barclay, who in after years served under Nelson, and later on, in May, 1813, fought with such undaunted bravery in defence of Canada against Commodore Perry on Lake Erie. Another son of Dr. Barclay's has also a passing interest for Canadian readers, having been stationed in charge of a Presbyterian congregation at Kingston, in Upper Canada, from 1822 to 1826. Dr. Barclay would not hear of his young protégé's withdrawing his application, and bade him keep up his cour-

age. He even went so far as to predict that young Strachan would be the successful candidate. The youth was much encouraged by the worthy minister's support, and agreed to allow his application to stand. He meanwhile called upon Dr. Hunter, at St. Andrew's, and consulted him as to his fitness for the position. The Doctor subjected him to a searching examination in Greek, Latin and Mathematics, and finally informed him with some gruffness that he was "no great things," but that he was competent to fill the vacant position, and would probably obtain it. The result verified the prediction. He gained the situation, and took charge of a school numbering over a hundred pupils.

One of these pupils was a lad who, when Mr. Strachan took charge of the school at Kettle, was about twelve years of age. He was a bright, intelligent looking boy, but cared little for books, and could not be made to learn his lessons. He was looked upon as somewhat of a dunce, and it was feared that he would never be able to earn a living for himself. His father, who was the minister of the neighbouring parish of Cults, was sore discouraged by reason of the lad's frivolity, and took an early opportunity of waiting upon "the new dominie" to take counsel about the best means of dealing with "Daft Davie," as his son was jocularly nick-named. It appeared that the only occupation in which the little fellow took any interest was the covering of every piece of blank paper he could lay his hands on with grotesque drawings, depicting likenesses of his tutors and playfellows, and of the various members of his family. He had even been known to delineate the "meenister" himself, in an attitude singularly lifelike, singularly undignified, and singularly provocative of laughter in the beholder. Sad to relate, he had even been known to desecrate the house of God, by drawing various odd characters as they slept or snored in their pews during service. His father had

done his utmost to scourge the indolent frivolity out of him, but to no purpose. He besought the new tutor to punish his pupil without stint if he caught him indulging in his favourite recreation. Now, Mr. Strachan, at this time, could hardly have possessed much artistic knowledge; but he was not long in coming to the conclusion that little Davie Wilkie possessed a good deal of aptitude for art. Ere he had been many days in charge of the Kettle school he detected the young delinquent in his reprehensible practices. As time went on he became convinced that the youth's taste for drawing was ineradicable. In spite of stern prohibitions and repeated punishments, the lad became known as the portrait painter of the school. Nothing delighted him so much as to assemble a host of his playfellows around him, arrange them in groups, and depict them in all sorts of characteristic attitudes. Even his most hurried performances had a graphic realism about them which could not fail to impress everyone who looked at them. Master Strachan, feeling assured that the lad's natural bent was something more than a mere passion for imitation, gradually began to take an interest in his performances, and at last prevailed upon his father to withdraw his opposition and send him to the Trustees' Academy at Edinburgh. The father's means were limited, but an uncle was pressed into the service, and the desired result was brought about. Years afterwards, when the little boy had grown into a great man; when he had accomplished for Scottish art what Robert Burns had accomplished for the national dialect; when his name had become known in every land where art is held in honour; when kings and nobles contended for the honour of sitting to him; when his pictures had drawn tears from the eyes of representatives of every civilized nation under the sun, and were eagerly sought after by the wealthiest and most discriminating patrons of art; when he had received

knighthood at the hands of His Majesty King William IV.—the pupil and his former tutor, who had also become a great man on his own account, delighted to meet and talk over the old days at Kettle. "Often," says the Bishop—writing when a nation was in mourning for the great painter's death—"often did Sir David Wilkie, at the height of his fame, declare that he owed everything to his revered teacher, and that but for his interference he must have remained in obscurity." It is probable that Bishop Strachan—perhaps unconsciously—took more credit to himself in this transaction than justly belonged to him. It does not seem probable that such a light as David Wilkie's could forever have remained under a bushel; but the propulsion may very likely have come from his tutor's representations to the boy's father; and the achievement was one upon which the Bishop was justified in feeling an honest pride.

Another of Mr. Strachan's pupils at Kettle was the Robert H. Barclay above referred to, whose father, as we have seen, was minister of the parish. A warm friendship subsisted between the minister and the dominie, and the latter was a constant visitor at the manse during his sojourn at Kettle. His life here seems to have been very serene and happy. His augmented income enabled him to increase his benefactions to his family, who were thus comfortably provided for. There does not seem to be any ground for the assertion so often made, and so devoutly believed, that during the period of his sojourn at Kettle, or at any other time, Mr. Strachan was a probationary minister of the Church of Scotland, or that he received a license to preach. The only direct connection he ever seems to have had with Presbyterianism arose from the fact that his mother was a member of that body. As we have seen, he attended lectures for a short time at St. Andrew's—where the theology taught was Presby-

terian—but did not take orders; although there can be no reasonable doubt that he contemplated doing so.

But a great change in his circumstances and prospects was at hand. In order to understand precisely how this change was brought about, it will be necessary to take a hurried glance at the state of educational matters in Upper Canada at this period.

During Governor Simcoe's tenure of office in this Province he had taken a warm interest in the subject of popular education, and had contemplated the establishment of grammar schools in the various districts, with a university at their head. Even so early as the year 1794, the necessity for providing instruction for the youth of the Province had become pressing, more especially among the wealthier families—such families, for instance, as the Cartwrights, the Stuarts, and the Hamiltons. The heads of these families agreed to cooperate for their common interest, and to procure from beyond sea a capable tutor for their children. To procure such a teacher in Canada was simply impossible. The country was being rapidly settled, but the settlers were persons who were fitted neither by attainments nor inclination for schoolmasters. These matters were represented to Governor Simcoe, who accordingly authorized Mr. Richard Cartwright to procure a man capable of taking charge of a High School, which should ultimately be converted into a University. Mr. Cartwright, acting on this authority, wrote over to Scotland, to his friend Dr. Hamilton, of Gladsmuir, in East Lothian, representing the nature of the case, and asking that some youth, able and willing to undertake educational duties, might be sent over to Canada. The duties were to consist of the charge of an academy, "which was afterwards to become a college, under the patronage of the Government of the Province." This was doubtless either under the impression that Governor Simcoe



was likely to remain in Canada, or that his educational policy would be carried out by his successor. The bright prospects of the country were enlarged upon, as was also the project of establishing a University. The salary offered—eighty pounds sterling a year, with free board and lodging—was considered a very liberal stipend in those times; and it was agreed that all expenses of the journey should be provided. It was represented that the opening was a particularly inviting one for a young man endowed with a moderate share of patience. He would be first in the field, and would thus have a claim upon the country when its University should have become an accomplished fact. All this was perfectly true, and there were doubtless scores of needy young men in Scotland who would gladly have accepted the situation. Dr. Hamilton, however, does not seem to have applied himself with much energy to the discharge of the commission entrusted to him, and was so long in completing his negotiations that Governor Simcoe's residence in Canada meanwhile came to an end. The Doctor applied in the first place to several young gentlemen who clearly saw their way to a bright future in their own country, and who had therefore no motive for expatriating themselves. The first of these was Mr.—afterwards Dr.—Chalmers, already mentioned. The next was Mr.—afterwards Professor—Duncan. There were also a third and a fourth, whose names have not come down to us. The fifth application was made to the dominie of Kettle school, John Strachan, who accepted the offer, and resigned his situation accordingly. He paid a brief visit to Aberdeen and took an affectionate farewell of his mother, after which, towards the latter end of August, 1799, he embarked at Greenock for New York.

In the year 1799 people were not able to traverse the ocean in first-class hotels, nor were trans-Atlantic voyages made in eight

days. The vessel on board of which Mr. Strachan embarked was a slow trader, which was often becalmed on the voyage, and had to contend against adverse winds. We have no certain information as to the actual time occupied in the sea-voyage, but it is reasonable to suppose that Mr. Strachan did not loiter on the way after reaching the shore, and we are met by the astounding fact that he did not reach Kingston, Upper Canada, until the 31st of December—the last day of the year. He had thus been upwards of four months—more than the third of a year—on the way. In a charge delivered by him to the clergy of his Diocese, nearly sixty years after this time, he refers to this passage of his career, and describes his early impressions of the country which was thenceforth to be his home. His journey from New York was made by way of Montreal, and must have been long and wearisome enough. He describes himself as having reached his destination "much fatigued in body, and not a little disappointed at the desolate appearance of the country," which was everywhere enveloped in snow. "But," he adds "a new and still more severe trial awaited me. I was informed that Governor Simcoe had some time before returned to England, but of which I had received no information, and that the establishing of the projected University had been postponed. I was deeply moved and cast down, and had I possessed the means I would have instantly returned to Scotland. A more lonely or destitute condition can scarcely be conceived." In a private letter addressed to a friend in England in after years he gives us a further insight into the unhappy position in which he found himself placed. He says:—"Though gifted with a happy disposition, and disposed to see the best side of things, I was so beat down that, if I had been in possession of twenty pounds, I should have returned at once; but in truth I had not twenty shillings, and was therefore ob-

liged to make the best of it. My situation was, indeed, desolate; for I knew not a creature. The gentleman in whose house I was to reside, had no convenience for a person of retired and studious habits; and he seemed reserved and distant in his manners. The few young men of the town, or rather village, were uneducated, and inclined to practices in which I could not join." The gentleman referred to was the Mr. Cartwright already mentioned, and the young emigrant had not long been an inmate of his house before he formed a much more favourable opinion of his host. That gentleman proposed that Mr. Strachan should take charge of the education of his four sons, and of a select number of pupils, for a term of three years. "This," said Mr. Cartwright, "will provide you with honourable employment at a fair remuneration, and if at the expiration of that period the country does not present a reasonable prospect of advancement you might then return to Scotland with credit." It was further represented that the establishment of the Grammar Schools and University could only be a matter of time, and that a young man of good constitution and education might soon have the ball at his feet in a new country such as Upper Canada then was. The youth made the best of a bad bargain, and accepted Mr. Cartwright's proposal. It is unnecessary to say that he never had occasion to repent his decision. A warm personal friendship eventually sprang up between him and the Cartwright family; a friendship which lasted uninterruptedly during their respective lives.

The young man continued to reside in Mr. Cartwright's house, at Kingston, for the full term agreed upon. A study was built and furnished expressly for his accommodation, and he found himself in the enjoyment of a comfortable home, pleasant society, and fair prospects. He had twelve pupils, several of whom were destined to make a figure in our Canadian annals. His disci-

pline and plan of instruction were eminently successful, and he gave the highest satisfaction to the parents. But a more ambitious career awaited him. He had made up his mind to enter the Christian ministry. And as this resolution, and its fulfilment, are matters as to which there is a good deal of misapprehension, it may be as well to explain how it was that he espoused the doctrines and ministry of the Church of England.

As has already been intimated, it has often been asserted, and is generally believed, that previous to his emigration from Scotland to Upper Canada, he had been ordained a minister of the Presbyterian Church. This belief, as we have seen, is erroneous. He had undoubtedly attended the Presbyterian services for some years prior to leaving his native land, and there is good reason for believing that he was a communicant. Had he remained in Scotland it is extremely probable that he would have become a minister of the national Church. But instead of remaining in a country where Presbyterianism was powerful and popular, he came to a land where the doctrines of that body were not then much in demand. It is most unjust and superficial, however, to say that he regarded the matter from the point of self-interest alone. The fundamental differences between Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism are not so wide as to render it impossible for the human mind to pass conscientiously from one to the other. His circumstances, too, were peculiar. Upon reaching Kingston he was stationed in the house of an Episcopalian. All his pupils were the sons of Episcopalian parents; all his associates and acquaintances were Episcopalians, as were all the families of good social position in and around Kingston in those days. He lived in an atmosphere of Episcopacy, and received daily benefactions and kindnesses from Episcopalian hands. The strongest influences were brought to

bear upon him. It should also be remembered that he had been accustomed to attend an Episcopal church in the days of his childhood, and that he had never occupied a position antagonistic to Episcopacy. Episcopacy, moreover, was regarded as the established religion of the land. That Mr. Strachan ceased to be a Presbyterian and became an Episcopalian, taken by itself, proves nothing. It might even be urged that he saw within the pale of the Church of England a wider sphere of usefulness, in the then state of public opinion in this Province. We can readily understand a thoroughly high-minded and conscientious man arguing with himself in this manner, and acting upon his arguments. It is only fair to Bishop Strachan's memory to give him credit for honesty of purpose, although, as a mere matter of self-interest, of course there can be no doubt that everything pointed in the same direction. The pulpit of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, at the beginning of this century, held out few inducements to an ambitious young man. The Church of England, on the contrary, had good prizes in possession, and splendid ones in remainder.

Mr. MacMullen, in his *History of Canada*, indulges in some statements respecting Mr. Strachan's career which we believe to be entirely erroneous. They are, at all events, erroneous as to some of the details, and are misleading as to their general purport. We are told that Mr. Strachan continued to be a member of the Presbyterian Church until after his marriage, and that he made application to the Gabriel Street Presbyterian congregation of Montreal to become their minister. He proposed, it is said, that the congregation should pay him a salary of £300 a year, and that he should return to Scotland for ordination. This proposal, it is said, was rejected; whereupon Mr. Strachan's dread of "black prelacy," and the Book of Common Prayer diminished.

Now, there is evidently something wrong

here. In 1803 Mr. Strachan became a deacon of the Church of England. In 1804 he became a priest, and was appointed to the Cornwall mission. It is not pretended that he ever swerved in his allegiance to Episcopacy after he had once embraced Episcopal doctrines. But he was not married until 1807. Mr. MacMullen certainly never intended us to believe that Mr. Strachan wished to withdraw from the Episcopal Church after he had been preaching several years, for the sake of taking charge of the Gabriel Street Presbyterian congregation. With regard to the "black prelacy," and the Book of Common Prayer, Mr. Strachan, as we have seen, had lived in an Episcopalian atmosphere when young, and would not be likely to have any very bitter antipathy to the vestments and services of the Church of England. A youth whose father was an Episcopalian, and whose Presbyterian mother taught him to make the sign of the cross every night at bedtime, could not be expected to be furiously antagonistic to the ordinary rites and ceremonies of prelacy.

We have, moreover, the Bishop's own *ipse dixit* to the effect that immediately after taking up his abode in Mr. Cartwright's house he made up his mind to enter the ministry of the Church of England. He says: "I devoted all my leisure time during the three years of my engagement with Mr. Cartwright to the study of divinity, with a view of entering the Church at its expiration." This, as he informs us, was done at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Stuart, rector of Kingston. This gentleman, who was the bishop's commissary for Upper Canada, was himself the son of a Scottish Presbyterian, and had doubtless been a Presbyterian himself in his youth. In fact, these changes of opinion were very common in Upper Canada, from the time of its original settlement down to a period comparatively recent, and do not of themselves form any ground for

impugning the honesty or good faith of the persons affected by them.

The friendship between Dr. Stuart and Mr. Strachan dated from the day of their first interview, which took place within a few days after the latter arrived in Upper Canada. The Archdeacon—such was practically his position—assisted the young man with advice, and with theological teaching. On the 22nd of May, 1803, Mr. Strachan received ordination as a deacon at the hands of Bishop Mountain. A year later—on the 3rd of June, 1804—he was admitted to the priesthood, and was immediately afterwards appointed to the mission of Cornwall. He entered on his duties in a temporary building, pending the erection of a church, which was completed and opened for service in the autumn of 1805.

His clerical duties for some time were not heavy, and he found himself with considerable spare time on his hands. He determined to turn this time to account by taking in pupils. By this means he was soon busily employed, and his school—subsequently known far and wide as the Cornwall Grammar School—in full operation. One of his earliest pupils was Master John Beverley Robinson, a bright-eyed little fellow who remained at the establishment until he had completed his education, and whose highly successful career will be told at length in its proper place in these pages. The late Sir James B. Macaulay, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Chief Justice Archibald N. Maclean, the Hon. Henry John Boulton, and the Hon. Jonas Jones, were also among the early pupils. An interesting account of this famous school, and of the course of study pursued there, will be found in the life of Bishop Strachan written by the late Bishop Bethune, who was himself a pupil at the establishment under the *régime* of its founder.

His duties as preceptor of this school

were many and onerous, but they were not permitted to interfere in any way with his clerical work. He conscientiously prepared new sermons for every Sunday throughout the year, besides visiting the sick and distressed of his parish. Every night regularly brought with it the necessity for secular study, for, as he himself afterwards confessed, he was educationally not much in advance of his best scholars, and had to study hard to keep pace with them. His ordinary daily duties consumed sixteen hours, and he was left with very little leisure time on his hands. He liked hard work, however, and hard work agreed with him. Referring to this period of his life, half a century later, he pronounced it the happiest time he had ever known. His charge embraced a large tract of country, but his visitations were made with the utmost faithfulness and regularity. In the early years of his ministry he could not afford to keep a horse, and all his travelling was done on foot. By degrees, however, as his position became more assured, his income increased, and was soon amply sufficient for all his requirements. In 1807 the University of St. Andrew's conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. The same year was rendered noteworthy to him by his marriage. A man who had shown such good judgment in providing for himself in the ordinary affairs of the world would not be likely to make a grievous mistake in so important a matter as the choice of a wife. It has been said of him that he showed his taste by marrying the prettiest, his prudence by marrying the richest, and his good fortune by marrying the nicest young gentlewoman in the old town of Cornwall. The lady of his choice was a young widow, the relict of the late Mr. Andrew McGill, of Montreal, and the daughter of Dr. George Thompson Wood, a retired army surgeon, resident in Cornwall. By this lady, who was of gentle and amiable manners, and a

devoted wife and mother, he had a numerous family, consisting of four sons and four daughters, none of whom now survives. She was well off in worldly goods, and did not go to her husband empty-handed. From the time of his marriage Dr. Strachan never knew what it was to be straitened in means. The pair were destined to enjoy more than fifty-eight years of wedded life together, and their deaths were only about two years asunder.

Notwithstanding his marriage, and his largely-increased income, Dr. Strachan continued to carry on the Grammar School, which had by this time gained a high reputation, not only throughout Upper Canada, but even throughout the sister Province. It was resorted to by nearly all the wealthy Protestant youth in the country, and yielded what in those days must have been a handsome revenue. His strength of character is in nothing more apparent than in the *esprit de corps* which he contrived to impart to his scholars at this establishment. To the end of his life, and long after many of his pupils had risen to high position in the land, he continued to regard them as his "boys." They, on their parts, continued to look up to him as their guide, philosopher and friend. Many years after his tutorship had come to an end, a number of judges and other magnates, all of whom had been under his tutelage, gave him a dinner in Toronto, and presented him with a costly token of their kindly remembrance of those days when he had been their educational director. When the assembly was ready to sit down to dinner, his voice was heard in the old familiar tone of authoritative command: "Boys, take your places;" and the behest was obeyed as though by instinct. Some of the "boys" were of mature age, and already had "boys" of their own who had nearly attained to manhood; but the injunction seemed to come as naturally from those lips

in the summer of 1833 as it had ever done in the days when no one would have ventured to question its authority.

In 1811 the Doctor's *alma mater*, the University of Aberdeen, conferred upon him the degree of D.D. The same year was signalized by the death of his friend Dr. Stuart, and this circumstance led to an important change in his own sphere of action. Dr. Stuart's death left the rectory of Kingston vacant. The vacancy was filled by the appointment thereto of his son, the Rev. George O'Kill Stuart, who up to that time had held charge in York, the capital of the Province, where he had also filled the post of teacher of the Home District School. This, however, left the charge at York vacant. The position was offered to Dr. Strachan, who at first declined it. He had no disposition to relinquish his prosperous school and his comfortable parsonage-house at Cornwall for a position where the pecuniary recompense would not be materially increased, and where the cost of living would be very much greater. The Hon. Francis Gore, however, and his successor in the administration of the Government, General Brock, both urged the matter with some persistence; and an additional inducement was held out in the shape of the chaplaincy to the troops, to which was attached a stipend of £150 a year. Dr. Strachan finally consented, and in the summer of 1812 removed to the capital of the Province, which was thenceforward to be his home for a continuous period of fifty-five years.

It was the period of the American War, and the journey from Cornwall to York, by water—the most convenient method of transit in those times—was not unattended with danger. It was in the month of July that Dr. Strachan embarked, with his wife, children, and all his worldly possessions, in an open boat, whereby they made their way up the St. Lawrence to Kingston. Here they were transferred to a schooner, the

skipper whereof would seem to have been a most abject poltroon. They made all sail for York, but had not proceeded far ere a vessel was seen hovering in the distance, towards the American coast. It soon began to bear down on them. The valiant commander, supposing it to be a United States vessel, went down to Dr. Strachan's cabin to consult as to the propriety of surrendering at discretion. Now, Dr. Strachan, notwithstanding his sacred calling, was about the least likely man in the world to show the white feather. He was endowed with invincible courage, and was ever ready to do battle in a cause that seemed to him to be a good one. The American invasion was a subject on which he felt very strongly. In defence of Canadian freedom he was ready, if need were, to shed the last drop of his blood. He at once announced a policy of "No Surrender," and inquired of the skipper what means of defence he had at command. The latter replied that there were a four-pounder, a few muskets, and a small stock of ammunition on board. The good Doctor's valour seems for once to have outrun his discretion. Finding that the captain was entirely overcome by fear, and could not be wrought up to fighting-point, he bade him remain below with Mrs. Strachan and the children, and himself went on deck to take the command. He found the four-pounder fastened to the deck, on the side of the craft opposite to that on which the schooner was approaching. It was therefore useless for purposes of present defence. While he was casting about in his mind what to do next, the supposed hostile schooner approached near enough to make it evident that she was a Canadian vessel, and that nothing was to be feared from her. The intrepid commander was accordingly restored to his functions, and the little craft proceeded on its way to York without any further adventure.

The Upper Canadian capital, in the year

1812, was not very metropolitan in its aspect. It was built entirely of wood, and its population was only between six and seven hundred. Dr. Strachan's ordinary parish work was not extensive enough to tax his energies very severely, even had those energies been less than they were. But the time was an altogether exceptional one. The country had been plunged into war. York, as the Provincial capital, was the official residence of the man who united in himself the functions of Civil Administrator and Commander of the Forces. It was consequently the centre and focus of all military arrangements, and the headquarters of the regular troops. No patriotic man needed to be short of employment at such a time, and Dr. Strachan was as patriotic a citizen as was to be found in the Province. He felt, moreover, that, apart altogether from his pastoral duties, he had a stake in the country, and he very soon had his hands full. He was a wise and prudent counsellor, and was of much service to Sir Isaac Brock. There was an imperative demand for public funds, and there was a depleted Provincial exchequer. Dr. Strachan set himself to work with a will, and was chiefly instrumental in founding and keeping afloat the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada, as it was called. The object of this society was to relieve the wounded among the militia and volunteers, to succour the widows and orphans of the slain, and to assist and support the families of those who were called out on military duty. Its establishment was an important step in the direction of our national defence, and it is said to have been of greater efficacy than half-a-dozen regiments would have been. Its existence was a guarantee to the public that the country would be defended to the last, and that the families of those taking part in its defence would not be neglected.

All through the troubled period of the war Dr. Strachan did his duty gallantly,

both as a clergyman and a patriot. As chaplain of the forces he was always at hand in the hour of danger. He attended to the temporal needs of the sick and wounded, and to the spiritual wants of the dying. His dauntless bravery was conspicuously manifested times without number, and on more than one occasion he narrowly escaped with life. It was largely due to his zeal and fearlessness that the householders of York were not plundered and maltreated during the brief occupation of the American soldiery in 1813. He boarded the American commander's flag-ship, and urged upon him, in language which must have moved that veteran, that his soldiers must be made to respect the rights of private property. The American treated him with rudeness, yet—though of a sufficiently irascible disposition—he kept his temper under control for the sake of his parishioners, until he had gained his point. Again, while passing along the street one day, he received intelligence that two American soldiers had just entered the house of his friend Colonel Givins, and had not only been rude to the inmates, but had despoiled them of their property by carrying away whatever they could stow about their persons—one of the articles so “conveyed” being a silver teapot. The doughty Doctor's spirit waxed wroth within him, and he lost no time in seeking out the two marauders, whom he found standing by themselves on the Garrison common. He bore down on them with black lightning in his eye, and with words of denunciation on his lips, as he demanded the restoration of the plunder. They replied by presenting their muskets at his head, telling him to go about his business or they would blow his brains out. He refused to retreat, and finally declared that if they did not voluntarily surrender the stolen things to him he would either take them back by force or perish in the attempt. What the final result of the alter-

cation would have been can only be conjectured, for an American officer just then advanced to ascertain the cause of the dispute, and upon being made acquainted with the facts, at once compelled the restitution of the stolen property.

Within a short time of this occurrence the garrison explosion took place, by which General Pike, a brave and noble young American officer, lost his life. In revenge for this—which after all was, so far as was then known, the result of accident—General Dearborn announced his determination to burn the little town to ashes. Dr. Strachan, hearing of this resolve, made his way into the General's presence, and begged him, as he valued his soul's future happiness, to abandon his cruel resolution. The interview, which was a stormy one, lasted some time. At first, General Dearborn was very firm in his language, declaring that the garrison had been wilfully exploded by the Canadians, and that their town should “smoke for it.” Dr. Strachan, *per contra*, asserted that the explosion had been an accident, and that it would be both culpable and unwise for the Americans to act as proposed, even leaving the wickedness of such conduct altogether out of the question. The argument was maintained with fervour on both sides. The Doctor threatened the General with all sorts of penalties, both temporal and eternal, in the event of his carrying out his threat. He represented that troops would ere long arrive from England, and that Buffalo, Lewiston, Sackett's Harbour, and Oswego would be given to the flames if York were burned. Whether it was his threats of these unpleasant consequences or his spiritual denunciations that prevailed over the American General, certain it is that the latter finally thought better of his resolution, and that York was spared, with the exception of the Parliament Buildings, and a few houses contiguous to them, which had already fallen a prey to the irascibility

of the invaders. That the whole of the little capital would have been burned but for Dr. Strachan is, we think, a reasonably well-authenticated historical fact.

Soon after the Doctor's removal from Cornwall to York he received intelligence of the death of his aged mother, at Aberdeen, in her seventy-fifth year. She did not live to see her best-loved son at the height of his fame, but during her life he tenderly cared for her, and her closing years were passed in comfort and happiness. He cherished her memory with peculiar tenderness, and during the whole of his long life he could not bring himself to speak of her without an emotion which produced a tremulousness of the voice, and which frequently found expression in tears.

Within a short time after the close of the American War, chiefly through the influence of Governor Gore, and in recognition of his great services during the contest, he was appointed to a seat in the Executive Council for Upper Canada. He accepted this dignity, as he himself stated in a private letter which has been published since his death, because it gave him more influence and greater opportunities of promoting plans for the moral and religious instruction of the people. "The appointment," says Dr. Scadding,\* "of a person in Holy Orders under the Episcopal rank, to such a position, would scarcely have happened, had there not been a scarcity of men in the country qualified to fill such a station. The discernment and decision of mind evinced by Dr. Strachan in regard to secular as well as ecclesiastical matters, stamped him as one that might be thus distinguished by the Crown. In England, to this day, we see men in Holy Orders sitting on the Magistrate's Bench. It is a relic of the policy of bygone ages, when ecclesiastics were chosen to be keepers of the Great Seal; because they, beyond the generality

of their contemporaries, were fitted for the office. The policy of the present day, although it has not yet wholly discarded the usage of the past in this respect, is in its tendency opposed to, and will ultimately exclude such appointments; the reason arising from the paucity of qualified men outside the ecclesiastical ranks having long since been cancelled by facts."

From the time of receiving this appointment Dr. Strachan seems to have regarded himself as the duly authorized State champion of the Church. In the future we shall find him a priest still, but we shall also find him an active politician. This is not the place to discuss the wisdom of Church establishments, nor does the space at our command admit of our going very deeply into the state of ecclesiastical affairs in this Province at the period under consideration. Suffice it to say that from the moment of his joining the Anglican Church, the subject of this memoir had become more Anglican than were those persons who had been reared in that faith from the cradle. He was ever ready to spend himself in the cause of the Church, and he identified his own interests with hers. When political honours began to descend upon him, he rejoiced at least as much on the Church's account as on his own. He gave himself up, to use his own expression, to the task of lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes. "He looked forward," says his biographer, "to the day when here, as in our mother country, we should see the church-spire mingled everywhere with the fair and fertile scenery of the land; the Church on hill and valley; the Church in every hamlet. And with the Church, the settled pastor, pursuing from week to week his round of pious ministration,—the young his anxiety, the poor his care,—every duty urged and practised to draw men to the love of God and the love of one another." There was already, practically, a State Church in Upper Canada,

\* See *The First Bishop of Toronto: a Review and a Study*, Toronto, 1868.



and one-seventh of the entire territory of the Province had been set apart for its support. True, the setting-apart had been for a "Protestant Clergy," and the Anglican Church had not been specially designated by the Act as the sole recipient of the grant. Still, there were directions as to the establishment of parsonages and rectories—language which seemed to point to the Church of England. Moreover, the word "clergy" was not, in ordinary parlance, used to designate any ministers of religion except those belonging to the Church of England, and had never been so used in any Act of Parliament. In short, there were grounds for contending that the Act had contemplated the application of the "Clergy Reserves" to the Church of England only. This was the stand taken by Dr. Strachan, from the first moment of agitation on that vexed question, which disturbed the peace of Upper Canadian Parliaments for about forty years. Long after almost every other man of intelligence in the country had bowed to the inevitable course of events, he stood forth as the staunch champion of the monopoly. He denounced every supporter of the other side as a sacrilegious innovator; as one who hesitated not to lay hand on what the Lord had caused to be set apart for himself. When we read the despatches of successive Lieutenant-Governors on this prolonged and agitating controversy, we are enabled to form some idea of the immense power which Dr. Strachan had contrived to acquire; for we can see his hand in every one of them. The Lieutenant-Governors were evidently not much more than the media whereby he thought fit to promulgate his views. Robert Gourlay, and, to a less extent, Lord Selkirk, felt the weight of his hand. So did every man who, later on, ventured to raise his voice in support of Responsible Government. The Family Compact found in him a strenuous and voluble mouthpiece. Though impatient of insubordination to his own injunctions,

no man was less insubordinate to forms and laws which did not square with his notions of the eternal fitness of things. When the expulsion of Mr. Barnabas Bidwell was under discussion in the Legislative Assembly, one of the members ventured to hint that the proceeding might possibly be contrary to the law. "The law! the law!" exclaimed the Doctor, impatiently, "never mind the law. Toorn him oot! toorn him oot!" The incompatibility of law and gospel was an anomaly which he could never bring himself to understand. If such incompatibility existed, so much the worse for the law. Such a law must forthwith be changed, and meanwhile it must be disobeyed. Was not this man Bidwell a renegade from the United States? Was he not a republican in theory, and a radical in practice? Was he not a dissenter, and a man of Belial? Was he not a friend of Robert Gourlay's, and had he not contributed the information upon which the "Statistical Account" was based? Had not his voice been lifted up in denunciation of Church monopolies? If he were allowed to have his way, would not the inalienable rights of that Church be called in question? What place had such a man in the Councils of a Province where the first care of Government was to provide for the one true and only Church and its supporters? If the law allowed him to occupy such a place, it was a sacrilegious law—a law which every right-thinking man was bound to set at naught. This, which to us seems very much like burlesque, was precisely the aspect in which the question presented itself to Dr. Strachan's mind. On such a subject he was literally impervious to argument, and so remained to the last hour of his life.

Towards the close of the year 1820 he became a Legislative Councillor. For two years before this time he had been residing in his own house—completed in 1818—on the corner of York and Front streets; a

house which continued to be his home for nearly half a century. Within its walls he breathed his last. His elder brother, Mr. James Strachan, who, by the Doctor's assistance, had been enabled to establish himself in business at Aberdeen as a bookseller, paid a visit to this country in 1819, soon after Dr. Strachan had become settled in his new abode. The brothers had not met for twenty years, and it may well be supposed they had no lack of topics for conversation. There was one theme, however, which was constantly intruding itself into the mind of the elder. How had "brother John," who, as he well knew, was neither a profound scholar nor a man of genius, managed to set himself so very comfortably on his feet in Upper Canada? As he surveyed the proportions and decorations of the establishment, and marked the evidences of comfort and wealth on every hand, the reflection could not be repressed, and at last found vent in words: "Aw hope it's a' come honestly by, John." James Strachan, after his return to Scotland, published, at Aberdeen, a work called "A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819." It is now somewhat scarce, and is sought after by collectors of works on Canadian topography, but it contains little or nothing of permanent value, and bears internal evidences of having been written or inspired by the Doctor himself.

Sacred and secular matters continued to engross the Doctor's energies in about an equal degree for many years. In 1828 he became Archdeacon of York, contemporarily with the appointment of Dr. Stuart to the Archdeaconry of Kingston. Meanwhile the educational question had come conspicuously to the front in Upper Canada. With the history of that question Dr. Strachan's name is inseparably associated. Reference has already been made to Governor Simcoe's project for establishing a seat of advanced learning in the Province. In 1797 the Legis-

lative Council and the Assembly had concurred in an address to King George III., asking for a specific appropriation of Crown Lands for the endowment of a Grammar School in each district, and also of a College and University. The result of the address was a grant of 549,000 acres of land, and within a few years a number of Grammar Schools were in operation in various parts of the Province. The establishment of these schools was largely due to Dr. Strachan's exertions. For some years they seem to have met the public requirements, and much time elapsed before anything of importance was effected towards the establishment of the contemplated University. Soon after the arrival of Sir Peregrine Maitland as Lieutenant-Governor, however, Dr. Strachan began to move in the matter. The lands which had been set apart for educational purposes were largely composed of waste and remote territory, for which only a very small price could be had. The Doctor prevailed upon the Lieutenant-Governor to solicit the Imperial Government to consent to an exchange of these lands for other Crown Reserves more advantageously situated. Lest the Governor's despatch should be neglected, Dr. Strachan resolved to cross the sea as a special emissary to press the matter upon the authorities in England. He went over in 1826, and his mission was crowned with complete success. On the 15th of March, 1827, a Royal Charter was granted, authorizing the establishment "at or near the town of York, in the Province of Upper Canada," of a college, to be called "King's College," with the style and privileges of a University. It was provided that the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor for the time being should be Chancellor; that the Archdeacon of York should be President; that the Bishop of the diocese should be Visitor; and that the Professors should be members of the Church of England, and subscribers to the Thirty-nine Articles as

set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. It is needless to say that in this Charter Doctor Strachan's hand was visible throughout. The proposed University was to be under Episcopal control, and would practically be an Episcopal institution. On the 3rd of January, 1828, a patent was issued endowing the new University, and the Doctor's project seemed to be rapidly approaching fruition. But no sooner were the terms of the Charter made known in this country than a widespread dissatisfaction began to be apparent. Those persons who opposed the Clergy Reserves naturally arrayed themselves in opposition to the scheme of making the national University a mere sectarian institution. The obnoxious University scheme, and the question of the Clergy Reserves, were the two issues which divided parties in the Province during the general election of 1828. Archdeacon Strachan, both from the pulpit and elsewhere, upheld the domination of his Church, and denounced the opponents of that domination in unsparing terms. Petitions and counter-petitions innumerable were sent over to the Imperial Government, and the controversy extended over a long period. The actual establishment of the University meanwhile remained in abeyance. Finally, by an Act of the Local Parliament, passed by Imperial authority in 1837 (7 Wm. IV., cap. 16), the Charter was remodelled, and most of the objectionable features were expunged. Then the scheme was once more pushed forward. A building of great size was projected, and one wing of it was actually built in what subsequently came to be known as the Queen's Park. This was the building which still stands in isolation near the flagstaff which marks the projected site of the new Houses of Parliament. Here the University of King's College was finally opened for the admission of students on the 8th of June, 1843.

In order to bring Dr. Strachan's life down

to the period at which we have now arrived, it may be as well, before proceeding with the account of the educational dispute—which as yet was far from being finally adjusted—to record one or two important events in his career. In addition to his clerical and other duties, he had, for many years after his removal to York, officiated as tutor of the Home District Grammar School, which had previously been presided over by Dr. Stuart. Here his pupils were largely drawn from the same class as at Cornwall. He possessed the faculty of measuring the intellects of his scholars with remarkable discrimination, and his prognostications with regard to their future have generally been verified. As the years rolled on he was by degrees compelled to depute his functions as a schoolmaster to other hands, but he cherished a warm interest in schools during the whole of his life. Other duties, however, demanded his attention, and his hand is perceptible in much of the legislation of the Province. For the establishment of the fifty-seven rectories by Sir John Colborne just before his departure from Upper Canada, the Archdeacon must be held chiefly responsible. Whether the responsibility be an invidious one or not is a question as to which, we presume, there is some difference of opinion, even to the present day. The legality of the step on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor was long contested, but was finally upheld by the Court of Chancery. In 1839 the Diocese of Quebec was divided, and each Province became a separate diocese. There could be no dispute as to who should be the first Bishop of Upper Canada, which thereupon became the Diocese of Toronto. In the summer of 1839, Archdeacon Strachan once more proceeded to England, and in August he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He will henceforward be known to us as Bishop Strachan.

His great energy and talent for adminis-

tration soon began to make themselves felt from one end of his diocese to the other. He travelled all over the Province, holding confirmations, and instructing the local clergy as to the management of all their affairs, both sacred and secular. Wherever he went, he preached; and wherever he preached he advanced the interests of his Church. Without having any pretensions to eloquence, he always had something fresh to say—something which his hearers recognized as wise and practical. He organized a Church Society which tended to unite the clergy and laity throughout the diocese, at a time when such union was especially desirable, and when the ordinary synodical machinery was neither known nor practicable. He was at this time past what to most men constitutes middle life, but he had none of the infirmities incidental to age. His mind kept full pace with his body, and was ever fresh and buoyant. It seemed as though, like Cleopatra, age could not wither him, nor custom stale his infinite variety. He held his primary visitation of the clergy of his diocese in St. James's Cathedral on the 9th of September, 1841. His charge on that occasion is among the ablest of his numerous deliverances, and must have produced a powerful effect upon those who heard it fresh from his lips.

To resume the history of the Educational question:

The Act 7 Wm. IV., cap 16, as has been intimated, removed many of the restrictions contained in the original Charter granted to King's College. There were still certain rules and regulations, however, which savoured of sectarianism, and which were obnoxious to many persons throughout the Province. While the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration was in power, in 1849, an Act was passed which entirely denuded the institution of its sectarian character. The name of "King's College" was abandoned, and the corporate title became "The

University of Toronto." The theological faculty was abolished, and it was enacted that there should be no professorship, lectureship, or teachership of Divinity within its walls. It was further enacted that no person should be qualified to be appointed by the Crown to any seat in the Senate who should be "a minister, ecclesiastic, or teacher, under or according to any form or profession of religious faith or worship whatsoever;" that no religious observances, according to the forms of any religious denomination, should be imposed upon the members or officers of the University; and that no religious test or qualification should be required either from students or professors.

It is not easy to understand how any man uniting intelligence with integrity of purpose should have seen it to be his duty to oppose this Act. It was passed under the auspices of Robert Baldwin, himself a zealous Churchman, and a man upon whose garments even the muddy waters of Canadian party contests have left no stain. The University was purely and exclusively a national institution, endowed out of national property, and supported at the national expense. The Church of England had no greater right to its sole direction than they had to the exclusive control of any other national enterprise. To Bishop Strachan, however, and those who followed his lead, the question presented itself in a totally different aspect. Finding that there was no longer any hope of maintaining the national University solely as a seat of Episcopal education, he applied himself vigorously to the establishing of another seat of learning, which should be conducted in accordance with his views. On the 7th of February, 1850—about five weeks after the new University Act had come into operation—he addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese, recommending a general appeal to the Church in

Great Britain and Ireland, for aid to establish an Episcopalian University. The pastoral was enthusiastically responded to. Meetings were held in the several parishes, and 11,731 signatures were readily obtained to petitions in support of the appeal. Two months afterwards the Bishop himself repaired once more to England, for the purpose of personally presenting the petition, and of enlisting the sympathies of the members of the Church of England there in the cause which he had so deeply at heart. He was again eminently successful. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts voted £2,000, payable by instalments of £400 per annum, and also gave seven and a half acres of land within the precincts of the City of Toronto. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge granted £3,000, and the University of Oxford £500. Private subscriptions were also obtained to the extent of over £4,000. Bishop Strachan returned in a few months, and next year (1851) an Act was procured incorporating the institution under the name of "Trinity College." The foundation-stone was laid on the 30th of April in the same year, and on the 15th of January following the inauguration took place, and the regular course of instruction commenced. The University was constituted by Royal Charter dated the 16th of July, 1852, whereby power was given to confer degrees in divinity, arts, law and medicine. This seat of learning has ever since enjoyed a fair share of success, although, as is well known, its affairs have not always escaped criticism. Its instruction and discipline are in accordance with the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, but the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor are empowered to dispense with the usual declaration of membership of that Church, in the case of all degrees except those in divinity.

Bishop Strachan was by this time well advanced in years, and had already passed

the age of three score and ten, which is allotted as the utmost verge of active manhood. In everything except years, however, he was still in the prime of life, and a long term of active usefulness was still in store for him. In 1846 he had resigned the Archdeaconry of York and the Rectory of Toronto, in response to a communication from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which, on condition of his resigning all other ecclesiastical preferment, had granted to him an income of £1,250 sterling per annum for the remainder of his life. The Archdeaconry had been conferred upon his old friend and quondam pupil the Rev. Dr. A. N. Bethune, who was ultimately destined to be his biographer, and his successor in the Bishopric of Toronto. The Rectory was conferred upon the Rev. Henry J. Grasett, who still retains the incumbency. The time was now at hand when the long controverted dispute respecting the Clergy Reserves was to be finally disposed of. The question formed the chief party issue during the elections of 1851, and upon the formation of the Hincks-Morin Government the clamour for secularization became louder than ever. In the summer of 1852, the Premier, Mr. Hincks, during a mission to England, pressed upon the Home Government the desirability of authorizing the Canadian Legislature to deal with the question. The expediency of bringing the long struggle to an end was beyond dispute, and during the session of 1853 the authority was granted. Nothing was done in pursuance of this authority, however, until after the formation of Sir Allan Macnab's Coalition Ministry, after the elections of 1854. The question was then once more brought before the attention of Parliament. After a long and heated discussion the Bill for secularization was carried in both Houses by large majorities. In accordance with the terms of the Imperial Act of Authorization, a guarantee was embodied in the Cana-

dian Act whereby provision was made for the due preservation of vested rights. It was provided that all clerical stipends which had theretofore been chargeable upon the Clergy Reserves Fund should continue to be paid during the lives of existing incumbents, and a sum was apportioned to meet any other equitable claims which might arise. And thus, after an almost ceaseless controversy of forty years, the great question of the Clergy Reserves was finally set at rest.

It will hardly be supposed that the Secularization Bill met with the approval of Bishop Strachan, or that it was allowed to pass without protest on his part. While its provisions were still under discussion he addressed a strong letter on the subject to Mr. Morin, Sir Allan Macnab's Lower Canadian coadjutor in the Government. He also prepared an elaborate petition to the Parliament, setting out the whole question in detail from an Episcopal point of view; and in order that due consideration should be given to the petition he presented it in person at the Bar of the House, at the head of a number of his clergy, all clad in the vestments of their order. It was a spectacle more in unison with the middle ages than with the middle of the nineteenth century, and gave rise to much comment at the time. In this Parliament, William Lyon Mackenzie, who had several years before returned from his long exile, occupied a seat as member for Haldimand. The Reverend Bishop and Mr. Mackenzie were foes of long standing. In the old days, between 1830 and 1836, when the latter had been subjected to five successive expulsions from the House, he had had no more uncompromising an opponent than the Archdeacon of York, who regarded his schemes with mingled horror and contempt. Time, let us hope, had not been without a chastening effect on the minds of both; but on this occasion Mr. Mackenzie could not let slip so favourable

an opportunity for bearing testimony to the fact that the old antagonism, on his side, was not entirely quenched. When the reverend prelate and his clerical retinue had advanced, in full canonicals, to the Bar of the House, the Member for Haldimand rose in his place, and, under the pretext of putting a question to the Speaker, launched out into a voluble and excited harangue. Without directly referring either to the Bishop or the nature of his special mission on this occasion, he deprecated the interruptions to which the House was subjected by the intrusion upon its deliberations of persons who might better be otherwise employed. He referred to the turbulent interference of the clergy in matters which did not come within their jurisdiction; interference which he alleged had always proved disastrous to the public weal. Then, becoming more personal, he called attention to the fact that "these people" were even now "infesting the lobbies of the Legislature, when they should be employed on higher matters, and filling with tumultuous mobs the halls and passages of the House; thronging the very space below the Bar set apart for the accommodation of peaceably-disposed spectators." Thus he went on for some time, until he had liberated his mind. The Bishop then, with quietness and dignity, and without taking the slightest verbal notice of the attack upon him, presented his petition and withdrew from the House. Needless to say that nothing came of the petition. The Bill, as we have seen, passed both Houses, and tardy justice was done in a cause which had already been too long under debate.

By this time the territorial division of the Diocese of Toronto had become necessary. We have seen that that Diocese comprehended the whole of Upper Canada—an area too wide to admit of the duties incidental to the Bishopric being efficiently discharged by one individual, no matter how great his energy or how good his will. Bishop Strachan had

several years previously submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury a plan for the formation of two new dioceses, one east of Toronto, and the other west. The plan had been approved of, and the boundaries of the respective dioceses had been fixed. In 1857 the Synod of Toronto made provision for the future election of Bishops, and the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Cronyn was elected the first Bishop of the western division, known as the Diocese of Huron. The Bishopric of the eastern division, known as the Diocese of Ontario, owing to dilatoriness in providing an endowment, was not filled until 1861, when the Rev. J. T. Lewis was elected to that dignity.

The tremendous vitality of Bishop Strachan's constitution began about this time to give out unmistakable symptoms of decline. He was more than eighty years of age, and nearly all the friends of his boyhood and youth had passed away. Even the friends of a later generation were one by one sinking into the grave. Of his old pupils at the Cornwall Grammar School very few remained. Early in 1863, the best-loved of all those pupils—the late Chief Justice Robinson—went to his rest. It will readily be conceived that these things would not be without effect in depressing the venerable Bishop's mind. He was ready enough, however, to accept the common lot of humanity, and instead of complaining that he was no longer blessed with the vigour and plenitude of strength which had once been his, was filled with thankfulness in that his life and faculties had been preserved to him far beyond the time vouchsafed to most men. His bodily feebleness, however, steadily increased, and he began to be afflicted with deafness, failing sight, and other ills incidental to old age. His confirmation visitations taxed his strength to the limits of his endurance. It became necessary to consider the question of appointing a coadjutor. The matter was first

publicly discussed during the Synod of 1863, when the Bishop himself recognized and acquiesced in the necessity. No actual election took place, however, until 1866, when such a step could no longer be delayed. The Rev. Dr. Bethune was elected to the office; and no choice would so fully have met the wishes of Bishop Strachan himself, who had always been warmly attached to his old pupil, and taken a great interest in his welfare. Before this election took place, however, the venerable Bishop had been called upon to sustain the heaviest bereavement of his life. In the autumn of 1865, Mrs. Strachan, his beloved companion for more than fifty-eight years, was taken from him. So heavy a blow as this, coming upon an old man in his eighty-eighth year, who had outlived all the companions of his youth, and was already tottering on the verge of eternity, could not be felt otherwise than very severely. It was observed that from that time forward he was never quite the same man. He continued to attend to his pressing duties, and his faculties seemed to have undergone no perceptible diminution; but there was a change which those who knew him intimately could not fail to mark. The lustre of his life had ceased to shine. During the meeting of the Synod in June, 1867—the last June he was destined to see—he was compelled to delegate his duties to his coadjutor. Every Sunday he was to be seen in his place in St. James's Cathedral, and even after he had ceased to preach he always made a point of pronouncing the benediction. He was still seen occasionally on the streets, and his well-known form was to the last regarded with an interest such as no one else inspired. On Sunday, the 19th of October, 1867, he attended service in his beloved Cathedral for the last time. "He was slightly ill," says his biographer, "during the service, but rallied before its close; and as if there was on his mind a presenti-

ment that he was never to be there again, he bade good-bye to all the attendants of the Church, specially requesting that none might be overlooked. One by one he shook hands with them all, and prayed that God would bless them. He was restless and disconcerted the following days, and on Thursday he was taken so seriously ill that much alarm was felt; and although he subsequently rallied a little, the opinion of the medical men in attendance was that he could not long survive. The strength of his robust constitution was evidently worn out; and there were signs, not to be mistaken, that its dissolution was not far distant. There were returns of vigour and spirit, after intervals of weakness and prostration, but these were the fitful struggles of declining nature—the rise and sinking of the flickering lamp of life. The mind, too, was affected by the weakness of the body: there were wanderings of thought, and words without coherence. There would be a flitting from the past to the present,—from the incidents of years long gone to events of recent occurrence; and the impressions those memories awakened expressed in hurried words, and rapid transition from one subject to another. There was, too, the frequent recitation of fragments of psalms and hymns; the broken utterances of prayer; and at times, in firm voice, the repetition of portions of the Creed. On the evening of Thursday, the 31st October, the Holy Communion was administered to him by his friend and Chaplain, the Rector of the Parish; and then, as all through his illness, every affectionate, soothing, watchful attention was exerted to give ease and comfort to his last hours. The pulsation became gradually weaker, and, at three o'clock in the morning of November 1st, All Saints' Day, he breathed his last."

The funeral took place on the 5th of November. Such a funeral was an event in

the history of the Cathedral, and may almost be said to have been an event in the history of the city. The venerable old man had outlived most of the enmities and jealousies of other days, and all persons, irrespective of creeds, felt that a long-cherished landmark had been removed from its place. During the performance of the funeral obsequies all business was entirely suspended in the city, and many of the principal establishments were draped in solemn mourning. The public schools were closed, and the city flags were hoisted at half-mast. From a contemporary newspaper account we learn that the bells in St. James's Cathedral, which were muffled, began pealing a little before midnight of the night previous, and continued to play a mournful requiem till the body was committed to its last resting place. The solemn music of the bells had a very peculiar effect, being unlike anything of the kind that had ever been heard in Toronto; and all who listened to their mournful notes felt the sadness of the event which had occasioned them. The members of the various literary and benevolent societies, the Law Society, and the Senate, graduates and under-graduates of the University of Toronto; the provost, professors, graduates and under-graduates of Trinity and Victoria Colleges, and the masters and students of Upper Canada College took part in the procession. The professors and graduates were clothed in academical costume, and wore mourning badges on the left arm. In accordance with a previous arrangement the streets along which the funeral procession passed were lined with troops. As the mournful procession moved along the troops reversed their arms, and the spectators uncovered their heads, and in every manner possible showed their great respect for the memory of the first Bishop of Toronto.

He was buried beneath the chancel, in front of the large window in the north end of the Cathedral.



There is little necessity for any elaborate summing-up of Bishop Strachan's career. His attributes and personality have been sufficiently indicated in the foregoing pages, which have been written with a conscientious desire to do justice alike to his own memory and to that of those persons who differed from him in their views of life. He was a man by no means devoid of human frailties, and there were points in his character which savoured more of the politician than of the ecclesiastic. That his Christianity was sincere, however, and that his Churchmanship was zealous, are facts which no one who is intimately acquainted with the facts of his long life will venture to doubt. His memory is justly regarded with the reverence due to strength of mind, un-

flinching courage, and lifelong devotion to his principles. He lived through a critical period in the history of the Church of England in Upper Canada, and took a foremost part in all questions affecting its welfare. The issues for which he fought so valiantly have been finally settled, and can never again arise to disturb the peace of the community. Partly for this reason, and partly because, with all his massive force of character, he was not inherently a great man, the interest which is still felt in his great name is not destined, we think, to be abiding. In his day and generation he exerted a mighty influence upon both our civil and ecclesiastical polity; but that influence we believe to be for an age only, and not for all time.

## THE HON. RÉNÉ EDOUARD CARON.

THE late Hon. René Edouard Caron was a fine type of the manly and straightforward politician. His public life was marked by that earnestness of purpose and zealous effort which are inseparable from those whose hearts are in their work, and though his career was not characterized by any very great display, it shed a somewhat conspicuous light on the history of the period wherein he played no unimportant part. All through his life he preserved those principles of honour and integrity, and that love of nationality, which his contemporaries recognized and respected from the beginning to the close of his career. He was the founder of the school of moderate politicians, and has left a blameless record behind him which is full of suggestion and value to the generation which has come after him. He was born in the parish of Ste. Anne, Côte de Beaupré, in the year 1800, and his father, Augustin Caron, was a well-to-do farmer who represented the old county of Northumberland twice in the Parliament of Lower Canada. René Edouard was educated first at the College of St. Pierre, Rivière du Sud, and subsequently at the Seminary of Quebec, where he diligently cultivated an acquaintance with the classics. Ending his studies in 1821 he entered the law office of André Hamel, and five years afterwards was called to the Bar of his native Province. Of pleasing address and affable manners,

he soon secured a large and lucrative practice. Opportunely for him, the Bar of Lower Canada was at this stage of his career almost depleted of its famous men, and the rising young lawyer soon found himself surrounded by an influential and increasing class of clients. In 1832 he sought civic honours, and was returned a member of the City Council. In March, 1834, he was chosen Mayor of Quebec, which distinguished position he held uninterruptedly until 1837, when the city's Act of incorporation expired by limitation. In the same year that he was made Mayor, he was elected by acclamation as the representative of Upper Town in the House of Assembly. In 1836 M. Caron incurred the displeasure of the fiery and impetuous Papineau, because in a moderate and carefully worded speech he deprecated the attitude of the great French leader in pressing the claims of his people with such persistence and haste on the British Government. He counselled patience on the part of his countrymen, and asked them to await the English project for the amelioration of their condition, before resorting to measures which he could not help regarding as extreme. As might have been expected, these remarks from one of the youngest and most inexperienced members of the House, aimed directly as they were at the man who was so prominently identified with the popular movement which culminated in the Rebel-

lion, created the intensest excitement. M. Papineau, totally unmindful of his duties—for he was Speaker at the time—and in great rage, poured the vials of his savage invective on young Caron with such telling effect, that inside and outside of the walls of Parliament the air rang with the plaudits of the populace, and nearly all Quebec lifted up its voice in praise of the Liberator who, ever regardless of time and place, maintained their interests against the attacks and criticisms of all. In a body, large numbers of the electors called on Papineau and publicly thanked him for the rating he had administered to their representative. Stung to the quick by this act of folly, the young Deputy arose in his place in the Assembly, and after a speech of impassioned eloquence, in which he rebuked the Speaker, and held the electors of his constituency up to ridicule, he resigned his seat and retired from a House which had, in his opinion, attempted to thwart liberty of action and to stifle free speech. M. Caron's part in the insurrection which broke out in the following year was not a showy one, but it was full of humanity and merciful intention. He used all the influence he possessed with the authorities on behalf of those who had taken up arms against the Crown. By Royal Mandamus the Earl of Gosford summoned him to a seat in the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, but the union being formed shortly afterwards, he had no opportunity of enjoying the honour. On Quebec's receiving a fresh Act of Incorporation, M. Caron was appointed Mayor of the city for two years by Lord Sydenham, and when the office became elective he was regularly returned until the year 1846. At the union he took his seat in the Legislative Council. His was the first French-Canadian name on the roll of membership, which embraced some of the ablest spirits in the country.

From 1843 to 1847 he was Speaker of this branch of the Legislature, and after the office was made political, May 18th, 1847, and Mr. McGill had filled it for nearly a year, M. Caron was once more installed as Speaker, and continued in the enjoyment of the office until 1853, holding also a conspicuous place in the Lafontaine and Hincks Administration. In the last year he was created a Judge of the Superior Court of Quebec, and later on a Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench; and in 1859 he became one of the Codifiers of the Civil Laws of Lower Canada, together with Messrs. Morin and Day. This work he entered upon with great satisfaction, and the Government of the day soon found that in the choice of the Board of Commissioners a most judicious selection had been made. The codified laws were adopted by the Chamber in 1866, and on the 1st of August they were published in both languages.

On the 11th of February, 1873, Judge Caron succeeded Sir N. F. Belleau as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec—a position which he filled with moderation and capacity until his death, which occurred at Spencer Wood on the 13th of December, 1876.

Among the minor offices which M. Caron held was the Presidency of the St. Jean de Baptiste Society. His literary labours are confined to two interesting series of letters; first, the "Draper-Caron" correspondence in 1845, which afterwards became a sort of state paper, and second, the "Cayley-Caron" letters in 1847, in both of which he appeared to signal advantage, though nothing of value ever came out of them, however much had been expected. In 1828 M. Caron married Miss Josephine de Blois, of Quebec, a lady of fine culture, and a descendant of one of the oldest families in the Province.

## THE HON. EDWARD BARRON CHANDLER.

NO man in public life in the Province was ever more highly respected and admired for his fine and sympathetic qualities, his integrity, high principle and administrative capacity than the late Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. To write his biography is equivalent to writing the political and social history of New Brunswick for more than half a century, so closely identified is his name with the several interests of the colony. He belonged to the generation of statesmen of which the Partelows, Hazens, Wilnots and Streets are notable types. He was proud of his descent from the old Loyalist family of Chandlers, which left the United States in 1783, and settled in Nova Scotia, founding a little colony there. Joshua Chandler, the grandfather of the late Lieutenant-Governor, was an uncompromising Loyalist, and a member of the famous General Assembly of 1775. His son, Charles H. Chandler, was for many years High Sheriff of the county of Cumberland, Nova Scotia. Edward Barron Chandler was born at Amherst, N.S., in the year 1800, was educated there, and in 1822 was married to Miss P. W. Millidge, who was a member of one of the most prominent families in the country. In 1823 he was called to the Bar. In the fall of the same year he became Judge of Probates and Clerk of the Peace for the county of Westmoreland, and retained these offices until 1862. In 1827 he was elected to

the New Brunswick Assembly, and sat for the constituency of Westmoreland from that year until 1836, when he was called to the Legislative Council. In 1833 he proceeded to England as the Provincial Delegate to secure for the Province the control of the casual and territorial revenues—a grant which was not made, however, until 1837. One result of the mission was the separation in 1834 of the Executive Council from the Provincial Upper House, and the formal constitution of the Legislative Council with nineteen members. In 1844 Mr. Chandler became an Executive Councillor, but he resigned in the spring of the following year along with Messrs. Hazen and Johnston, on the appointment of Mr. Alfred Reade (son-in-law of Lieutenant-Governor Colebrooke) to the post of Provincial Secretary of the Province, rendered vacant by the demise of the Hon. Mr. Odell. Mr. Chandler took the ground that the appointment could in no wise be defended, because Mr. Reade's "character, services and claims to preferment were unknown in this country." The Lieutenant-Governor carried on the affairs of the Province for almost a year with but two or three members of Government. In February, 1846, the Cabinet was reconstructed, but it was not satisfactory in its *personnel* to the Liberals, who had united with certain of the Conservatives to depose Mr. Reade, and it was violently assailed by Mr. L. A.

Wilmot and others. Mr. Chandler's excuse for going into the Government was based on the fact that the Reade matter had been disposed of, and was no longer likely to embarrass his colleagues, the Colonial Secretary having condemned and disallowed it. In 1848 Mr. Wilmot and Mr. Charles Fisher, both members of the Liberal party, went into the Conservative Government, to the consternation of their *confreres*, who were just beginning to take heart. Mr. Wilmot became Attorney-General, and Mr. Fisher went in without a portfolio. While some looked upon this movement of the two Liberal chiefs as a desirable step towards coalition, there were others who ranked it as a mere shuffle of the cards. The Government, after several reconstructions and changes, lasted until 1858, experiencing at different times the bitter attacks of the Liberals.

In 1850 Mr. Chandler was a delegate to Toronto with Mr. Howe, on the subject of the Intercolonial Railway. At this period in his career he was by all odds the most prominent public man in New Brunswick. He entered heartily into every great question, and spoke and worked with zeal and energy on all occasions. He early identified himself with the railway interests of the Province, and in the winter of 1852 went to Halifax to confer with the members of the Nova Scotia Government on the Intercolonial project. An agreement was resolved upon to build the road conjointly by the three Provinces, the line to run through the valley of the St. John. Later on in this year Mr. Chandler and Mr. (now Sir) F. Hincks proceeded to England to raise a loan from the Imperial Government. It was refused, however, on the ground that the road should be a military one, and that it should not be by the

valley of the St. John. Mr. Chandler was much chagrined at this, but, nothing daunted, he approached the contracting firm of Jackson & Co., and accepted their offer to build all the railways New Brunswick might require for certain subsidies. From this arrangement sprang the European and North American line from St. John to Shediac. In 1854 Mr. Chandler went to Quebec to take part in the preliminary proceedings between the United States and the Provinces with regard to the formation of reciprocal relations between the two countries. In the same year he went to Washington to finally arrange the terms of the treaty, and in 1864 he was an active member of the Charlottetown P.E.I. Convention on the subject of the Union of the Maritime Provinces. He was also selected as one of the New Brunswick delegates to the Quebec Conference in September of the same year. In 1866 he sailed for London to complete the terms of Confederation. The year 1867 saw him nominated a member of the Canadian Senate by Royal Proclamation—a position, however, which he declined. From 1867 until 1869 he was a member of the Local Government of New Brunswick, and on being appointed in the latter year a Commissioner of the Intercolonial Railway, he resigned his seat in the Executive. Again in this year he declined a senatorship. In July, 1878, on the termination of the gubernatorial career of the Hon. (now Sir) S. L. Tilley, Mr. Chandler was appointed to the office of Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick—a position which he continued to hold until the time of his death. In politics he was a Conservative, and for years was a prominent member of the old "Family Compact Party." He died on the 6th of February, 1880, of a severe attack of bronchitis.

## THE HON. EDWARD BLAKE.

ELSEWHERE in this series will be found a sketch specially devoted to the life of William Hume Blake, the father of the subject of this memoir. From that sketch it will be seen that the present representative of West Durham was born at a place then called Bear Creek, near the present site of the village which is now variously known by the respective names of Cairngorm, Mount Hope, and Katesville, in the township of Adelaide, in the county of Middlesex, Upper Canada, on the 13th of October, 1833. He was christened Dominick Edward, after his paternal grandfather; but the first part of this name has long since been practically discarded, and for many years past he has been known simply as Edward Blake. The circumstances under which his father came to remove from his rural abode in Middlesex to the capital of the Province, when his eldest son was only a few months old, are fully detailed in the sketch above referred to; which sketch should be read in connection with the present one, as the life and character of the father have had an important influence upon those of the son.

Notwithstanding much that has been written to the contrary, the childhood and early youth of Edward Blake were marked by several distinguishing features. He acquired the rudiments of education at a very early age, and from that time forward became an indefatigable reader, who de-

voured with avidity whatever literary productions came in his way, and whose regular studies occupied and required but a very small portion of his time. It has been recorded in several sketches of his life that the principal part of his early education was derived from his father. This is true only in a very restricted sense. During the childhood of Edward Blake the life of his father was an exceptionally busy one. He was a man who was fond of his profession, and who found plenty of work to do, both in the way of his profession and in political life. He had, consequently, but scant leisure for imparting rudimentary education to his children. It is true that he was a devoted father, and took great interest in their studies, for which he took care to make ample provision; but his share in their actual teaching, on week-days, chiefly consisted in hearing their Latin lessons, and this was generally done while making his morning toilet. The lessons so imparted were frequently supplemented on Sunday evenings by his hearing them read aloud from the Scriptures, from the sacred poets, and from other works suitable to the occasion. These lessons were by no means barren of results. The children so taught soon became proficient in the more important parts of elocution, and acquired habits of correct and graceful reading which have accompanied them through life. But for the general course of their education they



*Emmeline*





were mainly indebted to private tuition. The family lived at Woodlawn, on Yonge street, a pleasant suburban residence situated a short distance north of Toronto, and now occupied by Mr. Justice Morrison. Hither repaired, on several days of each week, a tutor specially engaged for the purpose. One of the earliest of the tutors so engaged was Mr. Courtenay, a gentleman well known in Toronto, a few years since, as a judicious and successful instructor of youth. Mr. Courtenay was, in process of time, succeeded respectively by Messrs. Wedd and Brown, both of whom subsequently became, and now are teachers in Upper Canada College. Edward Blake's attendance at this well known seat of learning began when he was about eleven years of age, by which time, though he was not what is generally called studious, he had read and digested a greater number of books than many men of mature age have found time to get through in the course of their lives. His reading, as has already been intimated, had been in a great measure desultory; but his taste, even at that age, was remarkably good, and he had amassed a fund of useful knowledge much greater than is commonly possessed by lads of his age. For the mere course of study embodied in the College curriculum he had no great predilection, though he always knew his lessons, and stood creditably in his class. He was endowed with a remarkable memory, and when he gave his mind to a set task, could master it in a third of the time required by most of his boyish competitors. It was no uncommon occurrence, when the family were seated around the domestic hearth of an evening, for him to announce that he had learned his lessons for the following day, and that he was ready to read aloud from some work in which he was interested. This he was generally encouraged to do, as it was found that whatever he read aloud was well worth listening to. His criticisms

on what he read frequently aroused interesting and instructive discussions among the elders of the family. His memory was a perpetual source of remark. He was wont to astonish the family circle by recounting passages which he had met with in the course of his multifarious reading; passages in which all the family had once been as much interested as himself, but which every one but he had entirely forgotten. In a word, to everyone who knew him, Edward Blake, even in those early days, gave premonitions of the distinction which in later times he was destined to achieve. It was impossible to be long in his company without recognizing the fact that he was no common boy. He had a vivid and brilliant imagination, was passionately fond of poetry, and was even somewhat addicted to poetical composition on his own account. The severe studies and labours incidental to the staid profession to which his maturer years have been devoted have, doubtless, long since quenched this propensity; but there are passages in the speeches and addresses delivered by him on various occasions which display a high degree of poetical inspiration. A gentleman now living in Toronto, who is a good judge of poetry, and a sound critic in literary matters generally, remembers to have seen a copy of verses written by Edward Blake in his schoolboy days. They evinced such genuine poetic feeling, and were altogether so different from the moonings of most youths afflicted with a propensity for rhyming, that the gentleman suggested to the young poet's mother that the taste ought not to be repressed, but assiduously cultivated. It does not appear that any attempt was ever made by his parents to interfere with this propensity, either one way or the other. It is not easy, however, to believe that a man constituted like Edward Blake could ever have made poetry the main purpose of his life. He was born for other things, and there is no

reason for believing that his country has sustained any loss from his abandonment of what was once a favourite recreation, for the more active arena of law and politics. It is a much more desirable thing to be the foremost lawyer at the Equity Bar of his native Province, and to attain high distinction as a statesman and legislator, than to be the author of a third-rate epic.

His father's business pursuits had meanwhile rendered it necessary for the family to remove to town, and they lived on the southwest corner of Wellington and Bay streets, on the site now occupied by the commercial establishment of Messrs. Wyld, Brock & Darling. This afforded facilities to young Edward for indulging a fondness for boating, in which amusement both he and his brother Samuel, the present Vice-Chancellor, were wont to spend a good many of their leisure hours. Shortly after the completion of Edward's fourteenth year, his father paid a visit to his native land, and afterwards extended the trip to the continent. Much to his delight, Master Edward was permitted to accompany his father on this journey, and to taste the delights of foreign travel. They visited Paris, and while there the delights were intermingled with a certain degree of danger, for the time was an exciting one in the French capital, alike for visitors and permanent residents. It was the time when Red Republicanism was rampant, and when Louis Philippe—after resisting the determined struggle of his subjects for electoral reform as long as resistance was possible—finally abdicated the throne, and, under the name of William Smith, fled ingloriously from his capital in a hackney cab. The visit of the Blakes took place just before the breaking out of the June insurrection of 1848, which resulted in the establishment of the Republic under the Presidency of Louis Napoleon. It is needless to say that the visitors kept out of the turmoil and excitement to the

utmost of their power, wearing the tricolour whenever they appeared on the streets; but they were, notwithstanding, brought face to face with many turbulent scenes which were not pleasant to witness. The entire journey, which was confined to Great Britain and the more northerly parts of the continent, occupied somewhat more than a year. It was soon after his return home that Edward Blake first became a really hard student, in the ordinary sense of the term. He resumed his attendance at Upper Canada College. He worked early and late, with a fervour of application which knew no weariness, and which made him a man in intellect long before he was a man in years. He was a successful competitor for the Governor-General's prize, upon which occasion he was warmly complimented by Lord Elgin. Soon after leaving Upper Canada College he matriculated at the University of Toronto, and in due course graduated as B.A. Both his own inclinations and those of his father had always led him to look upon the legal profession as his future calling. He was accordingly articulated to Mr. Alexander Macdonnell, a former partner of his father's, and the senior member of the firm of A. & J. Macdonnell. Upon the expiration of his articles he was admitted as an attorney in Trinity Term, 1856, and during the following Michaelmas Term he was called to the Bar. In the autumn of 1856 he opened an office and began to practise as an attorney and solicitor. His triumphs as a barrister were still in the future. For a short time he carried on business alone, but in a few months he entered into partnership with Mr. Stephen Maule Jarvis, the style of the firm being "Jarvis & Blake." This partnership lasted about a year, after which he practised alone until 1859, when he formed a partnership with his younger brother, Samuel Hume Blake, already referred to, who had just been admitted as an attorney and soli-

citor. This firm, under various modifications, continued in existence until the month of December, 1872, when Mr. S. H. Blake accepted a seat on the Judicial Bench as Vice-Chancellor. Various gentlemen had meanwhile from time to time been admitted as partners, and the firm had been carried on under the styles of "E. & S. H. Blake," "Blake, Cawthra & Blake," "Blake, Kerr & Wells," and "Blake, Kerr & Boyd." The present style of the firm is "Blake, Kerr, Boyd & Cassels."

Edward Blake's studies during the term of his articles had been pursued with a special eye to future practice in the Court of Chancery. Only a few years had elapsed since the remodelling of that Court. A knowledge of its practice was by no means widely diffused among professional men, being confined almost exclusively to a few legal firms in Toronto. Edward Blake gave his whole mind to the principles and practice of Equity, and had not been long in business on his own account before his time was fully employed. In 1858 he received his degree of M.A. from his *alma mater*. About the same time he married Miss Margaret Cronyn, of London, a daughter of the late Right Reverend John Cronyn, Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Huron. There can be no doubt that the name which he had inherited was of great service in attracting business in those days, but he did not long stand in need of any adventitious aids. His own industry and ability soon made him a marked man in his profession, and by the time the partnership with his brother was formed he had secured a large and remunerative business. For a man of such great and manifest capacity he was at first singularly distrustful of his own powers. During the early years of his professional career he did not even hold his own briefs. There were several professional gentlemen in Toronto who had already reached high eminence as Equity Counsel. Mr. Mowat, the

present Premier of Ontario, the late Mr. John Roaf, and Mr. S. H. Strong, now one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Canada, had the advantage of Edward Blake in point of time, and were the acknowledged leaders of the Equity Bar. To one of these his briefs were generally assigned. But this state of things was not of long continuance. He had a boundless capacity for hard work, and severe intellectual labour during eighteen hours out of the twenty-four seemed to be without any injurious effect upon his constitution. He began to hold briefs, generally as second counsel to one of the gentlemen above named. He soon did justice to himself, and except in cases of great importance was able to dispense with assistance. It was soon noticed that he was particularly effective in reply, and in the cross-examination of adverse witnesses. These qualities have steadily grown with his increasing years, and he has long been known for the most expert cross-examiner the Bar of Canada has ever produced. His ability in this way is as perceptible in repression as in exercise, and in extracting evidence from a reluctant witness he has the important faculty of knowing—what few know—precisely where to stop. His pre-eminence in cross-examination is so well recognized that he has repeatedly been employed in Common Law cases for the sole purpose of breaking down adverse evidence; and this is the more noteworthy from the fact that he has personally given little attention to the Common Law branch of jurisprudence. In his conduct of a long and searching cross-examination, nothing is more noticeable than his prodigious memory. He recollects every minute little side issue, and by this means has frequently brought discomfiture to an untruthful witness. Little insignificant matters of detail, such as few counsel would think it worth while to burden their memories with, are as carefully noted by him as matters of seemingly much

greater importance. His mental vision seems to be microscopic, and nothing escapes him. These characteristics are as noticeable in him at the present day as they were in the early days of his professional practice.

The growth of his practice has been commensurate with the growth of his reputation, but he had been at least four or five years at the Bar before anyone except his most intimate friends knew how much there was in him. One quality which perhaps did more than anything else to establish his reputation was his perfect mastery of the strong points in the cases of his adversaries. There are men of high reputation at the Canadian Bar at the present day who frequently fail in doing justice to their clients from want of attention to this important matter. This is more especially the case with young and brilliant lawyers, who are almost certain to err from self-confidence. Edward Blake followed in his father's footsteps, and, having first mastered the salient points of his own case, gave his whole mind to the strength of his opponent's side. By this means he was never taken at a disadvantage, and when what is professionally known as "a surprise" was attempted to be sprung upon him he was always found fully prepared—the surprise being generally relegated to his opponent.

The history of Edward Blake's professional career is a continual round of successes. In 1864 he was appointed a Queen's Counsel, having for some time previously been an examiner and lecturer in Equity to the Law Society. As the years flew by, and his position became more and more fully assured, he was retained in every important case which came before the Court in which his splendid abilities had been so unmistakably displayed. Meanwhile the business of the firm of which he was senior partner had grown to enormous proportions. Partners varying in number at different times from four to six together with a numerous

staff of clerks, were found barely sufficient to keep pace with the great and ever-increasing grist that came to the legal mill. The agency business alone became of such dimensions as to engross the full time of two of the partners and of half-a-dozen assistants. The entire practice was carefully systematized, each partner taking charge of the special department for which he was best fitted. It is perhaps unnecessary to say, after what has been premised, that the lion's share of the heavy counsel work devolved upon the senior partner. Nor were his briefs in any instance a sinecure. They always involved a large amount of hard work. In this country we have not yet arrived at the state of affairs which prevails in England, where a particularly eminent counsel is frequently retained with no expectation or intention that he shall ever open his brief, but for the sole purpose of closing his mouth on the other side. Edward Blake was retained in consequence of what he was expected to *do*, and not because it was desired that he should simply be silent. Of course the steadily increasing number of retainers involved a corresponding increase in the amount of work to be done. In 1867 an additional burden was imposed upon him. He had up to this time devoted his energies exclusively to his profession, and had neither taken any active part in public affairs nor given much attention to them. Frequent attempts had been made to induce him to enter political life, but without success. During the early months of the year last named, the Reform party, having become somewhat disorganized, felt the urgent need of the services of an exceptionally capable man in its front ranks, and overtures were once more made to Mr. Blake to enrol himself in the public service. The emergency was great, and the overtures were pressing. After careful consideration, and some inward reluctance, he consented.

Although he had never hitherto been a

politician, he was no mere tyro in politics. He was a constitutional lawyer of wide and various reading, and had inherited from his father certain fixed principles. It cannot be said that his father had bestowed upon him any actual political training, but he had taught him the history of this country, and of those great issues which were fought out in former generations. There could be no question as to what side would be espoused by the son of William Hume Blake. Upon announcing his intention to enter public life he was elected as member of the House of Commons by West Durham, the constituency which he now represents, while the electors of South Bruce returned him for the Local Legislature. Those were the days of dual representation, and as there was no objection to such a course he announced his determination to sit for both constituencies, stipulating only that his constant attendance in the House of Commons should not be exacted by the Riding which had chosen him as its representative there. In the Ontario Legislature his attendance was as regular and constant as was that of any member of the House, which met at Toronto on the 27th of December. By many members of the Reform party throughout the Province it was desired that Mr. Blake should take the leadership of the Opposition, but as Mr. Archibald McKellar had a seat in the House, and as his long services to his party and his prominent position alike seemed to point to him as the most fitting person for that position, it was conferred upon him. After filling it for two years, Mr. McKellar, who had meanwhile enjoyed the advantage of Mr. Blake's advice and assistance, resigned the leadership in the latter's favour. Mr. Blake thenceforward became leader of the Opposition.

A short time before, he had been offered the position of Chancellor of Ontario, which had become vacant by the death of the

Hon. P. M. M. S. Vankoughnet. This office, flattering as it was to a man of only thirty-four years of age, he had declined. For this course there were abundantly good reasons. The emoluments of the office would not have been much more than a third of Mr. Blake's receipts from his professional labours. Apart from purely personal considerations, he felt that his services were imperatively needed by his country. He continued to act as leader of the Opposition for about eighteen months, during which time he made as conspicuous a mark as a Parliamentary debater as he had previously made at the Bar. By no one was he regarded as a mere politician. He was evidently a statesman, whose solicitude for his country's welfare was infinitely greater than his desire for the success of any political party. His whole Parliamentary career was a convincing proof that, in the words of a recent critic, "To think freely and see both sides of all questions is a mark of superior intellect which honourably distinguishes Mr. Blake from the factious narrowness or humble fidelity of some of his rivals."\* Another appreciative critic, referring to his early career in the Local Legislature, has recorded that "It was soon seen that in the Legislative Assembly he had no equal in legal knowledge, in a capacity for discussing constitutional questions, or in debating power. In the face of heavy odds and the recalcancy of many who had been elected by professions of attachment to Reform principles, a vigorous body of some twenty-five members was kept well together, and was able by its energy and intelligence powerfully to influence the course of legislation. Meantime, as session after session passed by, resolutions framed with consummate skill were placed upon the journals, to be voted down by a confident majority it is true, but presenting, when the time came, a clear and distinct

\* See *The Bytander* for January, 1880, p. 15.

issue between the two parties whereby to test the judgment of the country.\*

The result of the local elections for Ontario, held in March, 1871, was the loss to John Sandfield Macdonald's Coalition Government of many of its former supporters. Mr. Blake was re-elected by his constituents in South Bruce by a much greater majority than he had had in 1867. In West Durham he was elected for the Commons by acclamation. On the assembling of the Local House towards the close of the year, he determined to test the strength of the rival parties, and moved an important series of amendments to the Address. The debate which followed extended over two days, when a vote was taken, and Mr. Blake's amendment was supported by a majority of two. A day or two afterwards Mr. Mackenzie moved a direct vote of want of confidence in the Ministry. Mr. Blake supported this motion in a long and powerful speech in which he reviewed the conduct of the Administration, and wound up by an appeal to the Ministers not to obstruct the legislation of the country by prolonging an inglorious and hopeless contest for office. The vote on this motion was 37 to 36. The Hon. E. B. Wood, the present Chief Justice of Manitoba, who held the post of Treasurer, responded to Mr. Blake's appeal by a prompt resignation. The other Ministers still clung to office until the 19th of December, when, a resolution formally demanding their dismissal having been carried by a vote of 45 to 26, they resigned. Mr. Blake was accordingly sent for by the Lieutenant-Governor, and on the following day it was announced that he had succeeded in forming a Ministry.

Mr. Blake thus, contrary to his inclinations, became Premier of Ontario, a position, however, which he retained only a few months. The combined labours inci-

dental to his professional and parliamentary career had proved too great, even for his constitution, and he felt the imperative need of rest. It was only because he felt how greatly his services were needed by the country that he consented to hold office. He felt both unable and unwilling to go through the drudgery incidental to a regular department, and determined to hold office without portfolio. He therefore became President of the Council, without salary. By this step the membership of the Ministry was increased to six, instead of five. An attempt was made to discredit the new Ministry on this score, which attempt signally failed, and Mr. Blake, on returning to his constituency for re-election, had a walk over. His ministry enjoyed a fair measure of support, although the House had been elected under the auspices of the defeated Government, and many important measures were added to the Statute-book during the progress of the ensuing session. Soon after its close Mr. Blake took a trip to Europe for the benefit of his health, which was much improved by change of air and relief from work. He returned to Canada during the following autumn, and soon afterwards resigned both his office and his seat in the Ontario House, as he intended to take his seat in the Commons upon the assembling of that body; and the Act against dual representation had meanwhile come into force.

In the House of Commons Mr. Blake also took the part to which his abilities and position entitled him. "At Ottawa, no less than at Toronto," says the writer last quoted from, "Mr. Blake stepped at once into the very front ranks of his party. Men who had for years stood high in the political world gladly welcomed him to a place beside them, and recognized the power with which he grappled with the various questions that came on for consideration." He declined to take the nominal leadership of the Opposi-

\* See the *Weekly Globe*, February 11th, 1876.

tion, which post was filled by Mr. Mackenzie, but his services were of incalculable value to his party, and his speeches were looked forward to as emphatically the speeches of the session. His reply to Sir John A. Macdonald during the debate on the Pacific Scandal, in 1873, has been pronounced one of the most effective speeches ever heard within the walls of a Canadian Parliament.

Upon the formation of Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet, after the fall of Sir John Macdonald's Ministry in November, 1873, Mr. Blake became a member of the new Administration, but without portfolio or official salary. It was again from a sense of duty, and at the urgent solicitation of his political allies, that he consented even to this qualified acceptance of a membership in the Ministry. He felt that he had overtaxed his powers, and that rest was no longer a matter of choice but of necessity. It was urged, however, that his name would lend great strength to the Administration, that he would not be called upon to perform any duties, and that even this arrangement need only be temporary. He accordingly held office for about three months, by which time it was apparent that the Government enjoyed a large support in the House, and was in no danger of defeat. On the 13th of February, 1874, he resigned his seat in the Cabinet. He had been sworn of the Privy Council on the 7th of the previous November. Meanwhile he continued to represent South Bruce, where all efforts to oust him were found ineffectual. On returning for re-election after accepting office towards the close of 1873, he had been elected by acclamation. Early in the following year he had been returned by a very large majority, and his political opponents almost began to regard South Bruce as a close borough. Another visit to Europe tended to the further re-establishment of his health. On the 19th of May, 1875, he once more accepted office under Mr. Mackenzie by taking the port-

folio of Minister of Justice. During the following year, at the request of Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary in the Imperial Cabinet, he proceeded to England to confer with the Home Government respecting the extradition of criminals between Canada and the United States. Another object of his mission was to confer and report with reference to maritime jurisdiction upon inland waters. The result of the conference was embodied in a Blue Book, and submitted to the House in the following session, when an Act, drawn by him, was passed, which added a good many to the number of extraditable offences. The Act has not yet come into operation, Great Britain and the United States not having arrived at a permanent arrangement of the various questions in dispute. Mr. Blake retained the portfolio of Minister of Justice until June 8th, 1877, when, owing to his health having again become precarious, he resigned, and became President of the Privy Council. It was hoped that by taking this step, and by freeing himself from all other work, his health might be thoroughly and permanently re-established. For some time subsequently, he took no conspicuous part in public affairs, and it was said by some persons, who professed to know whereof they affirmed, that his supineness was due not so much to his ill-health as to serious differences with some of his political allies. This assertion was directly negatived by Mr. Mackenzie in the House of Commons, who, when making the explanation usually made respecting important changes in the composition of the Ministry, declared that Mr. Blake, at the time of his withdrawal from the Government, had been in perfect accord with his colleagues on all questions of public policy. It may be added that Mr. Blake's own remarks to his constituents at Bowmanville in November last, are confirmatory of Mr. Mackenzie's declaration.

To enumerate the various Acts which Mr.

Blake has been instrumental in passing during his legislative career would occupy much space, and is not specially called for in a general sketch like the present. Of his political views generally a pretty accurate estimate may be formed from the following summary, compiled from his public utterances at different times. He advocates the maintenance of Canada's connection with the mother country, but does not believe that such connection, as it at present exists, is likely to be permanent. He has plainly intimated his belief that, as the child grows into the man, so the State will come to maturity, and that notwithstanding the enormous difficulties which surround the scheme, there is a possibility and hope of reorganizing the Empire on a Federal basis, so as to reconcile British connection with British freedom. He advocates the cultivation of a national spirit, and regards such cultivation as necessary to the success of Confederation. Political progress he regards as essential to political vitality, and advocates the fullest freedom of discussion on all topics affecting the public interest. He believes in extending the franchise, and making its exercise compulsory. The franchise, he maintains, is not merely a right, but a trust, and the wilful neglect to exercise it should be followed by temporary or total disfranchisement. He supports the adoption of a system of proportional representation, whereby, among other desirable improvements, the strength of the various opinions held by the people may be more nearly represented in Parliament than they are under the present system. He disapproves of the appointment of life Senators, and advocates their periodical election by the different Provinces. Believing that the future of Canada depends very largely on the development of the great North-West,

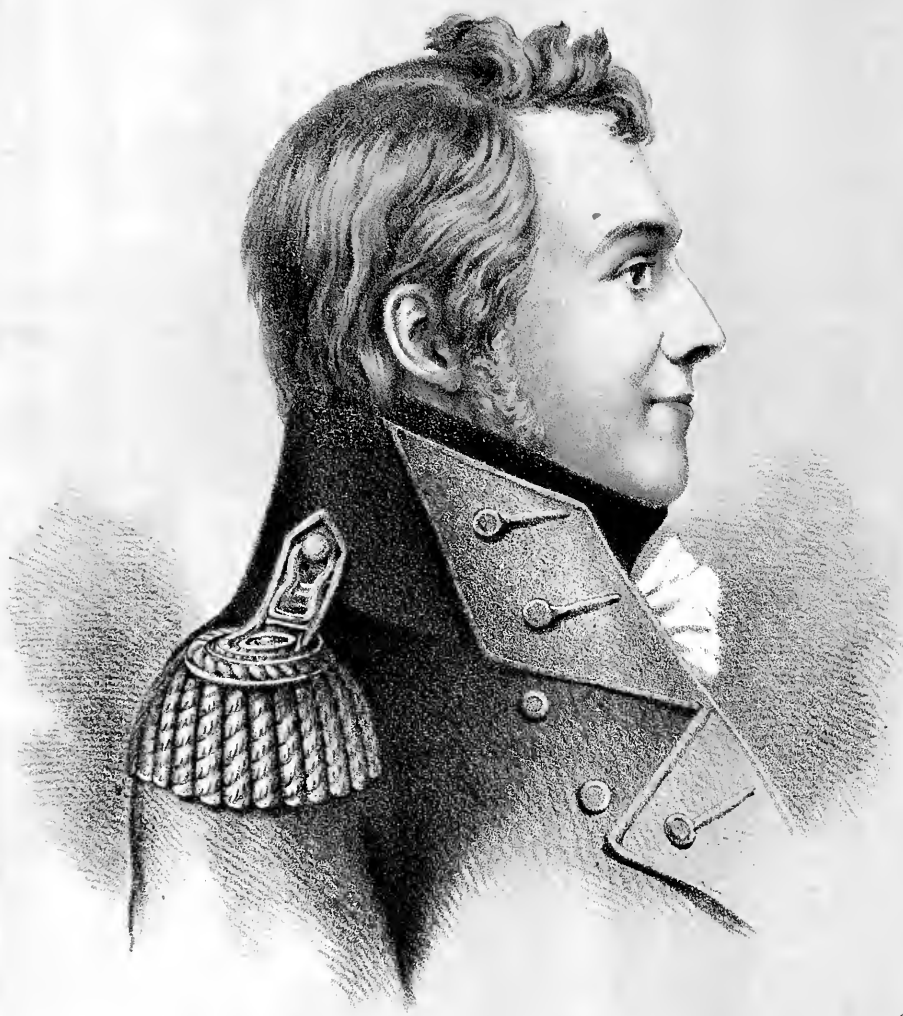
he advocates the construction, as rapidly as the resources of the country will permit, of the sections of the Pacific Railway necessary for communication between that country and our interior seaboard, in conjunction with an extensive scheme of exploration and colonization. He is a champion of Free Trade, and of course disapproves of the National Policy.

At the general election held on the 17th of September, 1878, Mr. Blake was for the first time defeated in South Bruce, his successful opponent being Mr. Shaw, barrister, a resident of the Riding. His election by acclamation for his old constituency of West Durham, in the month of November last, and his speech to the electors on that occasion, are still fresh in the minds of us all. He has since taken his seat in the House, and has given evidence that the old fire has not departed from him.

Mr. Blake is essentially a Canadian statesman, who has both the will and the power to do much for our new nationality. Though an ardent supporter of the party to which he belongs, his intellectual vision, as has already been explained, is far too wide and comprehensive in its sweep to be confined within the narrow limits of any party. Unlike some of his coadjutors, his character, independently of his intellectual powers, inspires a high degree of personal respect, even in the minds of those most vehemently opposed to him; and in expressing the hope that a long and useful public career is still before him we believe that we express the common sentiment of the Canadian people. Should his life be spared, and should the promise of his youth and early manhood be borne out by the fulfilment of his mature age, he will leave a name behind him at least as great as is any to be found on the page of Canadian political history.







Haar Brock  
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## MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B.

THE name of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock is one of the most illustrious in our colonial annals, and is deservedly held in grateful and affectionate remembrance by the people of Canada. By dwellers in this Upper Province especially is his name a familiar and an honoured one; for it was here that the most memorable scenes in his life were enacted, and that the greenest of his laurels were won. 'It was here that he achieved those deeds of valour which have been commemorated by costly monuments on both sides of the Atlantic, and which have gained for him an imperishable name upon the page of history. It was here that, after arduous and chivalrous service in the council-chamber and in the field, he yielded up his life in his country's cause, almost with his latest breath cheering on his troops to repel the advance of an invading foe. It would be hard to over-estimate the value of his services to our forefathers, and (by consequence) to ourselves. He came to this country when not far past the hey-day of his youth. He found an army and a people divided by opposing elements of dissatisfaction; desertions from the army a matter of almost daily occurrence; public patriotism lukewarm or dead; weakness and disaffection everywhere. By the bright example of his own life, by unceasing watchfulness and vigilance, and by the exercise of a general prudence and good judgment such as were not to be ex-

pected from one of his years, he succeeded in reconciling hostile factions, and in infusing into the breasts of both the people and the army a patriotic fervour which preserved Canada from falling—at least for a time—into the hands of a grasping and formidable enemy. These constitute the chief of his claims to our regard, and they are claims which we have neither the right nor the inclination to forget.

He was one of a numerous family, and was born in the parish of St. Peter-Port, in the Island of Guernsey, on the 6th of October, 1769. The family of Brock is of Saxon origin, but had been settled in Guernsey for nearly two hundred years before his birth, during which time successive generations accumulated considerable property, and had become prominent among the families of the island. There was nothing to specially distinguish his boyhood from that of other men, except that he was more than ordinarily robust in constitution and frame. He attended school at Southampton for about eighteen months, after which he was sent to Rotterdam, in Holland, and placed under the charge of a French Protestant clergyman, by whom, in the course of about a twelvemonth, he was taught to read and speak the French language with considerable facility. On the 2nd of March, 1785, when he was in his sixteenth year, his family purchased for him an ensigncy in the 8th Regiment. He joined at once, and during

the next five years was quartered with his regiment in various English towns. He was too young at the time of entering the army for his education to be by any means thorough; but, feeling sensible of his shortcomings, he devoted much of his spare time to study, and added considerably to his stock of knowledge. In 1790 he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and in the course of the same year obtained an independent company, and was put on half-pay. Early in 1791 he exchanged into the 49th Regiment, which he joined at Barbadoes. The regiment was shortly afterwards removed to Jamaica, whither he accompanied it, and remained until 1793, when his health began to suffer from the pestilential climate, and he was compelled to return to England on sick leave. We next find him engaged in the recruiting service in England, and afterwards in the Island of Jersey. On June 24th, 1795, he purchased his majority. Next year his regiment returned from Jamaica, and on the 25th of October, 1797, he purchased his lieutenant-colonelcy, and soon after became senior lieutenant-colonel of the 49th. In consequence of the unusual rapidity of his promotion he was regarded as one of the most fortunate officers in the service.

Ere long he had an opportunity of showing his mettle. The 49th formed part of the force despatched by Great Britain to Holland under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in August, 1799. Throughout this expedition young Brock distinguished himself by his judicious conduct on various occasions, and by several exhibitions of personal bravery. He was wounded, but not seriously, at the battle of Egmont-op-Zee, which was fought on the 2nd of October in the last mentioned year. On the return of the expedition, the 49th was again quartered in Jersey until the spring of 1801, when it was despatched with the fleet for the Baltic under the command of Sir Hyde Parker. Brock took part in the attack on Copenhagen, and at its

close he went on board Lord Nelson's flag-ship, and saw the great naval hero write his well-known letter to the Crown Prince of Denmark. The 49th returned to England the same year, and in the following spring was despatched to Canada, where it took up its head-quarters at York—now Toronto. A part of the regiment was shortly afterwards placed in garrison at Fort George, under the command of the junior lieutenant-colonel. Here a plot was formed, the origin of which is a matter of some dispute. It seems tolerably clear, however, that the young officer in charge was deficient in tact, and did not understand the management of his men, whom he exasperated by a series of petty annoyances. Whatever may have been the exciting cause, the latter formed a conspiracy to imprison or murder their officer, abandon the garrison, and escape across the river into the United States. The manner of the conspirators was such as to arouse the suspicion of the officer, who wrote to Brock, at York, on the subject. Upon receiving the intelligence the latter at once betook himself to Fort George, where by the promptitude of his measures he soon discovered the whole plot, and arrested the ringleaders, who were tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and shot, at Quebec. Brock was directed to take the command at Fort George, which he did, and soon converted the garrison from a condition of moodiness and discontent into one of cheerful obedience and subordination.

In the month of October, 1805, he became full colonel, and having obtained a year's leave of absence he sailed for England. He had been desirous of making this voyage for some months past, as, apart from his natural wish to visit the home of his boyhood, he was anxious to submit to the Duke of York, who was Commander-in-Chief of the British army, a scheme for the formation of a veteran battalion for service in the Canadas. He conceived that the for-

mation of such a battalion would have a most beneficial effect upon the spirit and discipline of the regiments quartered in Canada, where, owing to their proximity to a foreign country, and to the continual inducements held out to them by emissaries from across the lines, the troops were subjected to strong temptations to desert. Early in January he submitted his scheme, and on the 17th of that month he received His Royal Highness's thanks for the suggestion, accompanied by an assurance that it should be taken into consideration. In the early summer, owing to the threatening aspect of affairs in the United States, and the possibility of an invasion of Canada, he determined not to take full advantage of his year's leave of absence, but to return at once to where his services might ere long be urgently needed. On the 26th of June, 1806, he bade farewell to his friends, and sailed for Quebec. He was destined never to see them again.

On the 27th of September, upon the resignation of Colonel Bowes, the command of the military forces in Canada devolved upon Colonel Brock, who took up his quarters at Quebec. He erected a battery there which for some time bore his name, but which was subsequently called "The King's Battery." Upon the arrival of Sir James Craig, the Governor-General, in October, 1807, Brock was appointed to act as Brigadier, and the appointment was subsequently confirmed by the King, to date from July 2nd, 1808. In August, 1810, he was succeeded as commander at Quebec by the Baron de Rottenburg, and within a fortnight thereafter Brock proceeded to the Upper Province, where he took up his quarters at Fort George, but spent a considerable part of his time at York, the capital of the Province. Meanwhile the prospect across the line had grown more and more threatening, and there was constant expectation of aggressive measures on the part of

the United States. The whole course of President Madison's Administration was hostile to Great Britain. That Administration had been in treaty with Bonaparte's Government for some time back; and Madison was desirous of rendering his term of office specially conspicuous by the conquest of Canada. It was sufficiently evident that war must come sooner or later. This war it was the policy of Great Britain to avoid, or at all events to postpone, as her warlike enterprises on the continent of Europe demanded all the armaments and money at her disposal. The instructions to all Canadian officials of whatsoever degree were to studiously avoid giving the Republic any good ground of offence. The military forces in the Province were very small—too small, it might be supposed, to offer any effective resistance to foreign invasion by a powerful nation. The loyalty of many Upper Canadians was matter of grave question, and the Administration of Sir James Craig was decidedly unpopular with the French Canadians in the Lower Province, who were by no means to be depended upon in the event of a struggle. Such was the position of affairs when, on the 4th of June, 1811, Brock was promoted to a Major-Generalship. On the 19th of the same month Sir James Craig embarked for England, leaving the military forces in command of Lieutenant-General Drummond. Those forces consisted in all of 5,454 men, made up of 3,783 regular troops, 1,226 Fencibles, and 445 artillerymen. After an interregnum of nearly three months, Sir James was succeeded by Sir George Prevost, who had for several years previously been Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. On the 9th of October, in consequence of Lieutenant-Governor Gore having returned to England on leave, Major-General Brock, who was already in command of the troops, was appointed President and Administrator of the Government in the Upper Province. The Legislature met at

York on the 4th of February, 1812. The session was opened by an address from President Brock, in which the existing state of affairs in the Province was explained, and assurance was given of support from England in the event of war with the United States.

During the previous month of December, Brock had received a letter from an official at the Horse Guards, Whitehall, dated October 17th, in which was signified the Duke of York's willingness to accede to Brock's oft-repeated request for active employment in Europe. The Governor-General was authorized to instal some other competent officer in his place, and Major-General Sheaffe was suggested as a proper successor. A message of President Madison to Congress about this time, however, made it evident that war with the United States could not much longer be averted, and Brock had no disposition to go to Europe to find that employment which would soon be ready for him in Canada. Ever since his arrival in the Upper Province he had been making such preparations for a crisis as circumstances admitted of, and his vigorous measures were not diminished after the contents of this proclamation became known to him. He placed the Province in as complete a state of defence as the limited means at his disposal rendered possible; but his regular force in all did not exceed 1,500 men, and with such a force he was soon to be called upon to defend a frontier 1,300 miles in length, without a single well-appointed fortress from one end of it to the other.

At last, on the 18th of June, war was declared, and high military authorities emphatically declared their opinion that there was no possibility of maintaining the country. Brock, who was at York when news of the declaration reached him, was himself compelled to regard the issue as extremely doubtful, but he was hopeful of securing the co-operation of the people, and

determined at all events to oppose a bold front to the enemy. He had long devoted himself to the task of conciliating the people generally, and of inspiring them with a proper feeling of patriotism. The militia of the Province was now called out, and instructed to march to the frontiers—a summons which was responded to more generally than even Brock had expected, as the season of harvest was near at hand, and cynics were wont to remark that Canadian farmers cared more for their crops than for the preservation of British connection. A troop of volunteer cavalry was incorporated, and a company of young men, sons of farmers in the neighbourhood of York, came with their draught horses for the equipment of a car-brigade. An extra session of the Legislature was summoned, and after a short conference that body adjourned until the 27th of July. Brock hastened over to Fort George, where he awaited instructions from the Governor-General, Sir George Prevost. With regard to remote districts, however, he rightly conceived that delay might be dangerous, and he despatched intelligence of the declaration of war to Captain Roberts, who was stationed at Fort St. Joseph with a detachment of the 10th Royal Veterans. He instructed that officer to summon to his aid all the Indians he could induce to join him, and to attack Fort Michillimackinack if he could see any reasonable prospect of reducing it. The presence of Brock himself was required on the Niagara frontier, where the American regulars and militia made a daily parade of their forces on the eastern side of the river. Brock could easily have demolished the American Fort Niagara, on the shore opposite to Fort George, but was averse to taking so decided a step without specific instructions. The instructions were somewhat slow in arriving, and when they finally arrived they were not very specific. Their effect was to invest Brock with power to act according

to his discretion, but a good deal was said about the expediency of forbearance until hostilities should be more decidedly marked.

On the 12th of July hostilities were commenced by the American Brigadier-General Hull, who, with a force of 2,500 men, crossed the Detroit River at Sandwich. He unfurled the American standard, and put forth a pretentious and extravagant proclamation, asserting that he came with a force sufficient to look down all opposition, which force was but the vanguard of another much greater. From Sandwich he contemplated an advance upon Amherstburg—called by the Americans Fort Malden—where there was a very small force, altogether insufficient to oppose any prolonged resistance to such an army as Hull had at his back. The American General, however, showed himself incapable of taking advantage of his position, and remained for several days inactive. The results of his inactivity will soon be apparent. Intelligence of this western invasion did not reach General Brock until the 20th of the month—eight days after it had taken place. The Legislature, as we have seen, was to assemble at York on the 27th, and as his presence was necessary there, his going westward in person was for the present out of the question. He issued a counter-proclamation, and despatched Colonel Proctor, of the 41st Regiment, to Amherstburg, with reinforcements. He then hurried over to York, where, on the 29th, he received intelligence of the surrender to Captain Roberts of Fort Michillimackinack. The surrender was an important event, as it inspired the wavering Indians there with unbounded faith in the complete ultimate triumph of the British arms, and determined them to espouse the King's side. They forthwith began to pour into Canada, and to harass the rear and flanks of the invading American army. Hull was much dispirited when news of this affair reached him at Detroit, and from that moment his

courage and judgment seem to have in a great measure deserted him. As soon as the public business could be despatched, Brock prepared to march westward at the head of about two hundred volunteers, and with what force he could get together, to drive the invaders from Canadian soil. Not often has an equally formidable enterprise been conducted under more discouraging circumstances. Apart from the insufficiency of his military force, he was without provision, clothing or money. It is under such contingencies as these that character displays itself. By dint of his unconquerable energy he contrived to raise supplies through a number of gentlemen who formed themselves into a company called "The Niagara and Queenston Association," and issued bills for several thousand pounds. These bills passed current among the people as bank notes, and were afterwards redeemed by the Government. Having thus provided himself with "the sinews of war," Brock left York on the 6th of August, picked up what regulars and militia he could by the way, at Long Point and elsewhere, and reached Amherstburg a little before midnight on the 13th. He found no Hull there to meet him. That officer, who had sustained three defeats in as many petty skirmishes, and who had been harassed beyond endurance by the Indians, had become much less blood-thirsty than he had been at the date of the issue of his proclamation, and five days before Brock's arrival he had made the best of his way back into Michigan. A further reverse had befallen the American arms within the last few days. A certain Major Van Horne had been sent from Detroit with despatches from General Hull, accompanied by a detachment of two hundred men, to meet another detachment at the River Raisin with a convoy of provisions for Hull's army. Seventy Indians, devoted to the British, and under the command of the redoubtable Tecumseh, surprised this body near Browns-

town, killed a good many, chased the rest a distance of seven miles, and captured General Hull's despatches. These despatches were placed in General Brock's hands immediately upon his arrival at Amherstburg. They were couched in a very despondent tone, induced partly by the reverses sustained by the Americans, and partly by a spirit of disaffection which had begun to manifest itself among Hull's troops. The latter's lack of spirit was so apparent that Brock determined upon crossing the river and striking a decisive blow by the capture of Detroit before the enemy could receive reinforcements.

The part played in this war by the dauntless Tecumseh will be related in the sketch devoted to the life of that hero, to be included in the present work. On the night of Brock's arrival at Amherstburg these two great warriors were for the first time brought into personal contact. On account of the lateness of the hour the interview was very brief, and their conversation was hampered by Tecumseh's very imperfect knowledge of English, but it lasted long enough to enable each of them to take a pretty accurate measure of the other. It was impossible, indeed, for any one of average intelligence to be five minutes in Tecumseh's presence without realizing the fact that he was a very extraordinary man. Upon being ushered into Brock's presence, he stepped lightly forward and shook his host cordially by the hand. The latter subsequently admitted that, as the lithe and finely-proportioned figure stood there, with the fire of genius and enthusiasm flashing from his lustrous eyes, he himself felt that he was in the presence of one who, in natural endowments, was the superior of any man he had ever met. Captain Glegg, the aide-de-camp, was present at the interview, and has left the following description of the great Shawnee:—"His appearance was very prepossessing; his figure light and finely formed; his

age I imagine to be about five-and-thirty; in height, five feet nine or ten inches; his complexion light copper; countenance oval, with bright hazel eyes beaming cheerfulness, energy and decision. Three small silver crowns or coronets were suspended from the lower cartilage of his aquiline nose; and a large silver medallion of George III., which I believe his ancestor had received from Lord Dorchester, was attached to a mixed coloured wampum string, and hung round his neck. His dress consisted of a plain, neat uniform, trimmed deer-skin jacket, with long trousers of the same material, the seams of both being covered with neatly cut fringe. He had on his feet leather moccasins, ornamented with work made from dyed quills of the porcupine." After a brief consultation it was agreed that a council should be held on the following morning, and the dusky warrior withdrew to his own quarters. Next day the council was held, and Tecumseh made his appearance with nearly a thousand Indians at his back. General Brock made a short speech in which he communicated his intention to make an attack on Fort Detroit. The Indians approved of his resolution, and expressed their readiness to shed their last drop of blood in the King's service. General Brock's own officers, however, with the single exception of Colonel Nichol, were averse to the measure, and tried to dissuade him from crossing the river. Tecumseh, at the General's request, sketched a rough plan of Detroit and its neighbourhood on a piece of bark, and pointed out what in his opinion was the most feasible method of attacking the enemy. Brock saw at once that Tecumseh's opinion as to the feasibility of attack was worth more than the combined wisdom of his white officers, to whom he turned and quietly remarked:—"Gentlemen, I have decided on crossing; and, instead of any further advice, I entreat you to give me your cordial and hearty support."



On the 15th, a flag was despatched by General Brock to the American commander at Detroit, accompanied by a summons demanding the immediate surrender of the fort. After a delay of two hours, General Hull's reply came back, refusing to make the surrender, and expressing his readiness to oppose any force which might be sent against him. The temerity of Brock's demand must have astonished the American General, who was backed by a force of 2,500 men; whereas Brock's force consisted of little more than half that number, and was chiefly made up of Indians and raw Canadian recruits. Brock's conduct on this occasion has been pronounced desperate and unwise, but the contingency was one calling for strong measures, and he had great confidence in the judgment and fighting qualities of Tecumseh. As events turned out, his bold stroke was the salvation of Canada. Had he shown any vacillation or delay, reinforcements would have arrived for Hull, and resistance would have involved a great and useless sacrifice of life.

At daybreak on the morning of Sunday, the 16th, Brock, with 330 regulars and 400 militia, and with five small pieces of artillery, crossed the river in boats, and landed at Spring Wells, several miles below Detroit. A march against the fort was at once commenced. The Indians had been sent over during the previous night, and now moved through the woods, covering the left flank of the advancing troops; the right flank, resting on the river, being protected by the Queen Charlotte vessel of war. A brisk fire was commenced from the battery on the Canadian side of the river, opposite the fort. While the various columns, having arrived within a mile of the point of attack, were preparing for assault, a flag of truce borne by young Captain Hull, a son of the General, was seen advancing from the fort. The siege was at an end before it could fairly be said to have

commenced. The fort was surrendered without resistance, and without the sacrifice of a single drop of British blood. A few Americans were killed by the cannonading from the battery on the opposite bank of the river. Articles of capitulation were signed, whereby the American troops became prisoners of war, and all public stores, arms and documents were given up to the British. Hull and his suite were sent down to Montreal as prisoners of war, whither they arrived on the morning of Sunday the 6th of September. It is gratifying to learn from a Montreal newspaper of the time, that the American General "bore his misfortunes with philosophical resignation." Four days afterwards he was released on parole, and set out for the United States. He was subsequently tried by court-martial and found guilty of "cowardice, neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct." He was sentenced "to be shot dead, and his name to be struck from the rolls of the army." The latter part of the sentence was carried out on the 25th of April, 1814; but President Madison granted him his life, and he retired to his farm at West Newton, Massachusetts, where the rest of his days were spent. He always maintained that he had done right in surrendering Detroit, and that he had thereby prevented a useless effusion of blood. He reiterated his assertion on his death-bed in November, 1825. There can be no doubt that he was guilty of a grave error of judgment, but a good deal has been written in extenuation of his conduct, and he has probably been made answerable for faults which were more attributable to the Administration than to himself.

The capture of Detroit relieved Canadians from all present fears of a western invasion. General Brock having issued a pacific proclamation to the people of Michigan, left the captured fort in charge of Colonel Proctor, and started for the east,

where an invasion might at any time be expected. While *en route* he learned, much to his mortification, that an armistice had been concluded between Sir George Prevost and General Dearborn, the American Commander-in-Chief. This armistice, which caused a delay of nearly a fortnight, prevented General Brock from carrying out a project which he had formed for an immediate attack upon the American naval arsenal at Sackett's Harbour. There is fair reason for believing that such an attack at that time would have been completely successful, as the Americans were ill-prepared for such a contingency, and were badly discouraged by the fall of Detroit. Regret, however, was useless, and Brock pushed on to Fort George, and from thence to York, where he arrived on the 27th. The people received him with great enthusiasm, and hailed him as the saviour of Canada. The Americans themselves did justice to his vigilance and valour. To quote from one of their historians:—"In the short space of nineteen days he had met the Legislature, arranged the public affairs of the Province, travelled about three hundred miles to confront the invaders, and returned the possessor of that invader's whole army and a vast territory about equal in area to Upper Canada." During the succeeding six weeks, which were the last of his life, he received letters of congratulation from persons in various parts of the world, some of whom he had never seen. All expressed warm admiration of his achievements. His despatches containing particulars as to the fall of Detroit reached London on the 6th of October. Four days afterwards Earl Bathurst wrote to Sir George Prevost requesting the latter to acquaint Major-General Brock that His Royal Highness had been pleased to appoint him an extra Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath. The intelligence never reached him. Long before the letter containing it

had arrived in Canada he had gone where knighthoods and honourable dignities are not, and where the integrity and purity of a man's life are of more avail than any Order which it is the privilege of Royal Highnesses to confer.

At the time of General Brock's return from Detroit, the British force on the Niagara frontier was altogether too small to defend it efficiently in case of any bold effort on the part of the Americans. In consequence of the non-arrival of regular troops from England there were no means of adding to the force, which consisted of about 1,500 men, of whom at least one-half were Indians and militia. This little force was distributed between Fort George, Queenston, Chippewa, and Fort Erie. The American army across the river had been steadily augmented, and early in the month of October amounted to more than 6000, of whom nearly two-thirds were regulars. This force was distributed between Fort Niagara, Lewiston, Black Rock, and Buffalo, and was under the command of Major-General Van Rensselaer. The American commander was anxious to redeem the national character, which had been lost at Detroit, and General Brock was in the daily expectation of an attack. On the 8th of October the British brig *Detroit*, and the private brig *Caledonia*, belonging to the North-Western Company, arrived at the head of the Niagara River from Amherstburg, with prisoners and armaments captured from the Americans at Detroit. On the 9th, these vessels were boarded and captured while at anchor by a force under Lieutenant Elliott, of the American Navy. As soon as Brock heard of this occurrence he hastened to Fort Erie, but found that it would be useless to attempt a recapture with such force as he could command, and returned to Fort George. On the 11th, the enemy assembled a large force at Lewiston, opposite Queenston, and it was evident that

a crisis was approaching. Early on the morning of the 13th they crossed the river under cover of a battery, and landed in Canada. As they greatly outnumbered the few troops opposed to them they succeeded in mounting the heights and carrying the battery. Brock, who was at Fort George, heard the firing, and, mounting his horse, rode at full speed to the scene of action, accompanied by Major Glegg and Colonel McDonell. Upon reaching Queenston the three horsemen rode up the heights, exposed to a steady fire from the American battery at Lewiston. They soon reached a redan battery, situated half way up the heights, which was manned by twelve men. Here they dismounted, and looked around to reconnoitre. A crack of musketry in their rear soon proclaimed the fact that the Americans had scaled the heights, and were close upon them. Their position was of course untenable, and not waiting to remount, they seized the bridles and led their horses hurriedly down to the village, followed by the twelve men by whom the battery had been manned. Here Brock despatched a fleet messenger to Fort George with instructions to Major-General Sheaffe to send on reinforcements and to open fire upon Fort Niagara. While this message was being despatched, the Americans, under Captain Wool, ensconced themselves behind the deserted battery, and hoisted the stars and stripes. Brock at once determined to capture this flag and regain the battery. Placing himself at the head of Captain Williams's detachment of one hundred men, he led the way to the foot of the slope, inspiring his followers by the tones of his voice and by the reckless disregard with which he exposed himself to the fire of the enemy. At this moment the Americans were reinforced by a fresh arrival of troops, who had succeeded in scaling the heights by a private pathway. Brock rapidly advanced at the head of his men, and when he had arrived

within a few yards of the battery, through a perfect hailstorm of bullets, the Americans turned and fled towards the brow of the hill. Wool, however, who, to do him justice, was a brave and gallant fellow, rallied his shrinking forces, who turned to meet the onset of the foe, just as Brock was reinforced by the arrival of two flank companies of the York volunteers, with Colonel McDonell at their head. As they advanced to drive the invaders over the heights, the breast of the gallant Brock was pierced by a musket ball, which inflicted a mortal wound. He had just strength to call out "Push on the York Volunteers," when he fell from his horse, never to rise again. A few minutes more and he had ceased to breathe. He was heard to murmur a request that his death might be concealed from the enemy as long as possible, and that the onset should proceed as though he were still in command. Something, too, he murmured, but too faintly for his words to be distinctly understood, about a message or token to be sent to his sister; and with her name upon his lips the brave warrior passed away.

Thus died, at the age of forty-three years, the man who was long known far and wide as "The Hero of Upper Canada." His body was at once conveyed down the heights which he had defended so bravely to a house at Queenston, whence, in the afternoon, it was borne to the Government House at Newark (Niagara), where it lay in state three days. On the 16th the funeral took place, and by command of the American General salutes were fired from the batteries at Fort Niagara and Lewiston in token of respect to the memory of a brave enemy. The dead hero was buried in a new bastion at Fort George, the erection of which he had himself superintended not long before. By his side was laid his gallant aide-de-camp, Colonel McDonell, who had succeeded to the command upon the death of his leader,

and who had fallen at the head of the York Volunteers within a few minutes afterwards. The latter was an ornament not only to the military, but to the legal profession; and though he was only twenty-five years of age at the time of his death, he had risen to the position of Attorney-General of Upper Canada. These were the only two British officers who fell at the memorable battle of Queenston Heights.

The issue of that engagement is well-known to every Canadian worthy of the name. It lasted, with several interruptions, for more than seven hours, during which time reinforcements were constantly arriving for both the contending parties. The York Volunteers stood fire like veterans. The Indians of the Six Nations, about a hundred in number, under the command of young John Brant (Ahyouwaighs) did good service on our side, and proved that their warlike character had not degenerated during their residence of a quarter of a century on Canadian soil. The 49th Regiment, maddened by the loss of him who had for so many years been its ornament and its pride, fought—with the discipline of British soldiers indeed, but—with the fury of tigers, and were little disposed either to grant or receive quarter. At last, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Americans came to the conclusion that their way to glory and fame did not lie through Canada. They surrendered to Major-General Sheaffe, who had arrived on the field some hours before, and had, to the utmost of his power, supplied the place of the late commander. Terms of capitulation were agreed upon whereby the entire American force on the Canadian side of the river, including many officers and about nine hundred men, became prisoners of war, and were marched off in triumph to Fort George. In addition to the prisoners the Americans sustained a loss of about one hundred killed. The whole British force engaged did not amount to much more than

a thousand, of whom at least half were militia and Indians. And this is the brilliant enterprise which an American historian has pronounced to be, on the whole, a success for the American arms, and "a *chef d'œuvre* of the war."

The battle of Queenston Heights is one of which we, as Canadians, have just reason to be proud, for it was in great measure by Canadian valour that the victory was secured to us. It is a matter of regret, however, that it could not be secured at a less cost than the death of the gallant General Brock. His biographer, in commenting upon it, says:—"The victory was complete; but it was felt by the conquerors as a poor compensation for the loss of the British chieftain, thus prematurely cut off in the pride of manhood and in the noontide of his career; while the sorrow manifested throughout both Provinces proved that those who rejoiced in the failure of this second invasion would gladly have foregone the triumph if by such means they could have regained him who rendered the heights of Queenston memorable by his fall."

General Brock was never married; but, though he left no wife or child to mourn his untimely death, his fall was lamented as a national calamity. The Canadian pulpit and press paid innumerable tributes to his worth, and the Provincial Legislature erected a lofty Tuscan monument to his memory within a few yards of the spot where he fell. Earl Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch to Sir George Prevost, wherein the sentiment is more to be commended than the grammar, wrote as follows: "His Royal Highness the Prince Regent is fully aware of the severe loss which His Majesty's service has experienced in the death of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock. This would have been sufficient to have clouded (*sic*) a victory of much greater importance. His Majesty has lost in him not only an able and meritorious officer, but

one who, in the exercise of his functions of Provisional-Governor of the Province, displayed qualities admirably adapted to awe the disloyal, to reconcile the wavering, and to animate the great mass of the inhabitants against successive attempts of the enemy to invade the Province, in the last of which he unhappily fell, too prodigal of that life of which his eminent services had taught us to understand the value." The House of Commons caused a tabular monument, by Westmacott, to be erected to Sir Isaac's memory in the south transept of St. Paul's Cathedral; and, in compliance with a petition from the Upper Canadian Legislature, a tract of 12,000 acres of land in Upper Canada was granted to his four surviving brothers, together with a pension to each of them of £200 sterling a year for life.

The personal appearance of Sir Isaac was eminently soldierlike and prepossessing. He was about six feet two inches in height, of fair complexion, and notwithstanding the activity of his habits was, during his latter years, so portly as to be almost corpulent. By his soldiers and brother officers he was beloved, not less for his fine military qualities than for the uniform courtesy and kindness which marked his intercourse with them.

It may not be uninteresting to note that during General Brock's residence in this country he became attached to Miss Sophia Shaw, daughter of the Honourable Aeneas Shaw, one of the pioneers of Little York, and the great grandfather of Major George A. Shaw, now of Toronto. A marriage engagement was entered into between General Brock and Miss Shaw, the fulfilment of which was only prevented by the death of the former at Queenston Heights, as above recorded. The lady was faithful to her lover's memory, and remained single for his sake until her death, which took place at Toronto a few years since.

On the twelfth anniversary of the battle

of Queenston Heights, the monument erected there by the Provincial Legislature having been nearly completed, the remains of General Brock and Colonel McDonell were removed (from the bastion where they had been interred at Fort George) to the vaults beneath the column. A great concourse of people, numbering at least 5,000, assembled from all parts of Canada and the adjacent State of New York to witness this second interment. The monument then inaugurated became a conspicuous attraction of the neighbourhood, and so remained for nearly sixteen years, when it was so disfigured by the act of a traitor and a coward as to render necessary the erection of another structure. The ruffian by whom this mutilation was effected was an Irish-Canadian, named Benjamin Lett, who had been compelled to fly from the Province on account of his participation in the rebellion of 1837-8. On Good Friday, the 17th of April, 1840, he contrived, by means of a train, to explode a quantity of gunpowder which he had introduced into the monument. The edifice was shattered and disfigured to such an extent that it was thought desirable to remove it. Of course Lett's dastardly act aroused universal indignation, and on the 30th of July following a meeting was held on the site, and resolutions were adopted for the erection of another monument. Business in Toronto, and in many other cities and towns in the Province, was totally suspended for the day. There were excursions from various points on the lakes, and the number of persons congregated on the heights was not less than 8,000. Sir George Arthur, the Lieutenant-Governor, was present, and addressed the assembly. Many veterans of the war, too, were there to pay a last tribute to the memory of the brave officer under whom they had marched in years long past. The speakers included many of the leading citizens of Canada, conspicuous among whom were the late Sir Allan Macnab and Chief

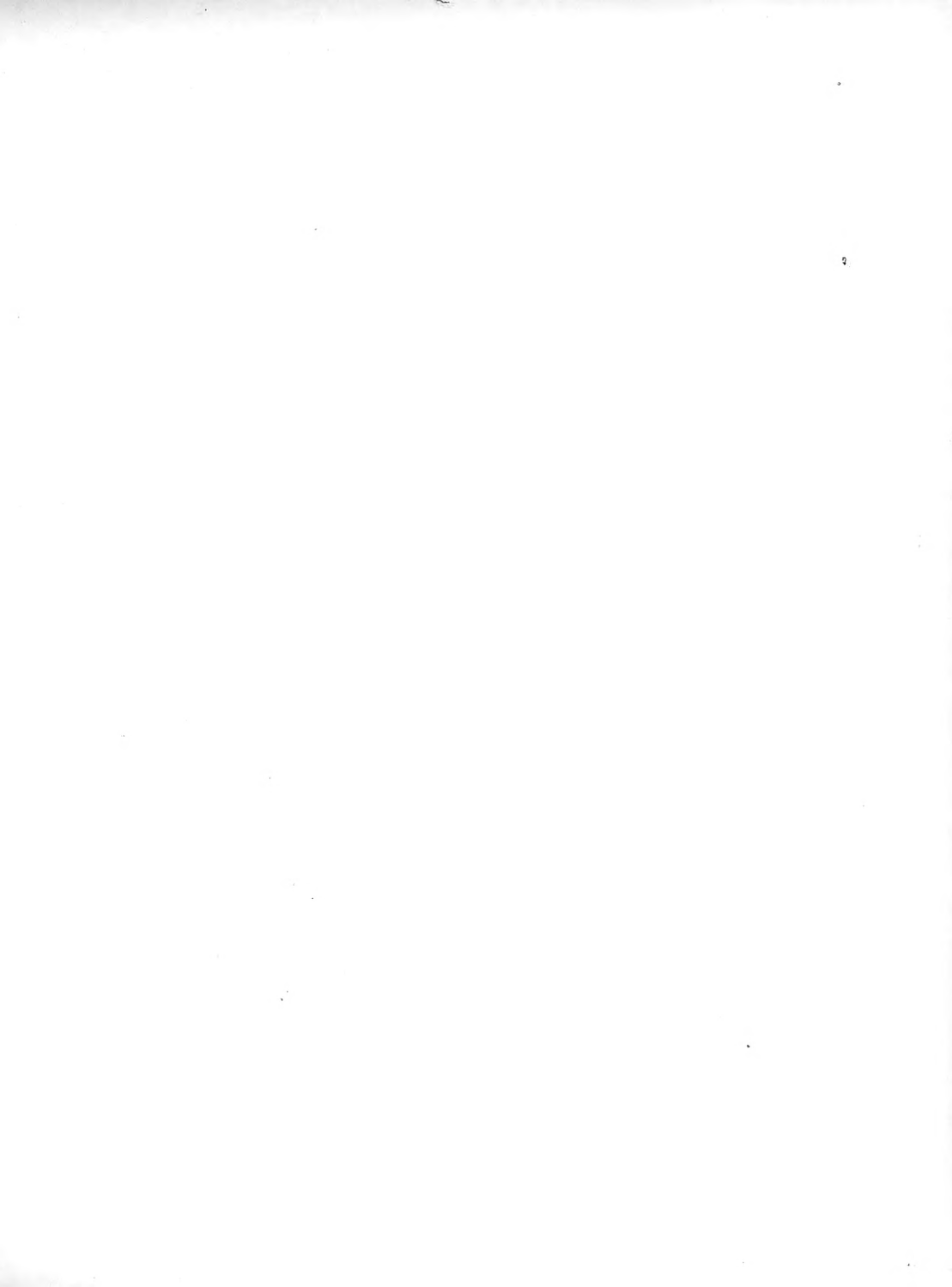
Justice Robinson. On the same day a meeting for a similar purpose was held at Montreal, and was also largely attended. By virtue of resolutions passed on that day, a Committee was appointed to carry out the project for which the meeting had been convoked. The Committee proceeded to collect subscriptions, and the new monument, due in great measure to their exertions, is a much more splendid and costly edifice than was its predecessor. It was built by voluntary subscriptions of the militia and of the Indians of Canada, supplemented by a Parliamentary grant for the laying out of the adjacent grounds. The monument was designed by Mr. W. Thomas, architect, of Toronto, and the building contract was awarded to the late Mr. J. Worthington, also of Toronto. On the 13th of October, 1853, the foundation stone was laid, and the remains of the two warriors were once more re-interred. The monument, 185 feet in height, and composed of limestone quarried in the neighbourhood, was subsequently completed, and was inaugurated in 1859. Its form is that of a fluted column, standing upon a massive pedestal, and surmounted by a Corinthian

capital, upon which stands a colossal statue of General Brock. The north side of the basement contains the following inscription:—

“UPPER CANADA has dedicated this monument to the memory of the late MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B., Provisional Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces in this Province, whose remains are deposited in the vault beneath. Opposing the invading enemy, he fell in action near these Heights on the 13th of October, 1812, in the forty-third\* year of his age, revered and lamented by the people whom he governed, and deplored by the Sovereign to whose service his life had been devoted.”

The portrait which accompanies this sketch is engraved from a miniature procured from Sir Isaac's relatives in Guernsey by the Education Department of Ontario. The miniature so obtained has been copied under the direction of the Department, and the copy now adorns the ceiling of one of the rooms in the educational museum.

\* This inscription is not quite accurate. General Brock had completed his forty-third year on the 6th of October, exactly one week before his death.





*John Joseph Lynch  
Atty & Toronto*



## THE MOST REV. JOHN JOSEPH LYNCH.

*R. C. ARCHBISHOP OF TORONTO.*

ARCHBISHOP LYNCH was born in the neighbourhood of the market-town of Clones, in the county of Monaghan, in the diocese of Clogher, Ireland, on the 6th of February, 1816. When he was about two years of age his parents removed to Lucan, a village situated a few miles west of Dublin, and here the future Archbishop grew up to manhood. From his earliest years he had been intended for the priesthood, and when he was about sixteen years of age he commenced his classical studies under the private tuition of a B.A. of Trinity College, Dublin. He made rapid progress, and soon became, for a youth of his years, an excellent classical scholar. He then entered a college of the Carmelite Brothers, near Clondalkin, where he spent twelve industrious months. In 1835 he entered St. Vincent's College, Castleknock. At this establishment, which had then been only a short time in operation, he continued his classical studies with much profit, and also made great progress in Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics. He was from the first conspicuous above most of his fellow-students, not less by his industry and rapid advancement than by his tact, cheerfulness, and good nature. His superiors were accustomed to speak of him as one marked out by nature for a position of authority in his profession. He was exceedingly popular, both with his fellow students and with the dignitaries of the institution, and was frequently appoint-

ed to the office of a monitor. He rose to the position of a Superior long before the period at which such a dignity would ordinarily have been conferred upon him. He was admirably fitted for a disciplinarian, and was practically a ruler among his kind from his seventeenth year. In 1839, when twenty-three years of age, he entered the novitiate of the Congregation of the Mission at St. Lazare, Paris, where he pursued the study of theology and other branches of an ecclesiastical education. St. Lazare was the head establishment of Foreign Missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, and the course pursued there was such as eminently to fit him for the pursuits to which a considerable part of his subsequent life was devoted. During his residence there he consorted with students of divers nationalities, and laid the foundation of many warm friendships which have accompanied him through life. One of the best-loved of his companions and fellow-students was the present Vicar-Apostolic of Persia, a venerable man who has done much to advance the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in the East, and who enjoys the personal respect and friendship of the Shah. While at St. Lazare, the young novice also gained a wider knowledge of mankind than his preceding life had enabled him to acquire, and the breadth and liberality of his views on all subjects pertaining to his profession are doubtless largely attributable to his resi-

dence there. In 1841, having then passed the full period of his novitiate, he took upon him the vows of the Order. During the Easter Term of 1842, he received Tonsure and other minor Orders, and during the following Trinity Term received ordination at the hands of Monseigneur Atfré—known as “The Martyr of the Barricades”—in the Church of St. Sulpice. He had by this time begun to feel great enthusiasm for a missionary’s life, and longed to be sent abroad. He had no desire to return to his own country, where there were priests in abundance, but was zealous to be sent where he could preach to the heathen, and win proselytes to his faith. He even offered to go out on a mission to China—certainly not the most inviting field for a young man trained under the influences of western civilization, and necessarily involving a life of much hardship and self-denial. His superiors, however, deemed that a more suitable field would ere long be found for him, and despatched one of his companions on the China mission. Meanwhile he returned to Ireland, and again took up his quarters at St. Vincent’s College, where he pursued his theological studies, and discharged the offices of Dean and Moderator of Discipline. During Trinity Term, 1843, he was ordained deacon and priest at Maynooth College, by the Most Reverend Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin. At the ensuing feast of Corpus Christi he celebrated his first mass in the chapel of St. Vincent’s College.

He remained at St. Vincent’s nearly three years subsequent to his ordination as priest, during which period he went on several missions to various parts of Ireland. He was constantly longing, however, to be despatched on service abroad, and in the summer of 1846 his wish was gratified. Dr. Olin, Vicar-Apostolic of Texas, who subsequently became Archbishop of New Orleans, went over from Texas to Ireland to procure

missionaries to labour in the wide and uninviting field which “the Lone Star State” then presented, and which had recently been assigned as a Mission by His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI. Father Lynch eagerly enlisted himself in the service, and a few weeks found him embarked, at Liverpool, on board a sailing vessel bound for New Orleans. The passage was both tedious and stormy. It lasted for seven weeks, and was attended with even greater discomforts than ordinarily attend long trans-Atlantic passages. Father Lynch conceived this to be a fitting season alike for learning and imparting a lesson of self-denial and endurance. By permission of the Captain he fitted up a small oratory on board the vessel, and though often prostrated by sea-sickness and rough weather, performed mass regularly every morning throughout the voyage. Upon reaching New Orleans he had a narrow escape from death. Night came on before the vessel reached the place of mooring, and by the time the anchor had been cast into the yellow waters of the Mississippi the darkness had become intense. Father Lynch, however, and another clerical passenger, had become thoroughly weary of the monotony of shipboard, and determined to make an attempt to get on shore without waiting for daylight. Three other vessels were anchored between their own bark and the shore. Over these they cautiously crept in the thick darkness, feeling their way by the ropes, and listening to the tumultuous rushing of the waters below. A false step would have been certain death, for the mighty stream here acquires a velocity of from fifty to sixty miles an hour. After a toilsome scramble they stepped from the innermost vessel on to the quay, which was built of boards, and in the almost Egyptian darkness presented the same appearance to the eye as the yellow, muddy waters of the Mississippi. Scarcely had they landed when Father Lynch walked deliberately,

though of course unconsciously, over the edge of the quay. His foot was raised, and was just about to plunge into the roaring abyss, when he was grasped by his companion from behind, and thereby preserved from a watery grave. It is needless to say that he returned thanks to the Almighty for his deliverance.

It was the era of the close of the Mexican war. Commerce between that country and the United States had been totally interrupted, and there were no boats plying between New Orleans and Galveston. This necessitated a stay of two months in the capital of Louisiana, which period was taken advantage of by Father Lynch to obtain a knowledge of the characteristics of the negroes, with which people he would necessarily be brought much in contact while labouring in his mission field. At last he succeeded in obtaining a passage in a small river boat, in which he made his way by the coast to his destination. He spent between two and three years in Texas, during which time he travelled over almost the entire area of the State. The mission field was wide, and the labourers were few. There were but four priests in the entire State. Nearly every Catholic nationality under the sun was represented there, the majority being Spanish, Irish, and German. Unnecessary to say that he frequently suffered great hardships, and that his zeal for missionary work was subjected to many a severe test. The Texan country was then much more barbarous and unsettled than it is at the present time; and many parts of it, even now, are not very desirable places of residence for persons wedded to the accompaniments of civilization. Human life was held in light esteem, and murders were matters of daily occurrence. Father Lynch's good nature, and his faculty for dealing with mankind, here stood him in good stead, and his success with the motley population was great beyond his expectations. At last,

while travelling in a remote and thinly settled part of the State, he was attacked by a malignant fever, from which he was long in recovering. While still far from convalescence, he betook himself to Galveston, whence he shortly departed for New Orleans. His constitution had sustained a severe shock, and it was evident that the only means whereby he could hope to recover his health would be to seek a more northerly climate. He accordingly repaired to St. Louis, Missouri, where he was soon restored to his former vigour of constitution.

During the spring of 1848 he was appointed Superior of an educational institution in Perry County, Missouri, known as St. Mary's Seminary of the Barrens. Attached to the Seminary was a large tract of land embracing nearly a thousand acres, part of which was worked as an industrial farm by the students and officials. They formed a little community by themselves, and for some time everything went on pleasantly enough. Dr. Lynch's stay here extended over a considerable period, during which, owing in a great measure to his own exertions, a new building was erected, and the membership increased from 30 to 120. The situation of the place, however, was unhealthy, and to the great regret of those connected with the institution, it had to be abandoned. It was contiguous to the Mississippi, and the periodical overflow of the river produced miasma. Both professors and students were attacked from time to time with ague, typhoid and intermittent fevers, and divers other miasmatic maladies which rendered them unfit for either work or play. Father Lynch held out nearly to the last, but the illness of his assistant professors imposed additional cares and duties upon him, and finally he fell a victim to the combined influences of hard work and an insalubrious atmosphere. He was attacked by paralysis of the left side, and was for some weeks in a critical condition.

Soon after his recovery he was sent as a deputy from the Congregation of the Mission in the United States to the sexennial assembly of the Order, held at the headquarters, in Paris. After his return to America he was engaged on missions in various parts of the Western States, which occupied his time for several busy years. In 1855 he went on a special mission to Rome, upon which occasion he had a long conference with His Holiness, and received from him many marks of favour. One of these is worthy of being particularly narrated. Father Lynch had frequently been put to great inconvenience from his restricted jurisdiction. A bishop, of course, has no jurisdiction beyond his own diocese, and the various bishops by whom Father Lynch had been empowered to exercise his sacred vocation could only authorize him to act within the limits of the territory over which they possessed ecclesiastical sway. Thus it not unfrequently happened that, while travelling on the Mississippi, he could hear confession and administer absolution on one side of the river, while on the other he had no such power. Upon hearing the state of the case from Father Lynch's own mouth, His Holiness then and there conferred upon him the right to hear confession and absolve penitents throughout the whole world, wherever he might be. This is a boon which the Pope alone has power to bestow, and which as matter of fact is conferred very sparingly, and only upon persons of the most tried prudence and discretion.

Father Lynch returned from Rome in 1856, during which year, in response to the urgent solicitation of Dr. Timon, the Bishop of Buffalo, he consented to found a house of his Order in that diocese. He first laid the foundation of a preparatory seminary temporarily for the winter in Buffalo, but in the following May removed to Niagara, where there is now a fine building, and 320

acres of land. The institution is known by the name of the Seminary of Our Lady of the Angels. It was projected, as an eminent living author says of another ecclesiastical edifice, with an exuberance of faith and an insufficiency of funds. Dr. Lynch began operations with only one hundred dollars, and even this sum was borrowed. By degrees collections and legacies began to flow in, and the present imposing structure—the successor of one which was consumed by fire—is the gratifying result.

Father Lynch's exertions on behalf of this Seminary made him known to the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Canada. In 1859 he was appointed, by apostolic letters, Bishop of Echenas in Partibus Infidelium, and coadjutor of Monseigneur Charbonnel, Bishop of Toronto. He was consecrated Bishop of St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, on the 20th of November of that year. During the following year, Bishop Charbonnel having resigned, Bishop Lynch succeeded him in the See of Toronto. In 1862 he again visited Rome, on the occasion of what was known as the "Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs," and was created Prelate Assistant of the Pontifical Throne. In 1869–70 he was present at the Vatican Council, where he was appointed one of the consultors of Foreign Missions and Oriental Rights, and made a speech in favour of Papal infallibility. On the same day on which this speech was made he had the honour of celebrating mass before the Council.

In 1870, during the session of the Ecumenical Council at Rome, the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec was divided, and Toronto was named as the Metropolitan See of Upper Canada. Bishop Lynch was appointed the first Archbishop of the new See, and in that capacity took his seat in the Council, being conducted to his place by his old friend and predecessor, Bishop Charbonnel.

Since his appointment to the Archbishop-

rie of Toronto, he has devoted himself earnestly to the affairs of his diocese, and has doubtless been the means of extending the power and influence of the denomination to which he belongs. He has interested himself in various social reforms, and while taking due care for the spiritual needs of his flock, has not been unmindful of the practical side of life. He has taken an active part in the establishment of schools and charitable institutions, and is known for an earnest supporter of the temperance cause. He enjoins, more especially upon young people, the advantages of total abstinence. He has great faith in the lessons learned in early life, and believes that the promise of the youth is generally fulfilled in the performance of the man. Acting upon this conviction, when holding confirmations, he exacts from young men and boys a pledge to abstain from intoxicating liquors until the attainment of their majority, and by this means he has doubtless saved many a youth alike from the spiritual and temporal penalties of indulgence in intoxicating drinks. As a prelate he is liberal to a degree almost unprecedented in the history of the hierarchy of his Church. Though a devout Catholic, and a sincere advocate, from conviction, of the doctrine of Papal infallibility, he is willing to accord, so far as the rules of his Church permit him to do so, full liberty of conscience to those who differ from him. He believes that priests should confine themselves to their proper functions, and is opposed to clerical interference with the political consciences of their flock. He has plainly declared that a priest has no more right to dictate to his parishioners how they should vote than he has to interfere in the cut of their clothing, or the quality of their food. In short, Archbishop Lynch, while he recognizes his responsibilities as an Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, has never forgotten the fact that he is also a man—a man dwell-

ling in a community which is chiefly made up of Protestants, and where, by reason of his high position, he is bound to exercise a potent influence either for good or evil.

During his Archiepiscopate he has consecrated to the order of Bishop Prelates, His Grace the present Archbishop of Quebec; the Right Rev. Dr. Jamot, Bishop of Sarepta and Vicar Apostolic of Northern Canada; the Right Rev. Dr. Crinnon, Bishop of Hamilton; and the late Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Kingston. He established in the diocese the Seminary of St. Mary and St. John; the Order of the Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood; a Carmelite Monastery at Niagara Falls; a House of the Good Shepherd for Magdalenes; a Home for working boys, and a Home for respectable young women, besides other educational establishments.

During the summer of last year Archbishop Lynch made another pilgrimage to Rome in connection with the affairs of his diocese. While there he enjoyed the privilege of a long personal conference with the present Pope: the successor of him from whom, a quarter of a century before, he had received the right of universal jurisdiction in the matters of confession and absolution. On his return journey he spent six weeks in Ireland, during which he did his utmost to arrive at an understanding of the true nature of the grievances there. He took occasion to call on the Lord Lieutenant and other persons high in authority, and expressed his views on the Irish question very strongly, and withal very decorously. He was listened to with the respect due to his years, and his knowledge of the Irish character, no less than to the high position which he occupies; and he seems to have left a most agreeable impression behind him. His views on these matters have since been published in the local newspapers, and are doubtless well known to all readers of these pages.

## THE HON. EDMUND BURKE WOOD,

### *CHIEF JUSTICE OF MANITOBA.*

FOR some years prior to his appointment to his present elevated position, Mr. Wood occupied a foremost place among the public men of Ontario. His step and figure were well known on the streets of almost every town in the western part of this Province, and the ringing tones of his powerful voice were familiar sounds to the juries of half-a-dozen counties. In the county of Brant, where he made his home for twenty years, he was personally known to almost every adult inhabitant, and his influence, both professional and political, was long paramount to that of any of his contemporaries. Alike as a lawyer and a politician, he was one of the most conspicuous men in Ontario, and since his removal to a distant Province his judicial career has been watched with interest by those he has left behind.

He is a Canadian by birth, and was born on the 13th of February, 1820, in the county of Welland, near the village of Fort Erie. His father, the late Mr. Samuel Wood, was by occupation a farmer, who emigrated from Ireland to the United States early in the present century, and settled in Upper Canada during or soon after the close of the War of 1812. Young Edmund, in his early boyhood, attended the common schools in the neighbourhood of his home, and afterwards completed his education at Oberlin College, Ohio, where he graduated as B.A. in 1848. His father had meanwhile re-

moved to the township of Beverly, in the county of Wentworth. Edmund, when fresh from college, taught school for a short time near the paternal abode, but soon relinquished a pursuit which had few inherent attractions for him, and which presented no avenue for the gratification of his ambition. He resolved to devote himself to the law, and entered the office of Messrs. Freeman & Jones, Barristers, at Hamilton, as an articled clerk. After some time spent in that office he transferred his services to the late Mr. Archibald Gilkison, of Brantford, where he completed the term of his clerkship. He went up for examination immediately afterwards, and was admitted as an attorney on the 21st of November, 1853. He at once entered upon the practice of his profession in Brantford. The county of Brant had recently been formed, with Brantford as the county town, and Mr. Stephen James Jones, one of Mr. Wood's former principals in Hamilton, had received the appointment of County Judge there. Mr. Wood about the same time received the appointment of Clerk of the County Court and Deputy Clerk of the Crown for the county. This position he soon afterwards resigned, in consequence of his inability to retain it concurrently with the practice of his profession. He was called to the Bar in Trinity Term, 1854. The legal practitioners in Brantford were neither abler nor more learned than those of other provincial



*E. H. Wood*





towns in Canada in those days. Certainly not one of them was intellectually the peer of Edmund Burke Wood, who was not long in making his way to the front. Soon after commencing practice he formed a partnership with the late Mr. Peter Ball Long, and the firm then established under the style of "Wood & Long" soon found themselves in possession of a large and flourishing practice. The counsel business was chiefly committed to the senior partner, who soon came to be recognized as a formidable man before a jury. Even in those early days of his professional career, his forensic learning was far in advance of that of most of his opponents. His native powers of mind were also very much above the average, and he had that ready grasp of the main points of an issue without which no lawyer must expect to achieve much success at the Bar. His learning and native parts were materially aided by a powerful physique, and a deep, sonorous, full-toned voice which proved marvellously effective in enforcing an argument. Words came to him readily, and his delivery was marked by a robust energy which seldom failed to carry conviction to the minds of jurymen. His forensic addresses were perhaps more remarkable for their force than for the elegance of their diction; but juries are much more readily swayed by apt and homely phraseology than by flowers of rhetoric, and at the local Bar he carried all before him. The business continued under the style of "Wood & Long" for about six years, when the firm was dissolved, and each of the partners thenceforward conducted a separate practice.

In the month of April, 1855, Mr. Wood married Miss Jane Augusta Marter, the second daughter of the late Dr. Peter Marter, of Brantford, a gentleman of good family and high social position. This lady still survives, and by her Mr. Wood has a numerous family. When the project was mooted

of constructing a line of railway through Brantford, connecting Buffalo with Goderich, Mr. Wood took a conspicuous part in its promotion, and was appointed solicitor to the company. This position, which was in itself the source of a large and profitable business, was retained by Mr. Wood until the amalgamation of the line with the Grand Trunk Railway a few years since.

For some time subsequent to the dissolution of the firm of Wood & Long there is not much of public interest to record in relation to Mr. Wood's life. He continued to engross the lion's share of the local business in connection with his profession, and was engaged in every important case in the local courts. Among the best known of these was the long and complicated Chancery suit of *Whitehead vs. The Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway Company*, which involved great pecuniary interests and several abstruse questions of law. Captain Barlow, the Managing Director of the company, entered into a contract with the plaintiff—the well-known railway contractor—in his (Barlow's) own name, adding to his signature the words "acting in behalf of the company." The contract was for the execution of works in the construction of the road, and also for keeping the road in repair. Under this agreement Mr. Whitehead entered upon the work, and had completed the greater part of it when the company repudiated the contract upon the ground that they had previously been unaware of the terms of it; that it was not under seal; and that the prices agreed to be paid were extravagant. The plaintiff, Mr. Whitehead, accordingly filed a bill to enforce the contract. It was held by the Court of Chancery that the contract did not require the company's seal, and that the company was bound to pay for the work done. This decision was subsequently affirmed, in effect, by the Court of Appeal. Another case which also made a good deal of noise at the time was that

brought against the same company by Mr. Widder, which, after a long contest, and a large expenditure of money, was ultimately abandoned by the plaintiff. These two suits were rendered specially noteworthy by reason of the great pecuniary interests involved in them. There were many other cases conducted by Mr. Wood which added to his already well-established reputation, but an account of which would only be interesting to legal practitioners.

Mr. Wood had always been attached to the Liberal side in politics, and had repeatedly been urged to enter Parliament. He resisted all such overtures until a short time prior to the general election of 1863, when he consented to stand for the constituency of South Brant. The contest came on, and he was opposed by the late Rev. William Ryerson. Mr. Wood stumped the county with his accustomed energy, and was returned by a large majority. Upon taking his seat he supported the then-existing Macdonald-Dorion Government, and soon became known for one of the readiest and most effective debaters in Parliament. He sat in the House until the accomplishment of Confederation, when, at the first general election under the new order of things, he again offered himself as a candidate for the South Riding of Brant. He was once more successful, being dually elected to the House of Commons and to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. Upon the formation of the Coalition Government by the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald in July, 1867, Mr. Wood accepted the portfolio of Provincial Treasurer, and was sworn in as a member of the Executive Council. His acceptance of office at this time brought him into temporary disfavour with the Reform Party generally, which disapproved of the Coalition; but it is admitted on all hands that the duties incidental to his office were discharged with exceptional promptitude and ability. Those were the days of "economy"

and "retrenchment" in the public departments, and Mr. Wood's budget speeches were redolent of a large and steadily-increasing surplus. He continued to discharge the duties of Provincial Treasurer until the month of December, 1871, when he resigned office, but continued to sit in the Assembly as a private member. At the following election for the House of Commons, the Hon. Edward Blake received a double return for West Durham and South Bruce. He elected to represent the latter constituency, and Mr. Wood was pressed to offer himself as a candidate for West Durham. In compliance with this overture, he accordingly resigned his seat in the Local Legislature, and was returned to the Commons by the electors of West Durham by acclamation. He continued to represent that constituency in the House of Commons until his appointment as Chief Justice of Manitoba on the 11th of March, 1874.

His Parliamentary career was marked throughout by an energy and persistency of advocacy which contributed to important results. He was the principal agent on behalf of this Province in bringing about the award in the financial arbitration between Ontario and Quebec. The award, drafted by him, and subsequently acquiesced in by the arbitrators, was one which could not fail to gratify the inhabitants of Ontario. He was an uncompromising opponent of the "better terms" conceded to the Province of Nova Scotia, and was the steady advocate of "Western interests." He displayed great facility in dealing with all matters relating to finance, and was regarded as the chief local authority on such subjects. His published budget speeches show a clear comprehension of the financial status of the Province at the respective periods when they were delivered, as well as a thorough grasp of the political situation. During his last session in the Local Assembly of Ontario he was the author of the scheme for the settlement of

the Municipal Loan Fund of the Upper Province, and personally made the calculations which were finally adopted.

Since his elevation to the Judicial Bench he has effected many important reforms in the legal procedure of the courts of Manitoba, and has delivered various elaborate judgments which have attracted a good deal of attention. Several of the latter have been published at the expense of the Local Government for distribution among the magistracy. The first case tried by him after taking his seat on the Bench is perhaps the best known of all the cases in which he has ever been concerned, either as judge or advocate. It was the *cause célèbre* of *The Queen vs. Ambrose Lépine*, for the murder of Thomas Scott, whose tragical death before the bastions of Fort Garry forms so conspicuous an event in the history of the Red River insurrection. The prisoner's counsel repudiated the jurisdiction of the court over the offence charged in the indictment. The Crown demurred to the

prisoner's plea, after which the case was argued before the two puisné judges, who allowed the matter to stand over from term to term without venturing to pronounce judgment. Upon Mr. Wood's accession to the Bench the case was at once brought before him. The trial, which involved grave questions both of law and fact, lasted about a fortnight. At the close of the argument he pronounced judgment for the Crown on the demurrer without leaving his seat. He decided that both the court in Manitoba and the courts in the Old Province of Canada, and, since Confederation, in Ontario and Quebec, have concurrent jurisdiction over such offences as that charged, and over the particular case in question. Eminent jurists in all the Provinces unhesitatingly gave it as their opinion that Chief Justice Wood's law was unsound, but his decision was upheld by the law officers of the Crown in England, and his written judgment was pronounced a remarkable specimen of forensic learning and acumen.

## PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH.

IT is a trite observation that the lives of men of letters are seldom marked by much variety of incident. The life of the subject of the present sketch forms no exception to the general rule. He was born on the 13th of August, 1823, at Reading, in Berkshire, England, where his father was a practising physician of high standing and of ample fortune. There is not much to be said about his childhood, except that he was a bright, attractive boy, and was even then remarkable for a capacious and retentive memory. When in his ninth year he was placed at a private school in the neighbourhood of Bath. After remaining at that institution four years he was entered at Eton College, whence, in his nineteenth year, he was transferred to Christ Church, Oxford. It is a circumstance worth noting that a gentleman destined to become one of the most advanced intellectual radicals of his time should have received his scholastic training at the strongholds of High Toryism. His educational career, both at Eton and at Oxford, was marked by unusual brilliancy. Not long after his matriculation he was elected a Deny of Magdalen College, and removed thither. As an undergraduate, he took no conspicuous part in the proceedings of the College debating societies, and seems to have had no ambition to figure before the world as an orator. His triumphs were of a more substantial and enduring kind, and proved him to be the possessor

not only of exceptionally brilliant parts, but of an undoubted capacity for hard work. He gained both the Ireland and Hertford scholarships, and the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse. In 1845 he took his baccalaureate degree, and was placed in the first class in classics. Two years afterwards he was elected to a Fellowship in University College, and for some months he officiated as tutor there, having meanwhile taken his degree of M.A.

In 1847 he was called to the Bar of Lincoln's Inn, and took up his abode in London. He never engaged, or attempted to engage, in actual practice as a barrister; but he soon became known as a youth of rare talent and rich culture. He espoused the Liberal side in politics, and began to contribute to the daily journals, as well as to quarterly and other reviews. Even in those early days his writing was marked by originality and maturity of thought, and by a vigour and splendour of style which had few rivals in Great Britain. The most sanguine anticipations were formed with reference to his future career. He determined to devote himself to the literary calling, and after spending a season in town he returned to Oxford, where he was again for some time a diligent student. His studies were specially directed to historical research with a view to an important historical work. He devoted himself to a painstaking and thorough examination of the archives of the



*Goldwin Smith*



University, and ransacked the manuscript treasures deposited in the Bodleian library. There had long been a good deal of discussion in England on the subject of University Reform, and in 1850 the agitation began to make itself heard to some purpose. It was necessary that some measure directed towards the removal of certain abuses and disabilities at Oxford should be submitted to Parliament. Lord John Russell felt that it would be impossible to deal effectually with so important a matter without fuller knowledge of the subject than was possessed by either the Government or Parliament. A Royal Commission was accordingly appointed with instructions to subject the whole matter to a thorough investigation. Overtures were made to Mr. Smith to give the Commissioners the benefit of his extensive knowledge, and he consented to act as Assistant Secretary. Upon the appointment of the second Commission he became its Secretary, and there can be no doubt that his knowledge enabled many important reforms to be brought about much earlier than they would have been accomplished without his assistance. His services on behalf of University Reform, however, interfered with his project of writing a grave historical work, and the task which was then laid aside has not, so far as we are aware, been resumed.

Early in 1855 the *Saturday Review* was projected, and in the month of November the first number made its appearance. For the first year or two of its existence Mr. Smith was a regular contributor to its columns. He wrote also for the *Daily News*—generally under his own signature—and in several other journals, both in London and in the provinces. In 1857 the Regius Professorship of Modern History at the University of Oxford became vacant through the resignation of Professor Vaughan. The choice of a successor to the vacancy lay between Mr. Smith and Mr. James An-

thony Froude. Mr. Smith's qualifications for the position were considered to be on the whole superior to those of Mr. Froude, and the chair was accordingly offered to him in the spring of 1858. He accepted the offer, and shortly afterwards began to discharge the duties incidental to the position. He entered upon his task with avidity, and during his tenure of office, which lasted for about eight years, he continued to perform his duties in such a manner as to reflect credit alike upon himself and upon the University. He had by this time become completely identified with the more advanced school of political reformers in Great Britain, and his utterances had come to be looked upon with the respect due to ripe and varied scholarship, a nervous and powerful style of expression, and very unusual powers of mind.

From 1858 to 1861 Mr. Smith was a member of the Popular Education Committee, and during a great part of that time was occupied in framing the report which was subsequently adopted by Parliament as the basis of legislation on the subject.

In 1861 he published several of the most remarkable of his professorial addresses, under the title of "Lectures on the Study of History." Whatever opinion may be formed as to the correctness of some of the conclusions arrived at in these lectures, there can be but one opinion as to the author's sincerity, earnestness, and mastery of the English language. The *Westminster Review*, while declining to adopt some of the lecturer's conclusions, prefaced its dissent by such remarks as these: "Mr. Goldwin Smith is clearly master of a power of expression which has scarcely a rival amongst us. His language has a native strength and purity which rises not seldom into true poetry. He is, too, obviously possessed by real convictions and a genuine enthusiasm for moral greatness. These lectures have fine thoughts, stamped in noble

words." The publication of the lectures roused a good deal of controversy. They attacked and ridiculed the theories of Mr. Buckle and the Positivists with reference to the feasibility of reducing history to a science. The Positivists rose *en masse* to repel the attack, and for some months the controversy was carried on with great energy and determination. It can hardly be said that the discussion was productive of any permanent benefit to mankind, or that the question was conclusively settled on either side. We all know the proverb about a man convinced against his will. It is difficult to see, indeed, how either of the parties to the controversy could possibly carry conviction to the mind of the other, for they were not even agreed as to preliminaries. The lecturer represented the theory of the Necessarians, with reference to moral statistics, as teaching that the human will is bound by a law compelling the same number of men to commit the same number of crimes within a certain cycle. The Necessarians scouted this exposition of their doctrines, and claimed that their true theory is that the same number of men *with exactly the same characters*, and in exactly the same circumstances, will commit the same number of crimes. "And," said they, "the value of the law is this—that as we can change the characters, we can in precisely the same proportion diminish the crime." The lecturer believed the arguments of his opponents to be founded upon unscientific and accidental circumstances, upon which no permanent or trustworthy theory could be formed. He rejoined—"The cycle, curiously enough, coincides with the period of a year, which is naturally selected by the Registrar-General for his reports." "Truly, a rare bit of wit," was the response; "does the Professor suppose the law to be less true of a period of ten years or six months? Some limits for the observation must be taken. Why not tell us that the observa-

tion curiously enough coincides with the political division called France, or curiously enough applies only to murder and suicide?" "But," said the Professor, "these statistics tell us only the outward act; not its inward moral character." "Did they ever profess to tell us more?" asked the other side: "so far as history is concerned, that is all that is required." And so the controversy went on through column after column. It thus appeared that the contending parties were about as widely at variance, both as to premises and conclusions, as they very well could be. They were not even agreed as to the real question to be decided. Such being the case, it was manifestly idle to expect that they could ever be brought into unison. The "Autoerat of the Breakfast Table" tells us that much precious time is lost by long arguments on special points between persons who differ as to the fundamental principles upon which those points depend.

Upon the breaking out of the American Civil War, Goldwin Smith arrayed himself on the side of the Federal Government. He wrote extensively on the subject in the *Daily News* and elsewhere, and did much towards enabling his countrymen to form a correct judgment as to the real merits of the struggle. He published several pamphlets bearing upon the question. In 1863 he issued a pamphlet called "Does the Bible Sanction Slavery?" in which the negro question was vigorously discussed. Another pamphlet which attracted considerable notice in its day was one "On the Morality of the Emancipation Proclamation." In 1864 he for the first time crossed the Atlantic, and spent some months in making himself acquainted with the practical working of a republic in difficulties. During his visit, the Brown University, of Providence, conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. He was most enthusiastically received wherever he went, and the representatives of the press throughout the



country vied with each other in doing him honour. The Hon. Charles G. Loring, in a speech delivered at Boston, declared that Mr. Smith, by his pen and his speech, had done more for the vindication of the States against the misapprehensions of the ignorant and the calumnies of foes than any man in Europe. Still more enthusiastic was the testimony of the *North American Review*. "America," said the *Review*, "is not ungrateful to him who thus serves her, and who in serving her promotes the universal cause of liberty and justice. She pays to him the tribute of heartfelt gratitude, and welcomes him, not as a stranger, but as a son."

It was a matter of course that Mr. Smith, by his championship of a righteous but unpopular cause, should make for himself enemies. His powerful advocacy of political reform had long since made him unpopular with the Court party in England, and the enmity of Mr. Disraeli had more than once found expression in words. By all who fought under a Liberal banner, on the other hand, Mr. Smith was honoured and recognized as one of the most eminent of living Englishmen, and as one of the most powerful writers of the present century. Richard Cobden, speaking at Rochdale, in Lancashire, in the month of November, 1864, said: "I am a great advocate of culture of every kind, and when I find men like Professor Goldwin Smith and Professor Rogers, who, in addition to profound classical learning, have a vast knowledge of modern affairs, and who, as well as scholars are profound thinkers; these are men whom I know to have a vast superiority over me, and I bow to them with reverence." If he was disliked by the opponents of progress, it is unquestionable that their dislike was not unmingled with dread; for it is not going too far to say that he writes the English language as it has not often been written since the days of Junius.

Shortly after his return to England the

episode of the Jamaica massacres occurred, and Mr. Smith took a very prominent part in the agitation which ensued thereupon. As fifteen years have elapsed since the occurrence of these massacres, and as they are connected with a somewhat striking passage in Mr. Smith's career, it may not be amiss to refresh the reader's memory by giving a brief outline of the facts. In the month of October, 1865, the island of Jamaica was thrown into confusion by the breaking out of an insurrection on the part of the native coloured population. There had been abuses of a very serious character, and the rebels were by no means without some show of excuse for their uprising. There had long been a bitter war of races in the island, and the policy of Eyre, the Governor, had not been of a kind to pacify the feud. Upon the breaking out of the insurrection the white population were seized with dread, as most of the rebels were semi-barbarians, and some of them were fierce, turbulent spirits who were capable of going any lengths to wreak their vengeance upon those whom they regarded as their hereditary oppressors. Public business was totally suspended, and a universal panic prevailed. A local statute was passed authorizing the Governor to proclaim martial law, and the proclamation was forthwith made. Governor Eyre seems to have succumbed to the panic and lost his head. There was a Mr. Gordon who had for some time been at bitter personal enmity with the Governor, and who, it was alleged, had taken a leading part in stirring up disaffection among the natives. He was arrested under the statute, tried by court-martial, and hanged with unseemly haste—his trial having taken place on a Saturday, and his execution on the morning of the Monday following. The promptitude of this proceeding, added to other measures of exemplary severity, soon put an end to the rebellion, and the island was ere long reduced to a state of order. Then it began to be whis-

pered about that Governor Eyre had availed himself of the pretext of the insurrection to remove from his path a hated foe. The whispers soon became open speech, which ere-long became so loud that a Royal Commission was sent out from England to inquire into the matter. The report of the commission was to the effect that Mr. Gordon's trial had been conducted with great irregularity; that he had been condemned on insufficient evidence; that the most high-handed measures had been resorted to by the Governor and his satellites; and that a degree of severity altogether uncalled for by the circumstances of the case had been exercised. The Governor was recalled, and immediately afterwards took up his abode in England. Then the lovers of liberty began to make themselves heard. It was monstrous, they said, that a man who was morally, if not legally guilty of murder, should be allowed to go unpunished. It was finally resolved that he should be indicted on a charge of murder. The advocates of brute force, on the other hand, defended the Governor's conduct, and as nearly every man in England leaned to either one side or the other, the country was soon divided into two hostile camps. The Governor's supporters organized an Eyre Defence Fund. It would not have been difficult to predict the respective sides upon which the prominent writers of Great Britain would array themselves. Thomas Carlyle, who had deified Danton and Frederick the Great, and who had defended the massacres at Tredeah, took the foremost place on the committee for the defence of Governor Eyre. John Tyndall, whose anthropological studies had doubtless led him to regard the Jamaica negroes as only one degree removed from apes, arrayed himself on the same side; saying, in so many words, that to kill a negro was a very different thing from killing an Englishman. Charles Kingsley, John Ruskin and Sir Roderick

Murchison, as might have been expected, espoused the cause of brute force; the first-named even going so far as to toast the Governor's health at a public dinner. John Stuart Mill, on the other hand, devoted himself to the cause of law, order, and liberty, and was ably seconded by John Bright, Professor Huxley, Herbert Spencer, and Goldwin Smith. Professor Huxley, whose moral sense revolted against the Governor's tyrannical and despotic conduct, wrote a series of sarcastic letters to the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the subject, which have been pronounced to be worthy of Swift himself. The writer admitted all that the ex-Governor's friends alleged on that gentleman's behalf—which, after all was very little. It was true, he said that Governor Eyre and his supporters were honourable and virtuous men; and it was also true that many of the rebels had been vicious and semi-barbarous. Building on this foundation, he adopted the *reductio ad absurdum*, and went on to discuss the matter in all its bearings. He finally wound up by incontestably proving the right of "all virtuous persons, as such, to put to death all vicious persons, as such." "The mind," says Mr. Justin McCarthy, "which was not touched by that incomparable mixture of satire and sense would surely have remained untouched though one rose from the dead." Nothing could be more clearly indicative of the extent to which public opinion was wrought up on the subject of these Jamaica massacres than the fact that Herbert Spencer, for the first and last time in his life, made his appearance on the public platform. The author of "First Principles" had up to this time lived the life of a literary recluse, and had never been seen by the English public, or even by many English men of letters. "But," says the writer already quoted, "the Jamaica massacres made a political agitator even of Herbert Spencer. . . . He appeared in public as an active, hard-working member of a polit-

ical organization. . . . His noble human sympathies, his austere and uncompromising love of justice, his instinctive detestation of brute, blind, despotic force, compelled him to come out from his seclusion, and join those who protested against the lawless and senseless massacre of the wretched blacks of Jamaica." The sympathies of Goldwin Smith impelled him to strike another blow in the cause of liberty—perhaps the hardest blow he had ever struck. He prepared a series of lectures on Pym, Cromwell, and Pitt; lectures replete with telling allusions to the Jamaica massacres and their defenders. These he delivered before large and appreciative audiences in various cities and towns in the north of England. The proceeds were devoted to the fund for the prosecution of the ex-Governor, Eyre. These lectures were received with the utmost enthusiasm, and not long after their delivery they were published in book form under the title of "Three English Statesmen." They have gone through several editions, and, like the "Lectures on the Study of History," have been republished in America. Mr. Smith is somewhat of a hero-worshipper, but his worship is tempered by a critical judgment which detects weaknesses in the moral armour even of those whom he most delights to honour. The character of Cromwell, which is so eminently calculated to lead enthusiastic natures astray, is outlined in these lectures with a calm but eloquent discrimination; and while the writer's devotion imparts fire to his periods it does not render him blind to the shortcomings of the hero of the Commonwealth. The volume contains some sharp and telling hits at Disraeli. The most notable occurs in the discourse on Pym, where, after describing the struggle of the patriots against the impost of ship-money, and how the freeholders of Buckinghamshire rode up to London to protect Hampden from the vengeance of the King, the lecturer asks—

"Where are those four thousand freeholders now? And in the place where then our English Hampden stood, speaking for English liberty, who stands now, upholding martial law as the suspension of all law?" What wonder that the Right Honourable Benjamin characterized the lectures as the vapourings of "a wild man of the cloister, going about the country maligning men and things?"

The sequel of the story of the Jamaica massacres may be given in few words. The ex-Governor was in due course summoned to attend before a magistrate in a London police-court to answer a charge of murder. By advice of his counsel he declined to attend, alleging that as he resided in Shropshire, a London police-magistrate, as such, had no jurisdiction to try him, more especially for an offence alleged to have been committed in Jamaica. The prosecutors then summoned him before the petty sessions at Market Drayton, in Shropshire, where he resided. He attended, and after a patient hearing the charge was dismissed. The prosecution were in no way astonished at such a result. It had never been seriously believed that an indictment for murder could be legally maintained. The purpose of the prosecution was fully served by the notoriety which was given to the case, and by the assurance thereby afforded to the English people that there were men in the nation who were not disposed to allow tyranny to go altogether unchecked.

In 1866, in consequence of injuries received in a railway accident, Mr. Smith's father began to suffer from a long and painful illness, which required the constant and watchful attendance of his son. This attendance left the latter no leisure for the preparation of his lectures, and he accordingly determined upon the resignation of his Oxford professorship. The resolution was at once carried out, and during the succeeding eighteen months his attendance upon his father was unremitting. When,

in 1868, death put an end to his father's sufferings, he found himself without occupation. The chair of English and Constitutional History in the new Cornell University, at Ithaca, in the State of New York, was pressed upon his acceptance, and after some deliberation he closed with the proposal, and shortly afterwards took up his residence at Ithaca. He presented the University with his magnificent library, and entered upon the active discharge of his official duties. In 1871 he removed to Toronto, where he has ever since resided. His professorship at Cornell being non-resident, his removal did not cause any severance of his connection with the university, and he still continues to deliver his lectures there, where he is greatly beloved, alike by his brother professors and by the students. Shortly after his settlement in Toronto he was appointed a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto, which position he subsequently resigned. During his residence here he has engaged in several literary and journalistic enterprises, and it is undeniable that he has done much to elevate the tone of journalism among us. He practically assumed the editorship of the *Canadian Monthly* in 1872, and retained the position for two years, when he resigned. He was also for some time a writer in *The Nation*, a weekly journal, which ceased to appear in September, 1876. On the 30th of September, 1875, he married Harriet, relict of the late Mr. W. H. Boulton, of "The Grange," Toronto, where he now resides.

Both in England and in this country Mr. Smith has repeatedly been importuned to enter Parliament, but has always declined, preferring a life of literary leisure to the turmoil and agitation consequent on a parliamentary career. His last published work is a volume on "The Political Destiny of Canada," in which he predicts the ultimate

severance of this country from Great Britain and its probable absorption by the United States. *The Bystander*, a serial publication, commenced in January last, is also currently believed to be the product of his pen. Whatever opinion may be formed as to the expediency of some of the measures which he has seen fit to advocate during the last few years of his life, there can be no dispute as to his great ability, profound learning, and thorough conscientiousness of purpose. At the same time, those who contemplate his life in its entirety will have the impression constantly forced upon their minds that he has not done justice to the powers with which he is endowed. He is, moreover, possessed by a feverish restlessness of temperament which impels him to find fault where more happily constituted natures would smile, hope for the best, and be silent. With an intellect and a fund of multifarious knowledge at his command such as is possessed by few men now living, he seems to lack, or to neglect, the faculty of sustained effort. Other historical writers with a tithe of his historical knowledge, and with an incomparably smaller intellectual grasp, have made for themselves an abiding name in English letters, by mere force of industry and facility in writing. Mr. Smith brings to whatever subject may engage his attention the fullness of rich and varied learning and a matchless power of language; but he works only by spasmodic fits and starts, and has not hitherto devoted himself to that steady and patient labour without which no man must expect to leave his mark upon the age in which he lives. He is still, however, in the prime of life, and it is not too late to hope that he will yet produce something to enable mankind to benefit by his deep researches, his philosophical acumen, and his rare combination of qualifications for a great historian.

## SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

STANDING on the summit of one of the rocky eminences at the mouth of the Saguenay, and looking back through the haze of two hundred and seventy-seven years, we may descry two small sailing craft slowly making their way up the majestic stream which Jacques Cartier, sixty-eight years before, christened in honour of the grilled St. Lawrence. The vessels are of French build, and have evidently just arrived from France. They are of very diminutive size for an ocean voyage, but are manned by hardy Breton mariners for whom the tempestuous Atlantic has no terrors. They are commanded by an enterprising merchant-sailor of St. Malo, who is desirous of pushing his fortunes by means of the fur trade, and who, with that end in view, has already more than once navigated the St. Lawrence as far westward as the mouth of the Saguenay. His name is Pontgravé. Like other French adventurers of his time, he is a brave and energetic man, ready to do, to dare, and, if need be, to suffer; but his primary object in life is to amass wealth, and to effect this object he is not over-scrupulous as to the means employed. On this occasion he has come over with instructions from Henry IV., King of France, to explore the St. Lawrence, to ascertain how far from its mouth navigation is practicable, and to make a survey of the country on its banks. He is accompanied on the expedition by a man of widely dif-

ferent mould; a man who is worth a thousand of such sordid, huckstering spirits; a man who unites with the courage and energy of a soldier a high sense of personal honour and a singleness of heart worthy of the Chevalier Bayard himself. To these qualities are added an absorbing passion for colonization, and a piety and zeal which would not misbecome a Jesuit missionary. He is poor, but what the poet calls "the jingling of the guinea" has no charms for him. Let others consume their souls in heaping up riches, in chaffering with the Indians for the skins of wild beasts, and in selling the same to the affluent traders of France. It is his ambition to rear the *pleur-de-lis* in the remote wilderness of the New World, and to evangelize the savage hordes by whom that world is peopled. The latter object is the most dear to his heart of all, and he has already recorded his belief that the salvation of one soul is of more importance than the founding of an empire. After such an exordium it is scarcely necessary to inform the student of history that the name of Pontgravé's ally is Samuel De Champlain. He has already figured somewhat conspicuously in his country's annals, but his future achievements are destined to outshine the events of his previous career, and to gain for him the merited title of "Father of New France."

He was born some time in the year 1567, at Brouage, a small seaport town in the

Province of Saintonge, on the west coast of France. Part of his youth was spent in the naval service, and during the wars of the League he fought on the side of the King, who awarded him a small pension and attached him to his own person. But Champlain was of too adventurous a turn of mind to feel at home in the confined atmosphere of a royal court, and soon languished for change of scene. Ere long he obtained command of a vessel bound for the West Indies, where he remained more than two years. During this time he distinguished himself as a brave and efficient officer. He became known as one whose nature partook largely of the romantic element, but who, nevertheless, had ever an eye to the practical. Several important engineering projects seem to have engaged his attention during his sojourn in the West Indies. Prominent among these was the project of constructing a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Panama, but the scheme was not encouraged, and ultimately fell to the ground. Upon his return to France he again dangled about the court for a few months, by which time he had once more become heartily weary of a life of inaction. With the accession of Henry IV. to the French throne the long religious wars which had so long distracted the country came to an end, and the attention of the Government began to be directed to the colonization of New France—a scheme which had never been wholly abandoned, but which had remained in abeyance since the failure of the expedition undertaken by the brothers Roberval, more than half a century before. Several new attempts were made at this time, none of which was very successful. The fur trade, however, held out great inducements to private enterprise, and stimulated the cupidity of the merchants of Dieppe, Rouen and St. Malo. In the heart of one of them something nobler than cupidity was aroused. In 1603, M. De Chastes, Governor of Dieppe, obtained a

patent from the King conferring upon him and several of his associates a monopoly of the fur trade of New France. To M. De Chastes the acquisition of wealth—of which he already had enough, and to spare—was a matter of secondary importance, but he hoped to make his patent the means of extending the French empire into the unknown regions of the far West. The patent was granted soon after Champlain's return from the West Indies, and just as the pleasures of the court were beginning to pall upon him. He had served under De Chastes during the latter years of the war of the League, and the Governor was no stranger to the young man's skill, energy, and incorruptible integrity. De Chastes urged him to join the expedition, which was precisely of a kind to find favour in the eyes of an ardent adventurer like Champlain. The King's consent having been obtained, he joined the expedition under Pontgravé, and sailed for the mouth of the St. Lawrence on the 15th of March, 1603. The expedition, as we have seen, was merely preliminary to more specific and extended operations. The ocean voyage, which was a tempestuous one, occupied more than two months, and they did not reach the St. Lawrence until the latter end of May. They sailed up as far as Tadousac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, where a little trading-post had been established four years before by Pontgravé and Chauvin. Here they cast anchor, and a fleet of canoes filled with wondering natives gathered round their little barques to sell peltries, and (unconsciously) to sit to Champlain for their portraits. After a short stay at Tadousac the leaders of the expedition, accompanied by several of the crew, embarked in a batteau and proceeded up the river past deserted Stadacona to the site of the Indian village of Hochelaga, discovered by Jacques Cartier in 1535. The village so graphically described by that navigator had ceased to exist, and the tribe which had inhabited it

at the time of his visit had given place to a few Algonquin Indians. Our adventurers essayed to ascend the river still farther, but found it impossible to make headway against the rapids of St. Louis, which had formerly presented an insuperable barrier to Cartier's westward progress. Then they retraced their course down the river to Tadousac, re-embarked on board their vessels, and made all sail for France. When they arrived there they found that their patron, De Chastes, had died during their absence, and that his Company had been dissolved. Very soon afterwards, however, the scheme of colonization was taken up by the Sieur de Monts, who entered into engagements with Champlain for another voyage to the New World. De Monts and Champlain set sail on the 7th of March, 1604, with a large expedition, and in due course reached the shores of Nova Scotia, then called Acadie. After an absence of three years, during which Champlain explored the coast as far southward as Cape Cod, the expedition returned to France. A good deal had been learned as to the topographical features of the country lying near the coast, but little had been done in the way of actual colonization. The next expedition was productive of greater results. De Monts, at Champlain's instigation, resolved to found a settlement on the shores of the St. Lawrence. Two vessels were fitted up at his expense and placed under Champlain's command, with Pontgravé as lieutenant of the expedition, which put to sea in the month of April, 1608, and reached the mouth of the Saguenay early in June. Pontgravé began a series of trading operations with the Indians at Tadousac, while Champlain proceeded up the river to fix upon an advantageous site for the projected settlement. This site he found at the confluence of the St. Charles with the St. Lawrence, near the place where Jacques Cartier had spent the winter of 1535-6. Tradition tells us that

when Cartier's sailors beheld the adjacent promontory of Cape Diamond they exclaimed, "*Quel bec !*"—"What a beak!"—which exclamation led to the place being called *Quebec*. The most probable derivation of the name, however, is the Indian word *kebec*, signifying a strait, which might well have been applied by the natives to the narrowing of the river at this place. Whatever may be the origin of the name, here it was that Champlain, on the 3rd of July, 1608, founded his settlement, and Quebec was the name which he bestowed upon it. This was the first permanent settlement of Europeans on the American continent, with the exception of those at St. Augustine, in Florida, and Jamestown, in Virginia.

Champlain's first attempts at settlement, as might be expected, were of a very primitive character. He erected rude barracks, and cleared a few small patches of ground adjacent thereto, which he sowed with wheat and rye. Perceiving that the fur trade might be turned to good account in promoting the settlement of the country, he bent his energies to its development. He had scarcely settled his little colony in its new home ere he began to experience the perils of his quasi-regal position. Notwithstanding the patent of monopoly held by his patron, on the faith of which his colonization scheme had been projected, the rights conferred by it began to be infringed by certain traders who came over from France and instituted a system of traffic with the natives. Finding the traffic exceedingly profitable, these traders ere long held out inducements to some of Champlain's followers. A conspiracy was formed against him, and he narrowly escaped assassination. Fortunately, one of the traitors was seized by remorse, and revealed the plot before it had been fully carried out. The chief conspirator was hanged, and his accomplices were sent over to France, where they expiated their crime at the galleys. Having thus promptly sup-

pressed the first insurrection within his dominions, Champlain prepared himself for the rigours of a Canadian winter. An embankment was formed above the reach of the tide, and a stock of provisions was laid in sufficient for the support of the settlement until spring. The colony, inclusive of Champlain himself, consisted of twenty-nine persons. Notwithstanding all precautions, the scurvy broke out among them during the winter. Champlain, who was endowed with a vigorous constitution, escaped the pest, but before the advent of spring the little colony was reduced to only nine persons. The sovereign remedy which Cartier had found so efficacious in a similar emergency was not to be obtained. That remedy was a decoction prepared by the Indians from a tree which they called *Anneda*—believed to have been a species of spruce—but the natives of Champlain's day knew nothing of the remedy, from which he concluded that the tribe which had employed it on behalf of Cartier and his men had been exterminated by their enemies.

With spring, succours and fresh immigrants arrived from France, and new vitality was imported into the little colony. Soon after this time, Champlain committed the most impolitic act of his life. The Hurons, Algonquins, and other tribes of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, resolved upon taking the war-path against their enemies, the Iroquois, or Five Nations—the boldest, fiercest, and most powerful confederacy known to Indian history. Champlain, ever since his arrival in the country, had done his utmost to win the favour of the natives with whom he was brought more immediately into contact, and he deemed that by joining them in opposing the Iroquois, who were a standing menace to his colony, he would knit the Hurons and Algonquins to the side of the King of France by permanent and indissoluble ties. To some extent he was right, but he underestimated the strength of the

foe, an alliance with whom would have been of more importance than an alliance with all the other Indian tribes of New France. Champlain cast in his lot with the Hurons and Algonquins, and accompanied them on their expedition against their enemies. By so doing he invoked the deadly animosity of the latter against the French for all time to come. He did not foresee that by this one stroke of policy he was paying the way for a subsequent alliance between the Iroquois and the English.

On May 28th, 1609, in company with his Indian allies, he started on the expedition, the immediate results of which were so insignificant—the remote results of which were so momentous. The war-party embarked in canoes, ascended the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Richelieu—then called the River of the Iroquois—and thence up the latter stream to the lake which Champlain then beheld for the first time, and which until that day no European eye had ever looked upon. This picturesque sheet of water was thenceforward called after him, and in its name his own is still perpetuated. The party held on their course to the head waters of the lake, near to which several Iroquois villages were situated. The enemy's scouts received intelligence of the approach of the invaders, and advanced to repel them. The opposing forces met in the forest on the south-western shore, not far from Crown Point, on the morning of the 30th of July. The Iroquois, two hundred in number, advanced to the onset. "Among them," says Mr. Parkman, "could be seen several chiefs, conspicuous by their tall plumes. Some bore shields of wood and hide, and some were covered with a kind of armour made of tough twigs, interlaced with a vegetable fibre, supposed by Champlain to be cotton. The allies, growing anxious, called with loud cries for their champion, and opened their ranks that he might pass to the front. He did so,



and advancing before his red companions-in-arms stood revealed to the astonished gaze of the Iroquois, who, beholding the warlike apparition in their path, stared in mute amazement. But his arquebuse was levelled; the report startled the woods, a chief fell dead, and another by his side rolled among the bushes. Then there arose from the allies a yell which, says Champlain, would have drowned a thunder-clap, and the forest was full of whizzing arrows. For a moment the Iroquois stood firm, and sent back their arrows lustily; but when another and another gunshot came from the thickets on their flank they broke and fled in uncontrollable terror. Swifter than hounds, the allies tore through the bushes in pursuit. Some of the Iroquois were killed, more were taken. Camp, canoes, provisions, all were abandoned, and many weapons flung down in the panic flight. The arquebuse had done its work. The victory was complete." The victorious allies, much to the disgust of Champlain, tortured their prisoners in the most barbarous fashion, and returned to Quebec, taking with them fifty Iroquois scalps. Thus was the first Indian blood shed by the white man in Canada. The man who shed it was a European and a Christian, who had not even the excuse of provocation. This is a matter worth bearing in mind when we read of the frightful atrocities committed by the Iroquois upon the whites in after years. Champlain's conduct on this occasion seems incapable of defence, and it was certainly a very grave error, considered simply as an act of policy. The error was bitterly and fiercely avenged, and for every Indian who fell on the morning of that 30th of July, in this, the first battle fought on Canadian soil between natives and Europeans, a tenfold penalty was exacted. "Thus did New France rush into collision with the redoubted warriors of the Five Nations. Here was the beginning, in

some measure doubtless the cause, of a long succession of murderous conflicts, bearing havoc and flame to generations yet unborn. Champlain had invaded the tiger's den; and now, in smothered fury the patient savage would lie biding his day of blood."

Six weeks after the performance of this exploit, Champlain, accompanied by Pontgravé, returned to France. Upon his arrival at court he found De Monts there, trying to secure a renewal of his patent of monopoly, which had been revoked in consequence of loud complaints on the part of other French merchants who were desirous of participating in the profits arising from the fur trade. His efforts to obtain a renewal proving unsuccessful, De Monts determined to carry on his scheme of colonization unaided by royal patronage. Allying himself with some affluent merchants of Rochelle, he fitted out another expedition, and once more despatched Champlain to the New World. Champlain, upon his arrival at Tadoussac, found his former Indian allies preparing for another descent upon the Iroquois, in which undertaking he again joined them; the inducement this time being a promise on the part of the Indians to pilot him up the great streams leading from the interior, whereby he hoped to discover a passage to the North Sea, and thence to China and the Indies. In this second expedition he was less successful than in the former one. The opposing forces met near the confluence of the Richelieu and St. Lawrence Rivers, and though Champlain's allies were ultimately victorious, they sustained a heavy loss, and he himself was wounded in the neck by an arrow. After the battle, the torture-fires were lighted, as was usual on such occasions, and Champlain for the first time was an eye-witness to the horrors of cannibalism.

He soon afterwards began his preparations for an expedition up the Ottawa, but just as he was about to start on the journey, a ship

arrived from France with intelligence that King Henry had fallen a victim to the dagger of Ravalliac. The accession of a new sovereign to the French throne might materially affect De Monts's ability to continue his scheme, and Champlain once more set sail for France to confer with his patron. The late king, while deeming it impolitic to continue the monopoly in De Monts's favour, had always countenanced the latter's colonization schemes in New France; but upon Champlain's arrival he found that with the death of Henry IV, De Monts's court influence had ceased, and that his western scheme must stand or fall on its own merits. Champlain, in order to retrieve his patron's fortunes as far as might be, again returned to Canada in the following spring, resolved to build a trading post far up the St. Lawrence, where it would be easily accessible to the Indian hunters on the Ottawa. The spot selected was near the site of the former village of Hochelaga, near the confluence of the two great rivers of Canada. The post was built on the site now occupied by the hospital of the Grey Nuns of Montreal, and even before its erection was completed a horde of rival French traders appeared on the scene. This drove Champlain once more back to France, but he soon found that the ardour of De Monts for colonization had cooled, and that he was not disposed to concern himself further in the enterprise. Champlain, being thus left to his own resources, determined to seek another patron, and succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the Count de Soissons, who obtained the appointment of Lieutenant-General of New France, and invested Champlain with the functions of that office as his deputy. The Count did not long survive, but Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, succeeded to his privileges, and continued Champlain in his high office. In the spring of 1613 Champlain again betook himself to Canada, and arrived at Quebec early in May. Before

the end of the month he started on his long-deferred tour of western exploration. Taking with him two canoes, containing an Indian and four Frenchmen, he ascended the Ottawa in the hope of reaching China and Japan by way of Hudson's Bay, which had been discovered by Hendrick Hudson only three years before. In undertaking this journey Champlain had been misled by a French impostor called Nicholas Vignan, who professed to have explored the route far inland beyond the head waters of the Ottawa, which river, he averred, had its source in a lake connected with the North Sea. The enthusiastic explorer, relying upon the good faith of Vignan, proceeded westward to beyond Lake Coulange, and after a tedious and perilous voyage, stopped to confer with Tessouat, an Indian chief, whose tribe inhabited that remote region. This potentate, upon being apprised of the object of their journey, undeceived Champlain as to Vignan's character for veracity, and satisfied him that the Frenchman had never passed farther west than Tessouat's own dominions. Vignan, after a good deal of prevarication, confessed that his story was false, and that what the Indian chief had stated was a simple fact. Champlain, weary and disgusted, abandoned his exploration, and returned to Quebec, leaving Vignan with the Indians in the wildernesses of the Upper Ottawa.

His next visit to France, which took place during the summer of the same year, was fraught with important results to the colony. A new company was formed under the auspices of the Prince of Condé, and a scheme was laid for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians by means of Recollet missionaries to be sent out from France for the purpose. These, who were the first priests who settled in Canada, came out with Champlain in May, 1615. A province was assigned to each of them, and they at once entered upon the duties of their respec-

tive missions. One of them settled among the Montagnais, near the mouth of the Saguenay; two of them remained at Quebec; and the fourth, whose name was Le Caron, betook himself to the far western wilds. Champlain then entered upon a more extended tour of westward exploration than any he had hitherto undertaken. Accompanied by an interpreter and a number of Algonquins as guides, he again ascended the Ottawa, passed the Isle of Allumettes, and thence to Lake Nipissing. After a short stay here he continued his journey, and descended the stream since known as French River, into the inlet of Lake Huron now called the Georgian Bay. Paddling southward past the innumerable islands on the eastern coast of the bay, he landed near the present site of Penetanguishene, and thence followed an Indian trail leading through the ancient country of the Hurons, now forming the northern part of the county of Simcoe, and the north-eastern part of the county of Grey. This country contained seventeen or eighteen villages, and a population, including women and children, of about twenty thousand. One of the villages visited by Champlain, called Cahiagne, occupied a site near the present town of Orillia. At another village, called Carha-gouha, some distance farther west, the explorer found the Recollet friar Le Caron, who had accompanied him from France only a few months before as above mentioned. And here, on the 12th of August, 1615, Le Caron celebrated, in Champlain's presence, the first mass ever heard in the wilderness of western Canada.

After spending some time in the Huron country, Champlain accompanied the natives on an expedition against their hereditary foes, the Iroquois, whose domain occupied what is now the central and western part of the State of New York. Crossing Lake Couchiching and coasting down the north-eastern shore of Lake Simcoe they made

their way across country to the Bay of Quinté, thence into Lake Ontario, and thence into the enemy's country. Having landed, they concealed their canoes in the woods and marched inland. On the 10th of October they came to a Seneca\* village on or near a lake which was probably Lake Canandaigua. The Hurons attacked the village, but were repulsed by the fierce Iroquois, Champlain himself being several times wounded in the assault. The invading war-party then retreated and abandoned the campaign, returning to where they had hidden their canoes, in which they embarked and made the best of their way back across Lake Ontario, where the party broke up. The Hurons had promised Champlain that if he would accompany them on their expedition against the Iroquois they would afterwards furnish him with an escort back to Quebec. This promise they now declined to make good. Champlain's prestige as an invincible champion was gone, and, wounded and dispirited, he was compelled to accompany them back to their country near Lake Simcoe, where he spent the winter in the lodge of Durantal, one of their chiefs. Upon his return to Quebec in the following year he was welcomed as one risen from the dead.

Hitherto, Champlain's love of adventure had led him to devote more attention to exploration than to the consolidation of his power in New France. He determined to change his policy in this respect, and crossed over to France to induce a larger emigration. In July, 1620, he returned with Madame de Champlain, who was received with great demonstrations of respect and affection by the Indians upon her arrival at Quebec. Champlain found that the colony had rather retrograded than ad-

\*The Senecas were one of the Five Nations composing the redoubtable Iroquois Confederacy. The Tuscaroras joined the League in 1715, and it is subsequently known in history as the "Six Nations."

vanced during his absence, and for some time after his return various causes contributed to retard its prosperity. At the end of the year 1621\* the European population of New France numbered only forty-eight persons. Rival trading companies continued to fight for the supremacy in the colony, and any man less patient and persevering than the Father of New France would have abandoned his schemes in despair. This untoward state of things continued until 1627, when an association, known to history by the name of "The Company of the One Hundred Associates," was formed under the patronage of the great Cardinal Richelieu. The association was invested with the Vice-royalty of New France and Florida, together with very extensive auxiliary privileges, including a monopoly of the fur trade, the right to confer titles and appoint judges, and generally to carry on the government of the colony. In return for these truly vice-regal privileges the company undertook to send out a large number of colonists, and to provide them with the necessities of life for a term of three years, after which land enough for their support and grain wherewith to plant it was to be given them. Champlain himself was appointed Governor. This great company was scarcely organized before war broke out between France and England. The English resolved upon the conquest of Canada, and sent out a fleet to the St. Lawrence under the command of Sir David Kerrk. The fleet having arrived before Quebec, its commander demanded from Champlain a surrender of the place, and as the Governor's supply of food and ammunition was too small to enable him to sustain a siege, he signed a capitulation and surrendered. He then hastened to France, where he influenced the cabinet to stipulate

for the restoration of Canada to the French Crown, in the articles of peace which were shortly afterwards negotiated between the two powers. In 1632 this restoration was effected, and next year Champlain again returned in the capacity of Governor. From this time forward he strove to promote the prosperity of the colony by every means in his power. Among the means whereby he zealously strove to effect this object was the establishment of Jesuit missions for the conversion of the Indians. Among other missions so established was that in the far western Huron country, around which the *Relations des Jesuites* have cast such a halo of romance.

The Father of New France did not live to gather much fruit from the crop which he had sown. His life of incessant fatigue at last proved too much even for his vigorous frame. After an illness which lasted for ten weeks, he died on Christmas Day, 1635, at the age of sixty-eight. His beautiful young wife, who had shared his exile for four years, returned to France.

But few particulars have been preserved with reference to Madame de Champlain's life. Her maiden name was Helen Boullé, and she was the sister of a friend and fellow-navigator of her husband's. After her return to France she renounced the Protestant faith, and became a devout Roman Catholic. Having resolved upon adopting a conventual life, she became an Ursuline nun, under the name of Mother Helen de St. Augustine. She founded a convent at Meaux, in which she immured herself during the remainder of her life. She survived her husband nearly nineteen years, and died on the 20th of December, 1654, at the age of fifty-six. There was no issue of the marriage, and the patrimony descended to a cousin of the Founder of New France.

Champlain's body was interred in the vaults of a little Recollet church in the Lower Town. This church was subse-

\*In this year, Eustache, son of Abraham and Margaret Martin, the first child of European parentage born in Canada, was born at Quebec.

quently burned to the ground, and its very site was not certainly known until recent times. In the year 1867 some workmen were employed in laying water-pipes beneath the flight of stairs called "Breakneck Steps," leading from Mountain Hill to Little Champlain street. Under a grating at the foot of the steps they discovered the vaults of the old Recollet church, with the remains of the Father of New France enclosed.

Independently of his energy, perseverance and fortitude as an explorer, Samuel de Champlain was a man of considerable mark, and earned for himself an imperishable name in Canadian history. He wrote several important works which, in spite of many defects, bear the stamp of no ordinary mind. His engaging in war with the Iroquois was a fatal error, but it arose from the peculiar position in which he found himself placed at the outset of his western career, and it is difficult to see how anything short of actual experience could have made his error manifest. The purity of his life was proverbial, and was the theme of comment among his survivors for years after his death. He foresaw that his adopted country was destined for a glorious future. "The flourishing cities and towns of this Dominion," says one of his eulogists, "are enduring monuments to his foresight; and the waters of the beautiful lake that bears his name chant the most fitting requiem to his memory, as they break in perpetual murmurings on their shores."

This sketch would be incomplete without some reference to the mysterious astrolabe which was found about thirteen years ago, and which is supposed by some persons to have been lost by Champlain on the occasion of his first voyage up the Ottawa in 1613, as recounted in the preceding pages. The facts of the case may be compressed into few words, although they have given rise to many learned disquisitions which,

up to the present time, have been barren of any useful or satisfactory result.

In the month of August, 1867, some men were engaged in cultivating a piece of ground on the rear half of lot number twelve, in the second range of the township of Ross, in the county of Renfrew, Ontario. While turning up the soil, one of them—the actual settler upon the property, we believe—came upon a queer looking instrument, which upon examination proved to be an astrolabe—an instrument used in former times to mark the position of the stars, and to assist in computing latitudes, but long since gone out of use. Upon its face was engraved the date 1603—the identical year when Champlain first sailed from his native land for New France, in company with Pontgravé. Of the antiquity of the instrument, no one who has carefully examined it, as the present writer has had the privilege of doing, will entertain any doubt, even in these days when manufactories exist for the production of "genuine Old Masters" and other antique curios at a few days' notice, and at a very moderate price. At the time of its discovery it had evidently been undisturbed for a very long period of time. It lay several inches beneath the surface of the ground, being imbedded in decayed vegetable matter. The brass or bell-metal of which it is composed is, however, wonderfully hard and impervious to the action of time and atmospheric influences, so that it is in an excellent state of preservation. It is now in the possession of Mr. Richard S. Cassels, of Toronto, who obtained it from the settler by whom it was discovered in 1867.

Now, Champlain's first journey up the Ottawa was made in the summer of 1613, and he undoubtedly passed over or near the identical spot where the astrolabe was found. It is claimed that this instrument belonged to Champlain, and that it was lost by him in this place. In support of the claim it is represented that Champlain's lati-

tudes were always computed with reasonable exactness up to the time of his passing through the portage of which the plot of ground whereon the instrument was found forms a part; whereas the solitary computation subsequently made by him during the journey is so erroneous as to be strongly suggestive of guesswork—so erroneous, indeed, as to have led some readers of his journal very seriously astray in following out his course. This, in reality, is all the evidence to be found as to the ownership of the astrolabe, though there are other minute circumstances which lend some degree of plausibility to the cherished theory. Taken by itself, it is reasonably strong circumstantial evidence. On the other hand it may be contended that astrolabes had pretty well gone out of use before the year 1613, and that Champlain was a man not likely to be behind his times in the matter of scientific appliances. Still, such instruments were doubtless employed by French explorers long subsequent to Champlain's time, and the Baron Lahontan records his having employed one on his western explorations so late as the year 1687—seventy-four years

subsequent to Champlain's first voyage up the Ottawa. But the strongest argument is to be found in the fact that Champlain's journal, which contains minute details of everything that happened from day to day, makes no allusion whatever to his having lost his astrolabe—a circumstance, it would seem, not very likely to have been omitted if any such loss had actually occurred. A number of silver cups, on which crests or coats of arms are said to have been engraved, were also found at the same time and place; and it has been conjectured that they also belonged to the Father of New France. Unfortunately for the verification of the theory, the finder of this treasure-trove, little suspecting that it could have any extraordinary value or importance, sold it to a pedler for old silver, and the cups were melted down before they had been seen by any one interested in the settlement of archaeological problems. The question is of course an open one, and has given rise, as has already been said, to much discussion among Canadian archaeologists. It is, however, of little historical importance, and needs no further allusion in these pages.





G. Monroe Frank



## THE VERY REV. GEORGE MONRO GRANT, D.D.,

*PRINCIPAL OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE, KINGSTON.*

DR. GRANT has for some years past occupied a prominent place in the Presbyterian pulpit of the Maritime Provinces. He has more recently obtained still wider recognition, not merely as an earnest and effective preacher, but likewise as an author, and a zealous educational reformer. He was born on the 22nd of December, 1835, at Albion Mines, or, as it is sometimes called, Stellarton, a mining village situated on East River, in the county of Pictou, Nova Scotia, about a hundred miles to the north-east of Halifax. At the time of his birth, his father, a native of Scotland, taught a school in the village, and was known as a man of ability and high character. A few years later the family removed to the town of Pictou. In the early days of his boyhood the subject of this sketch attended Pictou Academy, where the foundation of his educational training may be said to have been laid. While a student at that institution he was known for a remarkably clever lad who could learn his lessons without effort, but who was not conspicuous for devotion to his studies. A gentleman who is entitled to speak authoritatively with regard to this period in Master George Grant's life, says that he was fonder of play than of his lessons, and always ready for a scramble, a holiday, or a fight, at a moment's notice. He was impetuous and pugnacious, and had several perilous adventures such as do not commonly fall to a

boy's lot. On one occasion he was thrown into the East River, at Pictou, by a big boy with whom he had been fighting, and to whom he refused to acknowledge himself beaten. His antagonist left him to scramble out of the river or drown, as luck might have it. Drowned he would inevitably have been had it not been for the opportune arrival of his father on the scene of action. The effects of another boyish freak were destined to accompany him through life. He and some of his play-fellows, for the mere love of mischief, were experimenting with a hay-cutter, in the absence of its owner. George Grant's right hand was caught by the knife and taken completely off. This was at the time regarded as a serious loss, but "use doth breed habit in man," and by the time the wound was healed he could use his left hand with such facility that he scarcely felt the want of that he had lost. The deprivation has never seriously inconvenienced him, and he has been known to say: "I do not know what I would do with a second hand if I had it."

Even the loss of his hand did not deter him from subsequently engaging in many freaks of mischief, some of which were attended with more or less disaster. He was so constantly injuring himself in some way or other that doubts were felt and expressed by his relatives as to whether he would live to reach manhood. But, notwithstanding

ing his reckless jollity and love of frolic, there was from the very first an earnest side to his character. He had strong religious impressions, and from his earliest years had resolved that his life should be devoted to the Christian ministry. He had even at one time serious thoughts—probably inspired by the perusal of some book of travels—of becoming a missionary. While attending Pictou Academy, his perpetual freaks of fun and mischief, and the frequent unpleasant predicaments in which he contrived to embroil himself, did not prevent him from paying due attention to his lessons. He secured more than his share of prizes, and was regarded as a youth of exceptionally brilliant parts, who would make a figure in the world if he could only be got to apply himself steadily. In those days, the one great prize at the Academy was a silver medal, known as the "Primrose medal," from the name of the donor, Mr. James Primrose. It was awarded for proficiency in Arithmetic. Master Grant gained it, and carried it home to his mother with a full heart. Since his arrival at years of maturity, he has been known to say that all the prizes he has since gained in the course of his passage through life have seemed very commonplace affairs indeed to him, when compared with the Primrose medal at Pictou Academy. The only other occasion which sent anything like a correspondent glow of pride through his bosom was when one of the masters in the Pictou Academy pointed him out to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province—who was visiting the institution—as "the best fighter of his age in the school."

In his sixteenth year he began to attend the West River Seminary of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. Here he was drilled in classics and philosophy by Professor Ross, now Principal of Dalhousie College, Halifax. He has ever retained a deep sense of his scholastic obligations to

this gentleman, whose teachings he found of inestimable value in after years when he became a student at the University of Glasgow. He remained at the Seminary two years, spending the interval between the sessions in teaching school, and thereby unconsciously fitting himself for the important and honourable duties which were to devolve upon him later in life. Having completed his studies at the Seminary he was elected by the Committee of the Synod of Nova Scotia as one of four bursars to be sent to the University of Glasgow, to be fitted for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. He eagerly availed himself of the privilege afforded him, and, having barely completed his eighteenth year, repaired to Scotland. Having reached his destination, he began a course of hard study which lasted for eight years.

His career at the University of Glasgow was distinguished by exceptional brilliancy, and long before it had come to a close he might truly have been regarded as, for his years, a sound and accomplished scholar. One of the most remarkable things about him was his versatility. His triumphs were not restricted to any one particular branch of study, and were not even confined to scholastic pursuits at all. He was as fond of fun in these years as he had ever been in the old times at Pictou Academy, but the mere love of mischief and frolic had become mellowed into something more befitting his age and pursuits. He was fond of athletics, and, when circumstances were propitious, was delighted enough to exchange a severe morning at dry metaphysics or Greek hexameters for a lively game of football. He enjoyed a high degree of popularity among his fellow-students, and was not only liked as a thoroughly good fellow, but respected as a young man of deep and sincere convictions. He was a diligent and successful student in all his classes; in many taking first prizes; in

few, if any, coming out without distinction. He took highest honours in Philosophy in his examination for his master's degree—a distinction which had not been achieved for five or six years previously, and which could only be won by passing the written and oral examinations without making a single mistake. He also carried off the first prizes in Classics, Moral Philosophy, and Chemistry, and the second prize in Logic. While attending the Divinity classes he not only gained some of the best prizes, but carried off, along with several other of the University prizes, the Lord Rector's prize of thirty guineas for the best essay on Hindoo Literature and Philosophy. He entered with keen zest into the contests on the occasions of the election of a Lord Rector, and was an indefatigable partisan. Nothing could resist his vehemence and influence over his fellow-students. He was always on the side of manliness; and it says much for him that he concurrently filled the high offices of President of the Conservative Club, of the Missionary Society, and of the Football Club; a testimony of the appreciation by his fellow-students of his platform eloquence, his religious convictions, and his love of manly sport. He also engaged zealously in the work of a private tutor in some of the influential families of the city: so that at the end of his course he could look proudly on the fact that he had not only supported himself during his attendance at College, but was able to return the money which the Bursary Fund of his native Province had advanced on his behalf.

Upon the completion of his theological studies he was ordained a minister of the Church of Scotland. His brilliant success at the University had inspired him with a strong desire to devote his time and strength to literary work in the old country. He had great aptitude for the literary calling, and had he followed the bent of his inclinations he would doubtless have made a name

for himself in the world of letters. He had contributed to the Glasgow *University Album*, a literary magazine conducted by the students, and had received overtures to write for more pretensions and widely-known periodicals. Position and speedy preferment in his sacred calling were also offered him at the other side of the Atlantic; but he was a Canadian by preference as well as by birth, and determined that the rest of his life should be spent in his native land. He probably remembered, too, that he had been sent over to Glasgow with a special view to his ultimately devoting himself to the service of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; and, though his pecuniary obligations to the Bursary Fund had been discharged, he not unnaturally felt that Canada had the first claim to his services. Duty and inclination concurring, he returned to his native country early in 1861. Immediately upon his arrival he was appointed a missionary in the county of Pictou. He threw himself ardently into his work, and with happy results. A few months afterwards a more extended sphere of usefulness was opened to him in Prince Edward Island, where he spent the best part of two years. In the month of May, 1863, he was inducted into the pastorate of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, which he retained until his appointment to his present position in 1877. The fourteen years of his incumbency were busy ones, and have left abundant traces behind them. He was a director of Dalhousie College, a trustee of the Theological Seminary, a member of the various committees of Presbytery and Synod, a zealous advocate of union, and chairman, secretary, or member of various benevolent societies. His love of literature remained unabated, but his active life did not admit of his devoting much time to it, as he was so fully occupied with parochial, philanthropic and church work more immediately connected with his chosen

profession. When first inducted into the pastorate of St. Matthew's Church the communicants were only one hundred and fifteen in number. When he resigned it fourteen years afterwards the number had more than trebled. The congregation had for some years previously raised a sum of ten thousand dollars annually, half for congregational purposes, and the other half for educational and other kindred objects. That this state of things was largely brought about by the zeal, energy and great personal popularity of the pastor is universally acknowledged. He laboured unremittingly at various charitable projects connected with his church. As Convener of the Home Mission Board he in four years reduced the amount drawn from the Church of Scotland from \$6,500 a year to \$1,000. This was accomplished by means of efficacious appeals to the public, and without any diminution of the salaries of the ministers. A volume might be written recounting his many other services in the cause of religion, education and charitable works. In 1870 he began to act on the Committee appointed to effect the union of the four branches of the Canada Presbyterian Church. The project gave rise to long negotiations, numerous conferences, and an immense mass of correspondence, in all of which Mr. Grant took his full share. The union was finally effected in 1875, and Mr. Grant, as Moderator, subscribed the articles for the Kirk Synod. During the following year he was Convener, Secretary or Member of the Foreign Missions' Committee of the united Church, the Home Mission Board, the Young Men's Bursary Fund, the Committee on Supplements, the Board of Superintendence of the Divinity Hall, the Senate of the Hall, the Widows' and Orphans' Fund, and the Hunter Trust. He also took an active part in the management of many other local charitable associations, conspicuous among which may be mentioned the Hal-

ifax Association for the Relief of the Poor, the Dispensary, the Boys' Industrial School, and the Night Refuge for the Homeless. It is tolerably safe to assert that no man in Canada ever succeeded as Mr. Grant did while in Halifax in raising money for various worthy objects connected with education, religion, and general benevolence. He raised almost the entire amount required for the erection and equipment of the magnificent Dispensary at Halifax. He stood well with representatives of all the creeds, and it may be worth while to state that, when setting out on his canvass for the enterprise just named, the first two subscriptions of five hundred dollars each came from a Roman Catholic and a Presbyterian respectively. The fortnight before leaving Halifax he obtained two thousand dollars for a club-house for a temperance organization that had been singularly successful in rescuing the most hopeless cases of drunkenness, the Anglican Bishop and the Roman Catholic Archbishop heading the list of subscribers. He must have been instrumental in raising several hundred thousands of dollars, independently of the large sums obtained from his own congregation for missionary and benevolent purposes.

He meanwhile delivered many sermons on important occasions, some of which were published by special request. He also delivered lectures on various secular topics, all of which bore the stamp of his individuality. The most noteworthy of the latter was a lecture delivered before the Halifax Young Men's Christian Association on the evening of the 29th of January, 1867. Its subject was "Reformers of the Nineteenth Century," and it dealt specially with the effect upon current human thought of the lives of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Thomas Carlyle. It was published in pamphlet form, and did much to stimulate the thought and widen the views alike of young and old. This lecture has nothing in com-

mon with the general run of platform lectures delivered for a specific purpose. It contains fine thoughts, expressed in noble words, and no one can read it conscientiously without being drawn nearer to the man from whom it emanated. It is marked by a critical acumen, an earnest faith, and a broad liberality, which are rarely found combined in a professed theologian, and deserves a much wider circulation than it has ever obtained. Unlike many of his spiritual brethren, Mr. Grant perceives and acknowledges the mighty, earnest faith in God's goodness which underlies all the fantastic, equivocal utterances of the "Seer of Chelsea." "Take four or five years," says Mr. Grant, "to read the great works of Carlyle, and then think over them for other four or five years. If you have anything to say then it will probably be better worth listening to than anything you could say now. The chances are, too, that you will have less to say. But the most astonishing thing of all is to hear Carlyle called an infidel. To me it would be incredible did I not remember that so it has always been on this side Anno Domini, and on the other side. No such robust faith has there been in Britain since the days of the Puritans, as his. Indeed, he has been called a Puritan in the guise of the nineteenth century. That does not mean that his creed would square with that of any of the existing churches; but when will men learn that to identify faith with any organization is the root of all Pharisaism, of all persecution, and of all unbelief? If Coleridge was the broadest, and Wordsworth the deepest, then Carlyle is the most intense man of the age, and the fittest therefore to carry out their principles to the utmost moral Reform of man."

A more voluminous literary production, and one by which its author is much better known, is the work entitled "Ocean to Ocean." In the summer of the year 1872,

it will be remembered, Mr. Sandford Fleming, the Chief Engineer of the Canada Pacific Railway, started on a tour of inspection across the continent, with a view to the location of the line. He was accompanied by a staff of assistants, and Mr. Grant, who felt the need of a change from the long sustained intellectual strain to which his faculties had been subjected, accompanied the expedition in the capacity of Secretary. The party left Toronto on the 16th of July, 1872, and reached Victoria, British Columbia, on the 9th of October following. Mr. Grant kept a careful diary during the long journey, and after his return home threw it into shape and published it in book form, under the title above indicated. It was well received, and obtained favourable notices from the press of Canada, Great Britain and the United States. In 1877 a new edition, to which was added a carefully written appendix, was published, and obtained a large sale. The publication of this work gave the author an extended literary reputation, and the solicitations since made to him by publishers on both sides of the Atlantic have been both numerous and flattering. The exactions of his ordinary work have been such that he has generally been compelled to reject such overtures, but he has acceded to them in a few cases, and has written on a variety of subjects. He wrote for *Good Words* a series of articles on the "Great North-West," which were highly appreciated by the readers of that periodical. To the *Canadian Monthly* he contributed papers on "Joseph Howe," on "Religion and Culture," and other subjects. He also contributed occasional articles to the *Maritime Monthly*, a magazine formerly published in St. John, New Brunswick, the circulation whereof was mainly confined to the Maritime Provinces. He is now contributing a series of four illustrated articles on Canada to *Scribner's Magazine*, published in New York.

Principal Grant has had intimate association with educational matters during the whole of his life, more especially since his ordination to the ministry. His connection with Dalhousie College, Halifax, commenced almost immediately after he succeeded to the pastorate of St. Matthew's Church. In recognition of his successful exertions to effect the reorganization of the College by the co-operation of the Government and the different Presbyterian bodies in Nova Scotia, he was himself nominated a representative by the Kirk Synod, and occupied the post of Governor for about fourteen years. He also took a prominent part as a member of the local School Association, and successfully exerted himself to hasten the formation of the Halifax High School. He took an active part in opposing the measure introduced by the Local Legislature of Nova Scotia to create a University of Halifax on the model of the University of London, and to increase the grants to denominational colleges. His ground of opposition was that the little Province of Nova Scotia required, not a seventh University but one good College; not more examining bodies, but more thorough and better paid teaching; not the frittering away of a small Provincial grant, but its effectual application to some definite work. Upon the establishment of the University of Halifax he accepted a Fellowship, in order to give the experiment a fair trial, but he soon afterwards resigned it.

It remains only to speak of his career as Principal of Queen's College. He was elected to that position in the month of October, 1877, as successor to Principal Snodgrass. The unanimity of sentiment displayed in the matter of his election by the trustees of the College, his cordial reception by the students of the various faculties, and the warm welcome accorded to him by the citizens of Kingston, all testified to the fact that his labours and abilities had met with recognition. His inaugural address in De-

cember, 1877, was a really masterly composition, and tended to increase the respect in which he was held by those who heard it. He had no sooner entered upon his new duties than he perceived that something must be done to place the College on a more secure footing. This was a task for which he was well fitted, both by nature and training, and he at once set himself to work. His inauguration of the Building and Endowment Scheme, and his successful exertions in raising the \$150,000 required to carry it out, are too fresh in the public memory to need more than a passing reference in this place. Everyone told him that the raising of such a sum in the short space of six months, and in the middle of hard times, was a sheer impossibility. He did not waste time in argumentative attempts to convince them that they were wrong. He simply went to work with his accustomed energy—and did it. Soon after succeeding to the Principal's chair his *alma mater*, the University of Glasgow, conferred upon him the degree of D.D.

As Principal of the University Dr. Grant has a general supervision over the finances of the institution. He also directs the general course of administration, and the curriculum of study in the various departments of Arts, Science, Medicine, Law and Divinity. As Primarius Professor of Theology he delivers daily lectures to the students. His labours, though sufficiently arduous, are congenial to him, and are certain to produce important results in the not distant future. A man of such breadth and fervour at the helm of a theological institution can hardly fail to exercise a beneficent and far-reaching influence; and never in the history of mankind was there a time when such an influence was more imperatively required, in every quarter of the globe, than now. His future is bright with promise. He is admirably fitted for the position he occupies, and combines in a rare degree the

practical knowledge of business with a rich and varied scholarship. Not the least of his qualifications for the position is his ability to make himself agreeable to everyone with whom he comes in contact, and to inspire a genuine *esprit de corps* among the students of the institution. His lectures are always attractive; and he has the faculty of investing even the driest subjects with a strong human interest. One reason why he is always interesting is probably because he is always interested himself. His enthusiasm is as fresh and buoyant as in the days of his early youth. He is fond of teaching, and has a keen sympathy with the unattainable, no less than with the attainable aspirations of young men. He has devoted a good deal of attention to scientific research, and keeps himself abreast of the times with

regard to the modern theories of evolution, the cosmogony of the universe, and other kindred matters. He advocates the fullest freedom of thought consonant with the teachings of theology, and does not believe in the ostracism of any man on the score of his honest opinions. He recognizes no conflict between the teachings of true religion, in its broadest sense, and the discoveries of modern science. Truth, he believes, must in the end prevail, and whatever will not stand the test of free and enlightened inquiry is unworthy of being accepted as truth. The key-note of his theory in educational matters is that the higher education must inevitably react on the lower, and that education and religion must go hand in hand if they are to prosper, and to bless humanity.

## GOVERNOR SIMCOE.

AMONG the many Canadians who at one time or another in their lives have visited Great Britain, comparatively few, we imagine, have thought it worth while to travel down to the fine old cathedral city of Exeter, in Devonshire. The sometime capital of the West of England is of very remote antiquity. It was a place of some importance before Julius Caesar landed in Britain, and eleven hundred years after that event it was besieged and taken by William the Conqueror. Later still, it was the scene of active hostilities during the wars of the Roses and of the Commonwealth. So much for its past. At the present day, for those to the manner born, it is one of the most delightful places of residence in the kingdom. It is not, however, of much commercial importance, and is not on any of the direct routes to the continent. Add to this, that the local society is a very close corporation indeed, and it will readily be understood why the place is somewhat *caveate* to the general public, and not much resorted to by strangers.

Like every other old English town, it has its full share of historic and noteworthy localities. The Guildhall, with its old-time memories, and Rougemont Castle, once the abode of the West-Saxon kings, are dear to the hearts of local antiquarians. The elm-walk, near the Sessions House, is an avenue of such timber as can be seen nowhere out of England, and is a favourite resort for the

inhabitants on pleasant afternoons. The Cathedral-close has been consecrated by the genius of one of the most eminent of living novelists, and its purlieus are familiar to many persons who have never been within thousands of miles of it. But the crowning glory of all is the cathedral itself, a grand old pile founded in the eleventh century, and the building of which occupied nearly two hundred years. Here, everything is redolent of the past. The chance wayfarer from these western shores who happens to stray within the walls of this majestic specimen of mediæval architecture will have some difficulty, for the nonce, in believing in the reality of such contrivances as steamboats and railways. Certainly it is one of the last places in the world where one might naturally expect to see anything to remind him of so modern a spot as the capital of Ontario. But should any Torontonion who is familiar with his country's history ever find himself within those walls, let him walk down the south aisle till he reaches the entrance to the little chapel of St. Gabriel. If he will then pass through the doorway into the chapel and look carefully about him, he will soon perceive something to remind him of his distant home, and of the Province of which that home is the capital. Several feet above his head, on the inner wall, he will notice a medallion portrait in bold relief, by Flaxman, of a bluff, hearty, good-humoured-looking English gentleman,





*Graves Smith*



apparently in the prime of life, and attired in the dress of a Lieutenant-General. His hair, which is pretty closely cut, is rather inclined to curl—evidently would curl if it were a little longer. Below the medallion is a mural tablet bearing the following inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, Lieutenant-General in the army, and Colonel in the 22nd Regiment of Foot, who died on the 25th day of October, 1806, aged 54. In whose life and character the virtues of the hero, the patriot, and the Christian were so eminently conspicuous, that it may justly be said, he served his King and his country with a zeal exceeded only by his piety towards God."

On the right of the inscription is depicted the figure of an Indian warrior with a conspicuous scalp-lock. On the left is the figure of a veteran of the Queen's Rangers. To the well-read spectator, the portrait stands confessed as the likeness of the first Governor of Upper Canada, and the founder of the Town of York.

Monumental inscriptions, as a rule, are not the most trustworthy authorities whereby one may be enabled to form an unprejudiced estimate of the moral and intellectual qualities of "those who have gone before." In visiting any of the noteworthy resting-places of the illustrious dead, either in the old world or the new, we are not seldom astonished, upon reading the sculptured testimony of the survivors, to find that 'tis still the best that leave us." One may well wonder, with the Arch-Cynic, where the bones of all the *sinnners* are deposited. In the case of Governor Simcoe, however, there is much to be said in the way of just commendation, and the inscription is not so nauseously fulsome as to excite disgust. Toronto's citizens, especially, should take pleasure in doing honour to his memory. But for him, the capital of the Province would not have been established here, and

the site of the city might long have remained the primitive swamp which it was when his eyes first beheld it on the morning of the 4th of May, 1793.

His life, from the cradle to the grave, was one of almost uninterrupted activity. He was born at Cotterstock, Northamptonshire, sometime in the year 1752, and was a soldier by right of inheritance. His father, Captain John Simcoe, after a life spent in his country's service, died in the St. Lawrence River, on board H. M. ship *Pembroke*, of miasmatic disease, contracted in exploring portions of the adjoining country for military purposes. His death took place only a few days before the siege of Quebec, in 1759. He left behind him a widow and two children. The younger of these children did not long survive his father. The elder, who had been christened John Graves, lived to add fresh laurels to the family name, and at the time of his father's death was in his eighth year. Shortly after the gallant Captain's death his widow removed to the neighbourhood of Exeter, where the remaining years of her life were passed. Her only surviving son was sent to one of the local schools until he had reached the age of fourteen, when he was transferred to Eton. Few reminiscences of his boyish days have come down to us. He appears to have been a diligent student, more especially in matters pertaining to the history of his country, and from a very early age he declared his determination to embrace a military life. From Eton he migrated to Merton College, Oxford, where he continued to pursue his studies until he had entered upon his nineteenth year, when he entered the army as an ensign in the 35th Regiment of the line. This regiment was despatched across the Atlantic to take part in the hostilities with the revolted American Colonies, and young Simcoe did his devoirs gallantly throughout the whole course of the war of Independence. In

June, 1775, he found himself at Boston, and on the 17th of that month he took part in the memorable fight at Bunker Hill. He subsequently purchased the command of a company in the 40th Regiment, and fought at the battle of Brandywine, where he was severely wounded. Upon the formation of the gallant provincial corps called "The Queen's Rangers," he applied for the command, and as soon as he had recovered from his wound his application was granted. Under his command, the Rangers did good service in many engagements, and fought with a valour and discipline which more than once caused them to be singled out for special mention in the official despatches of the time. Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-chief of the royalist forces in America, in a letter written to Lord George Germaine, under the date of 13th May, 1780, says that "the history of the corps under his (Simcoe's) command is a series of gallant, skilful, and successful enterprises. The Queen's Rangers have killed or taken twice their own numbers."

Upon the close of the war, the Rangers were disbanded, the officers being placed on the half-pay list. Young Simcoe had meanwhile been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. During the progress of hostilities he had conceived an intense dislike to the colonists and their political principles, and the termination of the war caused no change in his sentiments toward them. This aversion accompanied him through life, and, as we shall presently see, was destined to materially affect his subsequent career. Meanwhile, he returned to England with his constitution much impaired by the hard service he had undergone. Rest and regular habits, however, soon enabled him to recover, in a great measure, his wonted vigour. We next hear of him as a suitor to Miss Gwillim, a near relative of Admiral Graves, Commander of the British fleet during the early part of

the Revolutionary War. The courtship soon terminated in marriage; and not long afterwards the ambitious young soldier was elected as member of the British House of Commons for the constituency of St. Maw's, Cornwall. The latter event took place in 1790. During the following session, Mr. Pitt's Bill for the division of the Province of Quebec into the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada came up for discussion. The member for St. Maw's was a vehement supporter of the measure, and upon its receiving the royal assent the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province of Upper Canada was conferred upon him. He sailed from London on the 1st of May, 1792, accompanied by a staff of officials to assist him in conducting the administration of his Government. His wife, with her little son, accompanied him into his voluntary exile, and her maiden name is still perpetuated in this Province in the names of three townships bordering on Lake Simcoe, called respectively North, East and West Gwillimbury. The party arrived in Upper Canada on the 8th of June, and after a brief stay at Kingston took up their abode at Newark, near the mouth of the Niagara River.

What Colonel Simcoe's particular object may have been in accepting the position of Lieutenant-Governor of such an uninviting wilderness as this Province then was, it is not easy to determine. He had retained his command in the army, and in addition to his receipts from that source, he owned valuable estates in Devonshire, from which he must have derived an income far more than sufficient for his needs. Upper Canada then presented few inducements for an English gentleman of competent fortune to settle within its limits. Its entire population, which was principally distributed along the frontier, was not more than 20,000. At Kingston were a fort and a few houses fit for the occupation of civilized

beings. At Newark, there was the nucleus of a little village on the edge of the forest. Here and there along the St. Lawrence, around the Bay of Quinté, and along the Niagara frontier, were occasional little clusters of log cabins. In the interior, except at the old French settlement in the western part of the Province, there was absolutely nothing that could properly be called a white settlement. Roving tribes of Indians spread their wigwams for a season along the shores of some of the larger streams, but the following season would probably find the site without any trace of their presence. A few representatives of the Six Nations had been settled by Joseph Brant at Mohawk, on the Grand River, and there were a few Mississaugas near the mouth of the Credit. There was not a single well-constructed waggon road from one end of the Province to the other. Such was the colony wherein Governor Simcoe took up his abode with seeming satisfaction. It has been suggested that he must have been actuated by philanthropic and patriotic motives, and that he was willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of rendering Upper Canada a desirable place of settlement. Another suggestion is that he believed the flames of war between Great Britain and her revolted colonies likely to be re-kindled; in which case he, as Governor of an adjoining colony, which must be the battle-ground, would necessarily be called upon to play an important part. Whatever his motives may have been, he came over and administered the government for several years with energy and good judgment. He selected Newark as his temporary capital, and took up his quarters in an old storehouse—upon which he bestowed the name of Navy Hall—on the outskirts of the village. Here, on the 16th of January, 1793, was born his little daughter Kate, and here he began to lay the foundation of the great popularity which he subsequently attained. He culti-

vated the most friendly relations with the Indians in the neighbourhood, who soon began to look upon him as their "Great Father." They conferred upon him the Iroquois name of Deyonynhokrawen—"One whose door is always open." At a grand Council-fire kindled a few weeks after his arrival, they conferred upon his little son Frank the dignity of a chieftain, under the title of "Tioga." The friendliness of the Indians conduced not a little to the Governor's satisfaction; but there were other matters imperatively demanding his attention. The quality of the land in the interior, and even its external features, were subjects upon which very little was accurately known. He directed surveys to be made of the greater part of the country, which was laid out, under his supervision, into districts and counties. He did what he could to promote immigration, and held out special inducements to those former residents of the revolted colonies who had remained faithful to Great Britain during the struggle. These patriots, who are generally known by the name of United Empire Loyalists, received free grants of land in various parts of the Province, upon which they settled in great numbers. Free grants were also conferred upon discharged officers and soldiers of the line. To ordinary emigrants, lands were offered at a nominal price; and under this liberal system the wilderness soon began to wear a brighter aspect.

About two months after his arrival—that is to say, on the 17th of September, 1792—the first Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada met at Newark. The House of Assembly consisted of sixteen representatives chosen by the people; the Upper House of eight representatives appointed for life by the Governor on behalf of the Crown. This Legislature remained in session nearly a month, during which time it passed eight Acts, each of which was a great boon

to the country, and reflected credit upon the intelligence and practical wisdom of the members. One of these Acts introduced the law of England with respect to property and civil rights, in so far as the same is applicable to the circumstances of a new and sparsely-settled country. Another established trial by jury. Another provided for the easy collection of small debts. Still another provided for the erection of gaols, court-houses and such other public buildings as might be necessary, in each of the four districts (the Eastern, Middle, Home and Western) into which the Province has been divided. The session closed on the 15th of October, when the Governor complimented the members on their having done so much to promote the public welfare and convenience, and dismissed them to their homes.

Governor Simcoe was not long in discovering that Newark was not a suitable place for the capital of the Province. It was not central; and its proximity to the American Fort of Niagara,\* on the opposite bank of the river, was in itself a serious consideration. "The chief town of a Province," said he, "must not be placed within range of the guns of a hostile fort." As a temporary measure, he set about the construction of Fort George, on our side of the river, and then began to look about him for a suitable site for a permanent capital. He spent a good deal of time in travelling about the country, in order that he might weigh the advantages of different localities after personal inspection. He travelled through the forest, from Newark to Detroit and back—a great part of the journey being made on foot—and to this expedition the Province is indebted for the subsequent survey and construction of the well-known "Governor's Road." The site of the future

seat of Government meanwhile remained undecided. Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, who had his head-quarters at Quebec, urged that Kingston should be selected, but the suggestion did not accord with Governor Simcoe's views. The question for some time continued to remain an open one. Finally, Governor Simcoe in the course of his travels coasted along the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and after exploring different points along the route he entered the Bay of Toronto, and landed, as we have seen, on the morning of Saturday, the 4th of May, 1793. The natural advantages of the place were not to be overlooked, and he was not long in making up his mind that here should be the future capital of Upper Canada. A peninsula of land\* extended out into Lake Ontario, and then came round in a gradual curve, as though for the express purpose of protecting the basin within from the force of the waves. Here, then, was an excellent natural harbour, closed in on all sides but one. An expanse of more than thirty miles of water intervened between the harbour and the nearest point of the territory of the new Republic. Toronto, too, was accessible by water both from east and west—a point of some importance at a time when there was no well-built highway on shore. These considerations (and doubtless others) presented themselves to the Governor's mind, and having come to a decision, he at once set about making some improvements on the site. To Lieutenant-Colonel Bouchette he deputed the task of surveying the harbour. To Mr. Augustus Jones,† Deputy

\* The isthmus has long since been washed away by the action of the waves, and the peninsula has become an island.

† This gentleman's name is familiar to all Toronto lawyers and others who have had occasion to examine old surveys of the land hereabouts. He subsequently married the daughter of an Indian Chief, and the Rev. Peter Jones, the Indian Wesleyan missionary, was one of the fruits of this marriage.

\* This fort was still occupied by British troops, but it was well understood that it would shortly be surrendered. The surrender took place under Jay's Treaty on the 1st of June, 1796.

Provincial Surveyor, was entrusted the laying out of the various roads in the neighbourhood. The great thoroughfare to the north, called Yonge street, was surveyed and laid out for the most part under the personal supervision of Governor Simcoe himself, who named it in honour of his friend Sir George Yonge, Secretary of War in the Home Government. In the course of the following summer the Governor began to make his home in his new capital. The village, composed of a few Indian huts near the mouth of the Don, had theretofore been known by the name of Toronto, having been so called after the old French fort in the neighbourhood. Disparaging this "outlandish" name, as he considered it, he christened the spot York, in honour of the King's son, Frederick, Duke of York. By this name the place continued to be known down to the date of its incorporation in 1834, when its former designation was restored.

At the date of the founding of York, the public press of Upper Canada consisted of a single demy sheet, called the *Upper Canada Gazette*, published weekly at Newark. Its circulation varied from fifty to one hundred and fifty impressions. It was printed on Thursday, on a little press—the only one in the Province—which also printed the Legislative Acts and the Governmental proclamations. From the issue of August 1st, 1793, we learn that "On Monday evening," which would be July 29th, "His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor left Navy Hall and embarked on board His Majesty's schooner the *Mississauga*, which sailed immediately with a favourable gale for York, with the remainder of the Queen's Rangers." From this time forward, except during the sitting of the Legislature, Governor Simcoe made York his head-quarters. The Queen's Rangers referred to in the foregoing extract were a corps which had recently been raised in Upper Canada by the royal command, and named by the

Governor after the old brigade at the head of which he had so often marched to victory during the war of the Revolution.

The first Government House in Toronto was a somewhat remarkable structure, and deserves a paragraph to itself. When Colonel Simcoe was about to embark from London to enter upon the duties of his Government in this country, he accidentally heard of a moveable house which had been constructed for Captain James Cook, the famous circumnavigator of the globe. This house was made of canvas, and had been used by its former owner as a dwelling, in various islands of the southern seas. Governor Simcoe learned that this strange habitation was for sale, and upon inspecting it he perceived that it might be turned to good account in the wilds of Upper Canada. He accordingly purchased it, and brought it across the Atlantic with him. He found no necessity for using it as a dwelling at Newark, where the storehouse furnished more suitable accommodation; but upon taking up his quarters at York, Captain Cook's pavilion was brought into immediate requisition. We have been able to find no very minute account of it; but it must have been large, as he not only used it as his general private and official residence, but dispensed vice-regal hospitalities within its canvas walls. It seems to have been a migratory institution, and to have occupied at least half-a-dozen different sites during its owner's stay at York. At one time it was placed on the edge, and near the mouth, of the little stream subsequently known as Garrison Creek. At another time it occupied a plot of ground on or near the present site of Gooderham's distillery. In short, it seems to have been moved about from place to place in accordance with the convenience or caprice of the owner and his family.

But there is one spot so intimately associated with Governor Simcoe's residence at York that it is time to give some account

of it. Every citizen of Toronto has heard the name of Castle Frank, and must have some general idea of its whereabouts. It is presumable that the Governor found his canvas house an insufficient protection against the cold during the winter of 1793-4. Perhaps, too (observe, please, this a joke), the idea may have intruded itself upon his mind that there was a sort of vagabondism in having no fixed place of abode. At any rate, during the early spring of 1794 he erected a rustic, nondescript sort of log chateau on the steep acclivity overlooking the valley of the Don, rather more than a mile from the river's mouth. The situation is one of the most picturesque in the neighbourhood, even at the present day, and there must have been a wild semi-savagery about it in Governor Simcoe's time that would render it specially attractive, by mere force of contrast, to one accustomed, as he had been, to the trim hedges and green lanes of Devonshire. It must at least have possessed the charm of novelty. When finished, the edifice was a very comfortable place of abode. From Dr. Scadding's "Toronto of Old" we learn that it was of considerable dimensions, and of oblong shape. Its walls were composed of "a number of rather small, carefully hewn logs, of short lengths. The whole wore the hue which unpainted timber, exposed to the weather, speedily assumes. At the gable end, in the direction of the roadway from the nascent capital, was the principal entrance, over which a rather imposing portico was formed by the projection of the whole roof, supported by four upright columns, reaching the whole height of the building, and consisting of the stems of four good-sized, well-matched pines, with their deeply-chapped, corrugated bark unremoved. The doors and shutters to the windows were all of double thickness, made of stout plank, running up and down on one side, and crosswise on the other, and thickly studded over with

the heads of stout nails. From the middle of the building rose a solitary, massive chimney-stack."

Such was the edifice constructed by Governor Simcoe for the occasional residence of himself and his family. He called it Castle Frank, after his little son, previously mentioned; a lad about five years of age at this time. The cleared space contiguous to the building was circumscribed within rather narrow limits. A few yards from the walls on each side a precipitous ravine descended. Through one of these ravines flows the Don River; while through the other a little murmuring brook meanders on until its confluence with the larger stream several hundred yards farther down. In addition to a numerous retinue of servants, the household consisted of the Governor, his wife, Master Frank, and the infant daughter already mentioned. Dr. Scadding draws a pleasant picture of the spirited little lad clambering up and down the steep hill-sides with the restless energy of boyhood. He was destined to climb other hill-sides before his life-work was over, and to take part in more hazardous performances than when scampering with his nurse along the rural banks of the Don. Seventeen years passed, and the bright-eyed boy had become a man. True to the traditions of his house, he had entered the army, and borne himself gallantly on many a well-contested field in the Spanish Peninsula. He eagerly pursued the path of glory which, as the poet tells us, leads but to the grave. The dictum, as applied to him, proved to be true enough. The night of the 6th of October, 1812, found him "full of lusty life," hopeful, and burning for distinction, before the besieged outworks of Badajoz. During the darkness of night the siege was renewed with a terrific vigour that was not to be resisted, and the "unconsidered voluntaries" of Estremadura tasted the sharpness of English steel. The town was taken—but at what cost! If any



one wishes to know more of that fearful carnage, let him read the description of it in the pages of Colonel Napier, and he will acquiesce in the chronicler's assertion that, "No age, no nation ever sent braver troops to battle than those that stormed Badajoz." The morning of the 7th rose upon a sight which might well haunt the dreams of all who beheld it. In the breach where the ninety-fifth perished, almost to a man, was a ghastly array, largely consisting of the mangled corpses of young English officers, whose dauntless intrepidity had impelled them to such deeds of valour as have made their names a sacred inheritance to their respective families. Many of them were mere boys,

"With ladies' faces and fierce dragons' spleens,"

upon whose cheeks the down of early manhood had scarce begun to appear. Among the many remnants of mortality taken from that terrible breach was the pallid corse of young Frank Simcoe.

And what of the little sister, whose first appearance on life's stage was chronicled a few paragraphs back? Poor little Kate was a tender plant, not destined to flourish amid the rigours of a Canadian climate. She died within a year after the building of Castle Frank. Her remains were interred in the old military burying-ground, near the present site of the church of St. John the Evangelist, on the corner of Stewart and Portland streets. The old burying-ground is itself a thing of the past; but the child's death is commemorated by a tablet over her father's grave, in the mortuary chapel on the family estate in Devonshire. The inscription runs thus:—"Katharine, born in Upper Canada, 16th Jan., 1793; died and was buried at York Town, in that Province, in 1794."

In less than a month from the time of his arrival at York, Governor Simcoe was compelled to return for a short time to Newark,

in order to attend the second session of the Legislature, which had been summoned to meet on the 31st of May. During this session thirteen useful enactments were added to the statute book, the most important of which prohibited the introduction of slaves into the Province, and restricted voluntary contracts of service to a period of nine years. After the close of the session the Governor returned to York, and proceeded with the improvements which had already been commenced there under his auspices. The erection of buildings for the accommodation of the Legislature was begun near the present site of the old gaol on Berkeley street, in what is now the far eastern part of the city. Hereabouts various other houses sprang up, and the town of York began to be something more than a name. It laboured under certain disadvantages, however, and its progress for some time was slow. A contemporary authority describes it as better fitted for a frog-pond or a beaver-meadow than for the residence of human beings. It was on the road to nowhere, and its selection by Governor Simcoe as the provincial capital was disapproved of by many persons, more especially by those who had settled on the Niagara peninsula. Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, opposed the selection by every means in his power. In civil matters relating to his Province, Governor Simcoe's authority was paramount; that is to say, he was only accountable to the Home Government; but the revenue of the Province was totally inadequate for its maintenance, and it was necessary to draw on the Home Government for periodical supplies. In this way, Lord Dorchester, who, from his high position, had great influence with the British Ministry, had it in his power to indirectly control, to some extent, the affairs of Upper Canada. He was, moreover, Commander-in-Chief of British North America, and as such had full control over the arma-

ments. He determined that Kingston should at all events be the principal naval and military station on Lake Ontario, and this determination he carried out by establishing troops and vessels of war there. The military and naval supremacy then conferred upon Kingston has never been altogether lost.

There were other difficulties too, which began to stare Governor Simcoe in the face about this time. The nominal price at which land had been disposed of to actual settlers had caused a great influx of immigrants into the Province from the American Republic. To so great an extent did this immigration proceed that the Governor began to fear lest the American element in the Province might soon be the preponderating one. Should such a state of things come about, invasion or annexation would only be a matter of time. His hatred to the citizens of the Republic was intense, and coloured the entire policy of his administration. In estimating their political and national importance he was apt to be guided by his prejudices rather than by his convictions. In a letter written to a friend about this time, he expressed his opinion that "a good navy and ten thousand men would knock the United States into a nonentity." As the ten thousand men were not forthcoming, however, he deemed it judicious to guard against future aggression. The north shore of Lake Erie was settled by a class of persons whom he knew to be British to the core. This set him reflecting upon the advisability of establishing his capital in the interior, and within easy reach of these settlers, who would form an efficient militia in case of an invasion by the United States. He finally pitched upon the present site of London, and resolved that in the course of a few years the seat of government should be removed thither. This resolution, however, was never carried out. He did not even remain in the country long

enough to see the Government established at York, which did not take place until the spring of 1797. In 1796 he received an appointment which necessitated his departure for the Island of St. Domingo, whither he repaired with his family the same year. Various reasons have been assigned for this appointment. The opposition of Lord Dorchester, we think, affords a sufficient explanation, without searching any farther. It has also been alleged that his policy was so inimical to the United States that the Government of that country complained of him at headquarters, and thus determined the Home Ministry, as a matter of policy, to find some other field for him. After his departure, the administration was carried on by the Honourable Peter Russell, senior member of the Executive Council, until the arrival of Governor Peter Hunter, in 1799.

Two years before his removal from Canada, Governor Simcoe had been promoted to the rank of Major-General. He remained at St. Domingo only a few months, when he retired to private life on his Devonshire estates. In 1798 he became Lieutenant-General, and in 1801 was entrusted with the command of the town of Plymouth, in anticipation of an attack upon that place by the French fleet. The attack never took place, and his command proved a sinecure. From this time forward we have but meagre accounts of him until a short time before his death, which, as the monumental tablet has already informed us, took place on the 25th of October, 1806. During the summer of that year he had been fixed upon as Commander-in-Chief of the East Indian forces, as successor to Lord Lake. Had his life been spared he would doubtless have been raised to the peerage and sent out to play his part in the history of British India. But these things were not to be. Late in September he was detached to accompany the Earl of Rosslyn on an expe-

dition to the Tagus, to join the Earl of St. Vincent ; an invasion of Portugal by France being regarded as imminent. Though fifty-four years of age, he sniffed the scent of battle as eagerly as he had done in the old days of the Brandywine, and set out on the expedition in high spirits. The vessel in which he embarked had just been repainted, and he had scarcely got out of British waters before he was seized with a sudden and painful illness, presumed to have been induced by the odour of the fresh paint. The severity of his seizure was such as to necessitate his immediate return. Upon landing at Torbay, not far from his home, he was taken very much worse, and died within a few hours. He was buried in a little chapel on his own estates, and the tablet in Exeter Cathedral was shortly afterwards erected in his honour.

But we Canadians have more enduring memorials of his presence among us than any monumental tablet can supply ; and unless the topographical features of this Province should undergo some radical transformation, the name of Governor Simcoe is not likely to be soon forgotten in our midst. The large and important county of Simcoe, together with the lake, the shores whereof form part of its eastern boundary ; the county town of the County of Norfolk ; and a well-known street in Toronto\*—all these remain to perpetuate the name of the first Governor of Upper Canada. It is well that such tributes to his worth should exist among us, for he wrought a good work in our Province, and deserves to be held in grateful remembrance. In many respects he was in advance of his time. In no respect was he very far behind it. The only trace of the "old soldier" about him manifested itself in his dislike of our republican brethren, against whom he had fought, and in whose future stability he had but a very

limited degree of confidence. He was not a man of genius. He was not, perhaps, a great man in any sense of the word ; but he was upon the whole a wise and beneficent administrator of civil affairs, and was ever wont to display a generous zeal for the progress and welfare of the land which he governed. When we contrast his conduct of the administration with that of some of his successors, we feel bound to speak and think of him with all kindness. His liberal educational policy has already been commented upon in the sketch of the life of the late Bishop Strachan.

After General Simcoe's departure from the Province, his rustic chateau of Castle Frank was never used by any one as a permanent abode. Several of his successors in office, however, as well as various other residents of York, used occasionally to resort to it as a kind of camping ground in the summer time, and it soon came into vogue for pic-nic excursions. Captain John Denison, a well-known resident of Little York, seems to have taken up his quarters in it for a few weeks, but not with any intention of permanently residing there. In or about the month of June, 1829, the building was wantonly set on fire by some fishermen who had sailed up the Don. The timber was dry, and the edifice was soon burned to the ground. It has never been replaced, but the name of Castle Frank survives in that of the residence of Mr. Walter McKenzie, situated about a hundred yards distant. It is commonly applied, indeed, to all the adjoining heights ; and on a pleasant Sunday afternoon in spring or summer, multitudes of Toronto's citizens repair thither for fresh air and a picturesque view. The route is through St. James's Cemetery, and thence through the shady ravine and up the hill beyond. Very few persons, we believe, could point out the exact site of the old "castle." It is, however, easily discoverable by any one who chooses to search

\* The street referred to is, of course, Simcoe street. It may be added that John street was also named after him.

for it. A few yards to the right of the fence which is the boundary line between St. James's Cemetery and Mr. McKenzie's property is a slight depression in the sandy soil. That depression marks the site of the historic Castle Frank—a spot which, for centuries to come, will be associated with the memory of Governor Simcoe. Within the last two or three years the depression has been rendered more perceptible than it previously was, by reason of several loads of earth having been excavated and removed from it for gardening purposes by Mr. McKenzie. It should be mentioned, however, that no curious citizen can legally gratify his desire to behold this memento of the past at close quarters without first obtaining Mr. McKenzie's permission, as the site belongs to him, and cannot be reached from the cemetery without scaling the fence.

Besides his son Frank, whose death is recorded in the foregoing sketch, General

Simcoe left behind him a younger son, Henry Addington Simcoe, christened after the eminent statesman who subsequently became Lord Sidmouth. The younger son took orders, and officiated for some years as a clergyman in the West of England. After the death of his brother in the breach at Badajoz, he succeeded to the family estates; and in his turn was succeeded by his son, Captain J. K. Simcoe, the present incumbent. From the last-named gentleman, Dr. Scadding, during a visit to Devonshire a few years ago, obtained a very beautiful miniature copy of an original portrait of Governor Simcoe, from which a steel engraving was made for the frontispiece to the Doctor's well-known work, "Toronto of Old." The portrait which accompanies this sketch is a carefully-enlarged reproduction of the miniature, and is in every respect an admirable representation of the facial lineaments of the first Governor of Upper Canada.

## THE HON. JOHN CAMPBELL ALLEN.

THE Chief Justice of New Brunswick comes of U. E. Loyalist stock. Several members of the old and well-known family of Allen made great personal sacrifices to uphold the loyalist cause, and some of them lost their estates, and were attainted of treason by the American authorities, for their fealty to the British Crown. The Hon. Isaac Allen, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. He and his wife, Hannah Revel, were born in England. They proceeded to Trenton, N.J., lived there some time, and when the Revolutionary war broke out, Allen, who was an uncompromising adherent of the Royal cause, was appointed to the command of a regiment of New Jersey volunteers. He served with them until the close of hostilities, when he removed to Nova Scotia, and thence to the Province of New Brunswick, where in 1784 he was made a Judge of the Supreme Court of that Province, and appointed a member of His Majesty's Council, which position he filled with much acceptance until his death, which occurred on the 12th of October, 1806. His son, the father of the present Chief Justice, was Captain John Allen, of the New Brunswick Fencibles, a corps raised during the war of 1812. He was afterwards Inspecting Field Officer of the Militia of New Brunswick, and from 1809 to 1847 was one of the representatives for the county of York in the House of Assembly. His son,

John Campbell Allen, was born at Kingsclear, York county, N.B., on the 1st of October, 1817. He was educated at the Fredericton Grammar School. In Michaelmas Term, 1840, he was called to the Bar of his native Province, and eleven years later was elected a Benchet of the Barristers' Society. In 1860 he was offered, and declined, a silk gown. For several years he occupied the responsible position of Registrar and Clerk to the Court of Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, as well as that of Reporter to the Supreme Court of New Brunswick. In 1856 he sought political honours, became a candidate for the county of York, and was elected to the House of Assembly—holding his seat uninterruptedly until he was raised to the Bench in 1865. In 1856 he became Solicitor-General, retaining office from May of that year to May 1857, when the Government, on experiencing defeat at the general election, resigned. From 1862 until the dissolution in 1865 Mr. Allen was Speaker of the Assembly. As a public man his career is marked by no very notable political performance. He never took a prominent part in active politics, though his position was always clearly defined. He was opposed to the prohibitory liquor law, because he thought that it possessed mischievous tendencies, and was not a desirable measure for the Province to adopt. With the exception of the scheme of Confederation, no political question of importance

arose during his career as a legislator. That subject was widely debated, and after much careful consideration Mr. Allen made up his mind that the union of the British North American Provinces was an undesirable event, so far, at least, as New Brunswick was concerned. He at once threw in his lot and influence with the Anti-Confederate party, then marshalled by such men as the Hons. Albert J. Smith, T. W. Anglin, A. R. Wetmore and R. D. Wilmot. He worked earnestly and faithfully with his party, though at the beginning of the campaign he fully expected to be defeated, as did also some of his friends, high in office at the time, who regretted that he had not espoused the side of the Unionists. He was returned for York at the general elections which followed the dissolution of the House, and became Attorney-General in the Administration of the Hon. (now Sir) Albert J. Smith, which assumed office in April, 1863. On the 21st of September of the same year he was appointed a Puisné Judge of the Supreme Court, and on the 8th of October, 1875, he was elevated to the Chief Justiceship of the Province, as successor to the Hon. William Johnston Ritchie, who was appointed a Puisné Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada.

Since his appointment Chief Justice Allen has tried many very important causes; among others the celebrated Munroe tragedy case, which was one of the most notable criminal trials which ever took place in New Brunswick. In 1875 he tried a number of persons who were engaged in the riot at Carraquet—a parish in the county of Gloucester, N.B.—caused by resistance to the enforcement of the Common Schools Act. He also tried the Osborn family twice for the alleged murder of Timothy McCarthy at Shediac. This cause also was a marked one in the criminal annals of the country.

The first trial in July and August, 1878, occupied over six weeks.

In connection with his professional life, Mr. Allen published in 1847 a small book of the Rules of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, and the Act of Assembly relating to the practice of the court, with notes, which was very useful to the legal profession. He also commenced to publish, from a manuscript book of the late Chief Justice Chipman, the cases decided in the Supreme Court, beginning in 1825, when that able lawyer went on the Bench. One number only of those reports, with notes referring to all the recent decisions on the same points, was published, the venture proving unprofitable in a pecuniary sense, and the author not having time to continue it. Mr. Allen also assisted Mr. David S. Kerr when the latter was reporter of the decisions in the Supreme Court, and when that gentleman resigned his position in 1849, he was himself appointed reporter, and held the office until he became a Judge in 1865; though he discontinued publishing the reports at the end of the year 1860, in consequence of a difference of opinion with the Government as to the amount which he was entitled to receive as reporter. He preserved the notes and judgments, however, and in 1877 the Local Legislature made provision for the expense of publishing the remaining cases, and they were published under his supervision, making in all six volumes of Allen's Reports. Before the Legislature had arranged for the publication of the cases subsequent to 1860, Judge Stevens, of St. Stephen, N.B., published a digest of all the cases decided in the Supreme Court, and Judge Allen furnished him with notes of the unreported cases decided during his incumbency of the office of reporter. This service is fittingly acknowledged in the preface to Judge Stevens's volume.





*E. Ryerson*



## THE REV. EGERTON RYERSON, D.D., LL.D.

AMONG the hardy and chivalrous band of United Empire Loyalists who, after the close of the American Revolutionary War, sought refuge from republican persecution under the shadow of the British flag, was a valiant young soldier named Joseph Ryerson. Throughout the whole of that memorable contest he had served his king with rare courage and fidelity, had taken part in numerous warlike enterprises, and had gone through as many perilous adventures as a knight-errant of the Middle Ages. The family to which he belonged was of Danish origin, but for some time prior to the seventeenth century had been domiciled in Holland. At an early period in American history—probably during the Dutch occupation of the New Netherlands—the family emigrated from Holland, and settled in what is now the State of New Jersey. They engaged in agricultural pursuits, and, at the time of the breaking out of the war, were in comfortable circumstances and good social position. Notwithstanding their foreign origin, His Britannic Majesty had no stauncher adherents in the colony than were the Ryersons. Joseph and his elder brother Samuel were among the first colonists in New Jersey to announce their antagonism to the Revolution, and to array themselves under the Royal standard. The former was at that time only fifteen years of age, and neither his size nor strength was sufficient to enable him to handle the cum-

brons army-musket of those days. Instead of a musket, therefore, a light fowling-piece was given to him, and with this weapon he received his first initiation into the mysteries of military exercise, as a member of the Fourth Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers. A few months after his enrolment as a cadet, a detachment of Light Infantry was formed from various regiments to proceed southward to besiege Charleston. Among the 550 persons who volunteered for this expedition was young Joseph Ryerson. The Inspector-General at first declined to accept him, on the ground that he was too young and too small to endure the hardships of a long and probably desperate campaign. The boy urged that he was growing older and stouter every day, and displayed such genuine enthusiasm for the expedition, that the Inspector smiled approval, and permitted him to have his wish. He was enrolled as a Light Infantry volunteer, and was successively attached to the 37th, the 71st, and the 84th Regiments. The Light Infantry were composed of the genuine fighting-stuff of which good soldiers are made, and gave such an account of themselves that, upon the return of the expedition, three years later, after the evacuation of Charleston, only 86 of the 550 were left to tell the thrilling story of their adventures. The corps was then broken up, and the 86 members were restored to the respective regiments from which they had volunteered.

Of these 86, Joseph Ryerson was one. During his southern expedition, he had been distinguished even above most of his fellows by his dauntless bravery, by his reckless exposure of his life, and, more than all, by the number of his hairbreadth escapes from death and capture. He had been entrusted with the carriage of important military despatches from Charleston to a point nearly two hundred miles from the coast. He had delivered them, and returned in safety, though frequently pursued, fired at, and nearly captured. For this service he was made an Ensign. He was subsequently entrusted with other despatches to the northward, by sea, and again acquitted himself successfully. As a reward for this second display of valour and discretion he was promoted to a lieutenancy in the Prince of Wales's Regiment. After his return from Charleston he continued in active service until the close of the war, during which he took part in six pitched battles and various petty skirmishes. He was wounded only once, and the wound was not dangerous. His brother Samuel, who held a Captain's commission in the Fourth Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers, also distinguished himself throughout the war. When hostilities came to an end, in 1783, the two brothers repaired to that portion of the Maritime Provinces which is now called New Brunswick, but which then formed a part of Nova Scotia. The family property in New Jersey had been confiscated, and they were compelled to begin the world afresh. They settled on the St. John River, in the county of Sunbury, not far from Fredericton, where tracts of land were granted to them by the Government for their loyalty to the British Crown.

Their settlement in New Brunswick took place in 1783. About twenty years before that date a little colony had migrated from the county of Essex, in Massachusetts, to the same neighbourhood, and had ever since

resided there. Among these colonists was a gentleman named Stickney, who was descended from one of the early Puritan settlers in Massachusetts. Scarcely had the colonists become domiciled in their new home when a female child was born to the house of Stickney. This child, who was christened Mehetabel, is reported to have been the first offspring of English stock born in the colony subsequent to the Treaty of 1763, whereby the French renounced all claim to both Canada and Acadia. From this circumstance the child was popularly known in local parlance as "the Mother of Nova Scotia." When the Ryersons settled in Sunbury Miss Stickney had grown up to womanhood. The younger brother fell in love with the lady, and, in 1784, married her. The elder brother also married, and settled down to agricultural pursuits. In 1794, during Governor Simcoe's administration, the latter removed to Upper Canada, and settled in what is now the county of Norfolk, in the neighbourhood of Long Point. It may be mentioned that in his Captain's commission, his name, by a clerical error, had been spelled "Ryerse." The lands subsequently granted to him in Canada by virtue of this commission—embracing a tract of 2,500 acres—were accordingly granted to him in that name. He did not deem it necessary to obtain a new grant, and he and his descendants have thus come to be known by the name of Ryerse. The error has been perpetuated in the name of the little village of Port Ryerse, which was called after Captain Samuel Ryerse, and which stands on the tract originally granted to him. The correct patronymic, however, is "Ryerson," which has been retained by all the other branches of the family.

Joseph Ryerson remained in New Brunswick until near the close of the century. In the year 1799 he followed in his elder brother's footsteps, and took up his abode in Upper Canada. During his residence in

New Brunswick he had taken a prominent part in organizing and training the local militia, and had been appointed a Captain. On his removal to Upper Canada he became a Major, and a few years later was raised to the rank of a Colonel. It will be more convenient, and will perhaps prevent confusion, if we speak of him in future as Colonel Ryerson. He obtained from Government a grant of 600 acres of land in the township of Charlotteville, lying about half way between the present village of Vittoria and Port Ryerse. Here he settled down in the neighbourhood of his brother, and here he made his home during the remaining fifty-five years of his life. It may as well be recorded in this place that he died on the 9th of August, 1854, in the 94th year of his age, having drawn a continuous pension from Government for more than seventy years.

To say that Colonel Ryerson and his family endured great hardships during their journey from New Brunswick to Upper Canada, as well as during the early years of their residence in the Province, would be to convey a very faint idea of the manifold sufferings to which settlers in remote districts were subjected in those days. The hard lines of pioneer life furnished many an apt illustration of the "survival of the fittest" theory. Persons who were weak or delicate in health soon sank into the grave. Those of robust constitutions; those who could stand the wear and tear of such rugged experiences as daily fell to their lot, waxed strong and mighty in the land. Colonel Ryerson must be classed among the latter. He prospered, and steadily gained ground both in wealth and influence. By the Act 38 Geo. III., chapter 5, which became law by proclamation on the 1st of January, 1800, there was a readjustment of the territorial division of Upper Canada. Among the changes which then came into operation was the establishment of the London District. It included, among other territory,

the counties of Norfolk, Oxford and Middlesex. Colonel Ryerson was appointed High Sheriff of the District, and for many years had important duties to discharge in connection with that position. There was no court-house, and the administration of justice was attended with much difficulty and delay. It may be interesting to note that during the first three years after the setting apart of the District the courts were held in the house of a Mr. James Munro, in the township of Charlotteville, a few miles from the High Sheriff's abode. In the autumn of 1803, and for several years subsequently, they were held in the house of Mr. Job Loder, a well-known innkeeper of those days, at Turkey Point, where a town had been laid out under Governor Simcoe's directions a few years previously. Here the courts continued to be held until a log gaol and a two-story frame court-house were erected in the neighbourhood. The first story of the new court-house was thereafter used for judicial purposes, the second story, divided off with rough boards, being used for jury-rooms. Here the courts were held until the breaking out of the War of 1812, when the building was required for military purposes. After the close of the War the courts were removed from Turkey Point to the village of Vittoria, whence, nine or ten years later, they were transferred to St. Thomas, pending the erection of a court-house at London. Long before this time, however, Colonel Ryerson had ceased to discharge the functions of High Sheriff, having resigned in favour of his son-in-law, the late Colonel Bostwick, of Port Stanley.

Colonel Ryerson was the father of five sons, all of whom subsequently became preachers of the gospel, and rose to positions of consideration in Upper Canada. George, the eldest, who was born in New Brunswick, and who was in his eleventh year when his family migrated thence to this Province, is still living in Toronto, and has

attained to the truly patriarchal age of eighty-nine years. In early life he was a Methodist minister, but during an absence in England at the time when the celebrated Edward Irving was at the height of his fame, he embraced the Irvingite doctrines, and subsequently discharged the functions of a minister of that body for many years in Canada with great fervour and effect. William, the second son, was also born in New Brunswick, and was about three years old when his parents removed to Upper Canada. He was well known throughout the whole of the western peninsula for more than half a century, as one of the most powerful preachers attached to the Wesleyan Conference, and as a strenuous advocate on the temperance platform. He died at his residence in the county of Brant, Ontario, about eight years ago. John, the third son, was also a distinguished Wesleyan Methodist minister. He was born at the family homestead in Charlotteville, within a few months after the settlement of his parents in that township. His expedition to the Hudson's Bay Territory as a missionary, in 1854, was the means of inducing many persons to take an interest in that wild and frigid land; and his published account of his mission had a large sale on both sides of the Atlantic. He died at Simcoe, in the county of Norfolk, on the 5th of October, 1878. These three sons of Colonel Ryerson all took an active part in repelling the American invasion of 1812, '13 and '14. They fought in defence of Canada at Detroit, Fort Erie, Beaver Dams, Lundy's Lane, and elsewhere. At the battle of Fort Erie, George received a somewhat serious wound in one of his jaws, the effects of which are perceptible at the present day. The fourth son, Egerton, is the subject of this sketch. The fifth, Edwy, likewise enrolled himself in the Wesleyan Methodist ministry, and proved himself to have inherited a full share of the eloquence and force of character by

which all the members of his family were distinguished. He died at his home in the county of Norfolk about twenty years since. It may be noted that there was also another son, Samuel, who did good service to Canada during the period of the invasion, but who did not live long enough to attain distinction in any of the ordinary walks of life.

The subject of this sketch was born at the paternal abode in the township of Charlotteville, on the 24th of March, 1803. He was christened Adolphus Egerton, after two old military friends of his father, named respectively Captain Adolphus and Dr. Egerton. The first of his Christian names has long ceased to be used by him, and may be said to have been practically discarded in his early youth. He attended a common school in Charlotteville for a short time during his boyhood, but for much of his elementary education, as well as for much spiritual instruction and tender love, he was indebted to his mother. This lady was the "Mother of Nova Scotia" already mentioned. She was a most devoted and affectionate parent, and was much beloved and revered for the sweetness and amiability of her character, not by her own family alone, but by a wide circle of attached friends. The part played by Colonel Ryerson and his three elder sons during the war of 1812 and succeeding years has already been hinted at. Colonel Ryerson himself had charge of the militia of the District, and the three boys fought all over the country, wherever there was any fighting to be done. Little Egerton, then only ten years of age, imbibed the patriotic ardour of his elder brothers, and was filled with regret because he was too young to bear arms in defence of his country. His father's house was the dépôt where the arms and military stores of the District were kept, and he thus lived, for a time, in a most electric atmosphere. He was taught

the ordinary military exercises by his brother George, and was sometimes permitted to gratify his boyish ambition by mounting guard as a fugleman. This state of things lasted till peace was finally proclaimed in 1815, when the people were permitted to resume their ordinary occupations. Young Egerton, as well as his brothers, was early bred to farming pursuits, and was expected to do a man's work long before he was a man in years. He was always given to study, however, and his zeal and vigour of constitution were such that, even when his daily employments were most exacting, he could always find or manufacture time to store his mind with useful knowledge. When his pursuits admitted of his doing so he attended the District Grammar School, which was only about half a mile distant from his father's house, and which was kept by Mr. James Mitchell. This gentleman, who subsequently married the youngest daughter of Colonel Ryerson, and became judge of the London District Court, was an excellent classical scholar, and took a special interest in directing the studies of young Egerton Ryerson. When the latter was about fifteen years of age he had an opportunity of attending a course of instruction by two itinerant Professors of Philology, who spent a season in Charlotteville. These gentlemen confined their instruction to English Grammar, which they taught upon a novel and peculiar plan. They professed to be able to teach a diligent student—even one wholly unacquainted with grammatical rules—to parse any sentence in the English language, in six weeks. The instruction was chiefly oral, by means of lectures. Charts and plans were employed to teach and illustrate the agreement and government of words. The system does not seem to have ever come into general use, but Dr. Ryerson to the present day entertains a strong opinion as to its merits, and has sometimes employed it successfully in the

course of his long connection with educational matters in Canada. The probability is that it was precisely one of those systems the success whereof is largely dependent upon the personal qualities of the teachers. The gentlemen by whom it was taught in Upper Canada at the time under consideration were enthusiasts, and had devoted many years to elaborating it. Under their teaching young Egerton Ryerson made rapid progress, and was generally called up before visitors to illustrate the success of the system. He attained to such proficiency in all the details that when one of the teachers was prostrated by illness, he was solicited to fill the latter's engagements. His father assenting to the proposal, and he himself being eager to undertake the responsibility, he was thus temporarily installed in the position of a teacher of English philology before he had completed his sixteenth year.

He had already become deeply impressed on the subject of religion, and had long been a regular attendant at a little Methodist church in the neighbourhood of his home. His three elder brothers had all imbibed a similar spirit, and leaned strongly towards the Methodist doctrines. As time passed by, his religious impressions deepened, and he ere long became, practically speaking, a member of the Methodist fraternity. His feelings on these subjects were tenderly sympathized in by his mother, to whom he went for counsel and comfort in his spiritual perplexities. His father, however, was an adherent of the Church of England, and had no sympathy, at this time, with Methodistical doctrines and practices. When Egerton was eighteen years of age, the Methodist minister in charge of the circuit which embraced that neighbourhood announced that he considered it incompatible with the rules of the church that persons should any longer continue to enjoy the privileges of membership without

actually being enrolled as members. Egerton had for several years previously been accustomed to take part in the love-feasts and sacraments, but had not formally joined the church. The secret of his not having become an actual member was his desire to avoid his father's displeasure. The time had now arrived when he was compelled to choose between incurring that displeasure and being debarred from exercises which had come to be regarded by him in the light of sacred duties. His choice was at once made. He gave in his name to the minister, and was enrolled as a member of the Methodist church. Information of these proceedings soon reached the ears of his father, who, though a kind and well-meaning man, was not spiritually minded, and was somewhat disposed to sternness in his dealings with his family. He spoke his mind on this occasion with a plainness which was not to be mistaken. "Egerton," said he, "I understand that you have joined the Methodists. You must either leave them, or leave my house." The fiat had gone forth, and the young man well knew that any appeal against it would be urged in vain. The next day, after a tender farewell to his mother, he left his home.

Within a few days after his departure he obtained a situation as usher, or assistant teacher, in the London District Grammar School. That institution was then presided over by his eldest brother, George, who had succeeded to the position upon the elevation of his predecessor, Mr. Mitchell, to the office of District Judge. The new usher applied himself to his duties with his customary zeal and earnestness, and soon gained the good will both of parents and pupils. Many of the scholars were his seniors in point of years, and had been accustomed to look upon him as their companion and equal. His intellectual supremacy, however, was universally admitted, and his firmness and tact were such that he

never experienced any serious difficulty in connection with his duties. He continued to teach at this establishment for two years, when, at his father's request, he returned home, and again devoted himself to farming pursuits. During his absence he had himself hired a farm-labourer to assist his father on the farm, and had, out of his own earnings, paid the wages of the person so hired. The latter, though sufficiently capable and industrious, did not manage matters entirely to the Colonel's satisfaction, and the Colonel one day called upon his son with a request that he would return to his home and take charge of the farm. The request was complied with, and the engagement as a teacher had consequently to be relinquished. During the next year Egerton wrought on the farm with unremitting zeal, ploughing every acre of ground for the season, cradling every field of grain, and getting through with an amount of hard bodily work that aroused the astonishment of the neighbours. His intellectual pursuits, meanwhile, were not neglected. Rising from his bed long before the light of day appeared in his room, he would sit down to severe studies, which he would only lay aside when it was time for him to betake himself to his daily farm work. In the evening he would resume his studies, and pursue them far into the night. This state of things was kept up for months, and such was his zeal and physical strength that he was able to support this double strain upon his energies without any perceptible effect upon his health. Ere long, however, the young man began to feel that his life's work lay in another direction. Overtures were made to him to enter the ministry of the Methodist church. He felt that his duty forbade him to turn a deaf ear to such requests; and, in order to further qualify himself for the ministry, he, with the approval and aid of his eldest brother, placed himself under the tuition of the late

Mr. Law, who was then Head Master of the Gore District Grammar School, at Hamilton, to read Latin and Greek. Here he applied himself with such assiduity that after about six months he was prostrated by an attack of brain-fever. The attack was very severe, and for some time his life was despaired of. When he finally recovered he resumed his studies with fresh ardour. Within a short time afterwards he attended what is known among the Methodists as a "Quarterly Meeting." It was held at a place which was then called "the Fifty," several miles west of the present village of Grimsby. It was expected that his brother William—who had already been called to the ministry, and had been placed in charge of the Niagara circuit—would be present to take part in the exercises. A message arrived from William, however, to the effect that he was dangerously ill, and could not attend. The presiding elder called Egerton aside, and proposed to him to take his brother's place on the circuit. The proposal was one which required, and which received, grave consideration. It was finally assented to. The young man returned to Hamilton, and prepared to enter upon his sacred vocation. On the 24th of March, 1825—his twenty-second birthday—he decided to enter the Methodist ministry; and on the Whitsunday following he preached his first sermon, near Beamsville, from the text: "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy." Such were the circumstances under which Egerton Ryerson was received into the Christian ministry.

The story of his long and useful career as a Minister of the Gospel can be adequately written by no pen but his own. His diary during the early years of his ministry shows that his life was one of constant toil and effort. It was no uncommon thing for him to be compelled to compose his sermons while riding about on horseback from one part of his circuit to

another. After doing duty for some time in the Niagara peninsula he was transferred to the Yonge Street circuit, which embraced within its limits the little town of York, the Provincial capital, and nine of the neighbouring townships. He was subsequently stationed as a missionary among the Indians at the Credit. It would take not much less than a page merely to enumerate his other ministerial appointments, and it has been computed that in the course of his long and active life he must have preached nearly ten thousand sermons. His ministerial labours, however, great as they unquestionably have been, form only a moderate part of the work of his life. In 1826 he made his first appearance as an author, and from that time down to the present his pen has never been long idle. His first production was a review of Archdeacon Strachan's sermon on the death of Dr. Mountain, Bishop of Quebec. In this work, which was a powerful specimen of controversial writing, the author discussed at considerable length the respective claims of churchmen and dissenters in Upper Canada. It need hardly be said that he was vehemently opposed to the pretensions of the dominant church; and some passages in Archdeacon Strachan's sermon—which had been published in pamphlet form—had especially aroused his indignation. In that sermon the venerable author traced the history of the Church of England in Canada, and referred to the obstacles to the progress of that church. Among these obstacles it was alleged that "dissenters" occupied a foremost place. Special reference was made to uneducated Methodist preachers, who abandoned their proper vocations, and spent their time in spreading disaffection and subverting the political and religious institutions of the country. A copy of the pamphlet containing this famous sermon fell into the hands of the authorities of the Methodist church, who did not deem it advisable to

allow such statements as were contained in it to go forth to the world uncontradicted. The subject of this sketch was asked to write a reply. He consented, upon the understanding that his Superintendent (the Rev. James Richardson) should also write a reply, and that the two replies should be compared at a meeting of prominent Methodists to be held in York four weeks afterwards. It was agreed that from the material embodied in the two replies so written, a full rejoinder should be compiled and submitted to the world. During the next four weeks Mr. Ryerson preached no fewer than thirty sermons, and was compelled to perform an unusually large amount of circuit work besides. While riding on horseback, and during brief stoppages in the various houses which he had occasion to visit in the interim, he wrote the whole of his reply. When the four weeks had expired the meeting took place according to appointment. It then appeared that the Superintendent had done nothing towards his share of the projected reply. Mr. Ryerson's paper was read to the little assembly, upon whom it produced a remarkable effect. Contrary to the expressed wish of the author, its publication was resolved upon, and Mr. Ryerson subjected it to a careful revision. It was finally published under the signature of "A Methodist Preacher." The effect of its publication was very great, and various speculations were indulged in as to who the author might be. Numerous answers were published, in one of which it was declared that the author was not a Methodist preacher at all, but a crafty politician. This stung Mr. Ryerson to the quick, and the authorship was soon afterwards avowed. Two years later he published a series of letters in which Archdeacon Strachan's famous chart of the various religious bodies in Upper Canada was criticised with remarkable vigour.

It may as well be recorded in this place, as

a fact not generally known, that within a few months after entering the Methodist ministry, overtures were made to Mr. Ryerson to accept ordination in the Church of England. He declined; not in consequence of any feeling of hostility to the doctrines of that church, but merely because he felt that he was largely indebted to the Methodist body for his religious instruction, and because he believed that the service of that church opened out to him a wider sphere of usefulness. For the homilies and services of the Church of England he has always expressed a high admiration. During the early years of his ministry the Book of Common Prayer was his constant travelling companion, and an ever fruitful subject of study; and many of his most eloquent pulpit illustrations have been drawn from its pages. Had he been actuated by mercenary motives, the prizes at the disposal of the Church of England in those days were much more tempting than any which the Methodists had to bestow. Looked at from a secular point of view, the Methodist church in those times did not present a very inviting field for a young man ambitious of acquiring wealth. During the first four years of his ministry his salary amounted to less than a hundred dollars per annum. For the next twelve years it never exceeded six hundred dollars, including house and fuel; and out of this sum, during the greater part of the time, he was compelled to maintain a wife and family.

Mr. Ryerson's career as a journalist dates from the year 1829. The American General Conference of the Methodist Church had set apart the Canadian branch as a separate establishment, with a distinct annual conference of its own. The Methodist body in Upper Canada had for some time previously been rapidly increasing in numbers and influence, and had begun to feel a pressing need for a newspaper published in its interests. The *Christian Guardian* was



accordingly founded at York in the year above indicated, and Mr. Ryerson was installed as joint-editor with the Rev. Franklin Metcalfe. The management of this periodical was marked, from the outset, by prudence and good judgment, and its editorial articles were conspicuous for great power of argument and expression. It advocated many useful reforms in the State, and contributed its full share to the discussion of the vexed question respecting the Clergy Reserves. Its circulation was not confined to members of the church in whose interests it had been established, and it steadily advanced to a high place in public estimation. The prestige then acquired has never been lost. After more than half a century of prosperity and usefulness, the *Guardian* is still conducted with a genuine power and earnestness which fully maintain for its opinions the respect of all classes in the community. A sketch of the life of its present editor, the Rev. E. H. Dewart, appears elsewhere in these pages.

In 1833 Mr. Ryerson was appointed a delegate to England, and attended the British Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church there, with a view to the projected union with that Conference of the Methodist Episcopal body in Upper Canada. He was absent during the greater part of the year, and successfully accomplished the object of his mission. In 1835 he again proceeded to England. The object of this second mission was to obtain a Royal Charter for the Upper Canada Academy, and to solicit subscriptions in aid of that institution. An agitation for the establishment of a Methodist seat of learning in Upper Canada had been commenced about six years before this time, and during the interval great exertions had been made to raise the funds necessary for so important an undertaking. Cobourg had been fixed upon as the site of the Academy, by the Conference held there in 1833. During Mr. Ryerson's

sojourn in Great Britain in that year he had become acquainted with many prominent personages in the kingdom, including nearly all the leading members of the Wesleyan body. He had become convinced that much might be done there in the way of obtaining subscriptions for the Academy, and had made his views known to the Conference in this country. He was accordingly sent over in the spring of 1835 for the double purpose of obtaining the Charter and soliciting subscriptions. He was successful in accomplishing both these objects, and in inducing the Imperial Government to recommend a grant by the Upper Canadian Legislature to the Academy. The Upper Canadian Legislature subsequently complied with the recommendation, and made a grant of a sum of sixteen thousand dollars, contrary to the plainly-expressed wishes of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head. The Upper Canadian Academy became an accomplished fact. It subsequently developed into the University of Victoria College, and has long been one of the most useful and flourishing educational institutions in our land. A further account of it will be found in the life of the Principal, the Rev. Dr. S. S. Nelles, to be included in a subsequent part of this work.

Mr. Ryerson's second visit to Great Britain was somewhat prolonged, and he did not return to Canada until the spring of 1837. During his stay in London he contributed a series of letters on Canadian affairs to the columns of the *Times*, under the signature of "A Canadian." These letters were written to counteract the influence of Messrs. William Lyon Mackenzie, Hume, and Roebuck, who had created a good deal of feeling in England in favour of their projects of Canadian reform. Mr. Ryerson believed that those projects contemplated the establishment of a republican form of Government in this country, and denounced them with all the vigour at

his command. The publication of his letters attracted much attention, and the British North American Association had them published in pamphlet form and distributed among the members of both Houses of Parliament. They were also numerously circulated in this country, where they exercised no inconsiderable influence upon the elections of 1836. Just after the close of those elections, Dr. Charles Duncombe went over from Upper Canada to England with a petition to the British Parliament, containing a tabulated list of grievances. Mr. Ryerson wrote an additional letter in opposition to this petition, in which he controverted many alleged statements of fact contained in it. The petition was introduced to the notice of the House of Commons by the Hon. Joseph Hume, who supported it in a speech which made a decided impression upon the House. Mr. Gladstone, who had already begun to make his mark as a Parliamentary debater, was in those days opposed to Mr. Hume's views on matters relating to the colonies. He was desirous of replying to the speech while the matter was still fresh in the memory of the House, but he was too little acquainted with the subject to permit of his doing so with effect. Mr. Ryerson, however, was present in the gallery during the delivery of Mr. Hume's speech, and this fact was communicated to Mr. Gladstone. The latter put himself into immediate communication with Mr. Ryerson, who there, under the gallery of the House, and on the spur of the moment, put Mr. Hume's opponent in possession of the necessary materials for a vigorous speech against the petition. The speech was made, and the fate of the petition was sealed.

Within a few months after Mr. Ryerson's return to Canada the rebellion broke out. Though he had no sympathy with the revolutionary projects of those times, he was opposed to the employment of extreme measures against the delinquents, and succeeded,

by his representations, in procuring the release of several of them from imprisonment. His brother John, who was then stationed in Toronto, presented and advocated a numerous signed petition against the execution of Messrs. Lount and Matthews, and in support of his advocacy read a letter from the subject of this sketch commenting on the impolicy of capital punishment for political offences. Neither the petition nor the letter, however, produced any effect, and the unhappy men suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

The efforts of the ruling faction in those days to implicate the entire Reform Party of Upper Canada in responsibility for the Rebellion are well known to every student of Canadian history. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, took the initiative in this policy, and was fond of writing editorials in his organ the *Patriot*, in which every Reformer in the Province was, either expressly or by implication, held responsible for the wildest excesses of Mackenzie and his adherents. Among others so traduced was the late Speaker of the House of Assembly, Marshall Spring Bidwell. An article appeared, proposing that Mr. Bidwell's name should be struck from the Roll of the Law Society, on account of his having taken part in a traitorous conspiracy against Her Majesty's Government in this Province. Mr. Bidwell was no longer in this country to speak on his own behalf; and his having taken up his abode in New York seemed to lend some colour to the suggestion that he had been more or less concerned in the Rebellion. Mr. Ryerson, however, who knew all the facts relative to Mr. Bidwell's banishment,\* and who recognized the Lieutenant-Governor's hand in the article in the *Patriot*, was stirred to his inmost soul by the proposal contained

\* These facts, which are of a somewhat peculiar and interesting nature, will be given in the sketch of Mr. Bidwell's life, to be included in the present series.

in it. He was at that time stationed at Kingston, where Mr. Bidwell had formerly carried on the practice of his profession, and where the latter's blameless life and purity of purpose were well known. Having obtained access to some private correspondence between Mr. Bidwell, Sir Francis Head, and Attorney-General Hagerman, in which the whole transaction with Sir Francis was fully set forth, Mr. Ryerson wrote and published in the *Upper Canada Herald* a singularly eloquent vindication of Mr. Bidwell's character and conduct. The correspondence was freely quoted from, and the Lieutenant-Governor stood convicted, under his own hand, of dealings which, to say the least, were unbecoming and wanting in straightforwardness. Mr. Ryerson's vindication was signed "An United Empire Loyalist." Attorney-General Hagerman replied to it in a somewhat feeble fashion, and wound up his reply by a suggestion that the writer in the *Upper Canada Herald* had concealed his name through fear of being prosecuted for sedition. Mr. Ryerson was not the man to sit down quietly under such an imputation. He rejoined, in a paper said to have been the strongest piece of argumentative writing ever penned by him. He exposed the fallacy of the Attorney-General's arguments, bade defiance to his threats of prosecution, and signed his own name. This name, of course, was a sufficient guarantee for the writer's loyalty; and other suggestions in the Attorney-General's reply were proved to be equally wide of the mark. This was the first publication that had issued from the Upper Canadian press since the suppression of the Rebellion in which constitutional freedom was boldly advocated, and its effect upon the country was electric. It is even said that some persons who despaired of the state of things in the Province, and who had resolved to migrate to the United States, were induced to remain by the mere perusal of Mr. Ryerson's

reply; saying that freedom was not dead in a land where any man dared to write like that.

During Lord Durham's memorable mission to this country he had frequent interviews with Mr. Ryerson, who furnished numerous data for the celebrated Report of that nobleman. The latter addressed an advance copy of the Report to Mr. Ryerson from England, before it had been laid before the House of Lords. Upon receiving it, Mr. Ryerson read it with great care, and published copious extracts from it in the columns of the *Christian Guardian*, of which he was then sole editor. His relations with Lord Durham seem to have been most sympathetic and cordial. He also established friendly relations with Lord Sydenham and Sir Charles Bagot, and contributed to the public press eloquent tributes to their respective memories after their deaths. In 1840 he again attended the English Methodist Conference as a delegate on behalf of the Canadian Conference. Upon the incorporation of the University of Victoria College in 1841 Mr. Ryerson was unanimously chosen its first President; and during the same year the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the Wesleyan University of Middletown, in the State of Connecticut.

During Sir Charles Metcalfe's administration of affairs in Canada, Dr. Ryerson made what many persons have pronounced to have been the great mistake of his life. The particulars of the long and bitter struggle between that Governor and the Reform Party have already been outlined in these pages. In that struggle Dr. Ryerson espoused the side of Sir Charles Metcalfe, and both in the press and on the platform proved one of his most potent allies. Into the merits of that contest it is not our purpose to enter at any great length in this place. Those who have read the sketch of Robert Baldwin's life do not need to be in-

formed that we believe the Governor-General to have been altogether in the wrong in the dispute with his Council. Dr. Ryerson, the sincerity of whose convictions, and the integrity of whose motives we do not presume to question, took a different view. He had never been a politician. His father, the Colonel, was of course an old-fashioned Tory; but the Doctor, we believe, has never recorded a vote down to the present day. By the time he had reached manhood he had come to the conclusion that many matters in the Canadian body-politic stood in need of reform; and he had all along opposed the domination of the Family Compact and the Church of England. In purely party questions, however, he had never felt or expressed any very keen interest. He was unable to look at Sir Charles Metcalfe's policy from a purely political point of view. When Sir Charles appointed a Tory to office, it seemed to Dr. Ryerson that he was perfectly justified in doing so, because the person so appointed was fit for the position, and had some sort of moral claim to the support of benevolent and philanthropic men. We presume there are few persons in Canada to-day, to whichever side of politics they may belong, who will venture to defend Sir Charles's line of action from a constitutional point of view. It must be remembered that his struggle with his Council was not, strictly speaking, on the ground of his having appointed any particular person to office, but because he persisted in making appointments without the approval of his Council; nay, in direct opposition to their advice. In a word, he substituted his own—and Mr. Draper's—will for that of his Council. If a Governor is not to be guided by the advice of his Ministers, who are responsible at the bar of public opinion, it would seem to be evident enough that there can be no such thing as a genuine Responsible Government. Such is the aspect in which, as we believe, posterity will contem-

plate the question. No dispute of a similar nature is likely to again arise, and a further discussion of it here is not called for.

Whatever the real merits of the struggle may have been, there can be no doubt that Dr. Ryerson's services to Sir Charles Metcalfe were of inestimable value. His influence among the members of his own religious sect was wide and great, and all the influence at his command was exerted on the Governor-General's behalf. He also fought the Governor's battle vigorously through the medium of the press. In addition to numerous letters and articles in various newspapers of that day, he wrote and published a "Defence" of Sir Charles, which was published separately in pamphlet form. In this work, which was circulated all over the Province, the argument on the Governor's side was certainly presented in clear and luminous language, and with a force and precision which were not without effect on current public opinion. It is only just to Dr. Ryerson to say that he has always maintained that he was as true to the principles of Responsible Government when he wrote in defence of Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1844 as when he wrote in defence of Mr. Bidwell in 1838. He has always contended that the question then at issue was not one of Responsible Government, but of party patronage of the Crown, against which Reformers in previous years had protested, when the patronage had been practised by the old Family Compact. Whatever view readers of the present day may take of the question, it is undeniable that such service merited and obtained recognition from Sir Charles Metcalfe. In 1844 Dr. Ryerson received the appointment of Superintendent of Public Schools for Upper Canada, as successor to the Rev. Robert Murray (who had been appointed to a Professorship in King's College). Upon receiving the offer of this appointment Dr. Ryerson laid the matter before the Executive Committee of his Con-

ference, by whom he was recommended to accept it. The result of the following elections was the return of a large majority in favour of the Governor-General's policy, and Dr. Ryerson thus felt no scruples at acting upon the recommendation of the Committee. He accepted the appointment, and at once devoted himself to the task of remodelling the educational system of the Province. In the instructions accompanying his appointment it was intimated that he was expected to devise measures for providing proper school-books; for establishing the most efficient system of instruction; and for elevating the character of both teachers and schools. In pursuance of these instructions he made an extensive tour in the United States, Great Britain and continental Europe, to familiarize himself with the various educational systems in vogue in other lands. The results of his tour were embodied in an elaborate "Report," which was published by order of the Legislative Assembly in 1846. The views presented in this report aroused much discussion and hostility in some quarters, and the author was accused of advocating "Prussian despotism." His ideas, however, commended themselves to a majority of the members of the Legislature, and a School Act, drafted by him, was passed by both Houses. It remained in force about three years. Upon the accession to power of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration, the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, who held the post of Commissioner of Customs, procured the passing of a new Education Act, repealing the Act of 1846, and inaugurating many radical changes in the educational system. The latter was a loosely drawn and impracticable measure, and Dr. Ryerson at once detected its weak points. He urged his views upon Mr. Baldwin, the Attorney-General West, who became so convinced of the inefficient character of the new Act that he took the unusual course of advising the Governor-General (Lord Elgin) to suspend

its operation. Mr. Baldwin and Dr. Ryerson then proceeded to prepare an Act, in which all that was useful in the Act of 1846 was retained, with the addition of many important features growing out of the necessities of the time. This new measure received the sanction of Parliament in 1850, and its enactments still form the groundwork of the educational system in this Province.

Dr. Ryerson's life, during the next quarter of a century, is so intimately connected with our educational system, that the writing of the one would necessarily involve the writing of the history of the other. For such an account these pages afford but limited space, nor is this the sort of work wherein the reader will expect to find it. The merest glimpse at one or two of the more salient incidents is all that will be looked for at our hands. From the time of receiving his appointment in 1844, down to his resignation in 1876—a period of thirty-two years—Dr. Ryerson continued to administer the school-system of this Province with a zeal, a disinterestedness, and an efficiency which have received the highest encomiums, not only from Canadians, but from persons connected with educational matters in Great Britain and the United States. He has left an abiding and ineffaceable mark upon the educational system of his time, and will long be remembered by those who may come after him as a remarkably able and large-minded man: a man who gave many years of his life to the task of thoroughly understanding the educational requirements of the Province, and of directing public opinion in such a channel as to secure the greatest possible measure of public benefit. Bishop Frazer, of Manchester, England, has borne unmistakable testimony to his high appreciation of Dr. Ryerson's labours. In a report on Canadian Schools, published in 1865, he refers to our national educational system as being far in advance

of that of Great Britain. He adds: "It is indeed very remarkable to me that in a country occupied in the greater part of its area by a sparse and anything but wealthy population, whose predominant characteristic is as far as possible removed from the spirit of enterprise, an educational system so complete in its theory and so capable of adaptation in practice should have been originally organized, and have been maintained in what, with all allowances, must still be called successful operation for so long a period as twenty-five years. It shows what can be accomplished by the energy, determination and devotion of a single earnest man. What national education in England owes to Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, what education in New England owes to Horace Mann, that debt education in Canada owes to Egerton Ryerson. He has been the object of bitter abuse, and of not a little misrepresentation; but he has not swerved from his policy, or from his fixed ideas. Through evil report and good report he has resolved, and he has found others to support him in the resolution, that free education shall be placed within the reach of every Canadian parent for every Canadian child." The Hon. Adam Crooks, the present Minister of Education for Ontario, has also on more than one occasion borne testimony to his appreciation of Dr. Ryerson's great services to the cause of education in this Province.

In 1848 Dr. Ryerson established the *Journal of Education*, which he edited from that time down to the date of his resignation of the office of Chief Superintendent of Education in 1876. During his absence in England in 1850 he made preliminary arrangements for the establishment of a Library, and of a map and apparatus depository in connection with the Education Department of Upper Canada; which arrangements were soon afterwards carried into effect. In 1853, chiefly in consequence of Dr. Ryerson's ur-

gent representations, the Legislature caused the Grammar-School Law of the Province to be thoroughly revised. Further improvements in the Grammar-School Law in 1865 are also largely traceable to his influence. In 1855, with the aid of Colonel Lefroy, who then held the post of Director of the Provincial Magnetical Observatory at Toronto, Dr. Ryerson established several meteorological stations in connection with the County Grammar-Schools. Ten years later, other stations—making twelve in all—were established in accordance with the terms of legislative enactments on the subject. In 1857 Dr. Ryerson again set out for a comprehensive educational tour in Europe. During his absence he visited the principal seats of art in Holland, Germany, Italy and France, and procured on behalf of his Department a series of copies of paintings by the old masters, in Dutch, Flemish and Italian art. These copies, together with many other paintings and objects of interest, were forwarded to Toronto and placed in the Educational Museum, where they have been the means of educating the public taste, and of diffusing a knowledge of art among the people. Soon after his return from this tour he began to take a prominent part in the discussion of the subject of grants to various outlying universities in this Province. These grants were strenuously advocated by him upon public grounds, both in the columns of various newspapers, and before a Legislative Committee. The Education Bill submitted by Government to Parliament in 1860, and which subsequently became law, was drafted by him, and was the means of effecting many improvements in the details of our educational system. In 1861 he received from the University of Victoria College the honorary degree of LL.D. The results of his wide knowledge and experience in matters pertaining to education are visible in several other measures which have received the sanction of

the Legislature, and which have been productive of great benefit to the Province at large.

In the autumn of 1874 the first General Conference of the Methodist Church was held in Toronto, consisting of an equal number of ministers and laymen, elected by the ministers and laity, throughout the six Conferences of the Dominion of Canada. At this Conference Dr. Ryerson was elected President by ballot, and filled the office for four years, until 1878, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. George Douglas of Montreal. Dr. Ryerson was elected for the third time to represent the Canadian Conference in Great Britain in 1876. He was received by the British Conference with every possible mark of respect and affection, and reference was made to his having appeared before that venerable body as the representative of the Canadian Conference forty-three years before.

For some years previous to his retirement from the position of Chief Superintendent of Education, Dr. Ryerson had felt and expressed a wish to be relieved from the arduous duties which he was compelled to discharge. In 1876 his suggestion was acted upon. The office of Chief Superintendent was abolished, and a Minister of Education was added to the Local Cabinet in the person of the Hon. Adam Crooks, the present incumbent. Dr. Ryerson retired from office on full salary, after thirty-two years of incessant and often severe labour. Though he has since lived in retirement, he still continues to take a warm interest in everything pertaining to the cause of public education. He has for some years past been engaged in the production of a voluminous

historical work embodying a History of the United Empire Loyalists, which is now passing through the press, and which will probably be in the hands of the public contemporaneously with the appearance of the present sketch. The subject is one which the author possesses exceptional qualifications for dealing with, and his work cannot fail to be one of permanent historical value and interest.

At the age of seventy-seven years Dr. Ryerson preserves his great mental activity unimpaired, and his physical vigour is still far beyond that of most persons of his age. The storm and contention in which a great part of his early career was passed has long since subsided, and the evening of his life has been wonderfully serene and cloudless. He has been permitted to outlive the enmities of less quiet times, and has long enjoyed the respect, esteem, and good-will of his fellow-countrymen of all creeds and parties.

Dr. Ryerson has been twice married. His first wife, whom he married in 1828, was Miss Aikman, daughter of the late John Aikman, of the township of Barton, in the county of Wentworth. By this lady, who survived her marriage only about four years, he had two children, both of whom died young. In 1833 he married Miss Armstrong, daughter of the late Mr. J. R. Armstrong, of Toronto. By this lady, who still survives, he has two children. It is reasonably to be hoped that years of vigour and usefulness may yet be in store for the venerable old man who has done so much to advance the interests of the Methodist Church in Canada, and who has done more than any other man of his day for the cause of public instruction in Ontario.

## SIR JAMES DOUGLAS.

THE late Sir James Douglas was a man who could scarcely have failed to make his mark under any conditions of society in which he might have been placed; but it so fell out that early in life he was enrolled in a service which was peculiarly calculated to stimulate and develop the special characteristics for which he was most eminent. Among the many personages who, from obscure beginnings, have risen to fame and fortune in the service of the great fur-trading companies of the North-West, Sir James Douglas will always occupy a foremost place. His achievements in the pathless wilds of the American continent furnish no inapt parallel to the marvellous career of Robert Clive in India during the last century. If his success was less brilliant than was that of the founder of British Empire in India, it was at least of sufficient splendour to suggest a comparison; and the success of Sir James Douglas was clouded by no serious faults such as must ever be associated with Clive's great name. The success of both was almost entirely due to their individual characters, and owed but little to adventitious circumstances. It is no abuse of language to say that James Douglas was born with a positive genius for administration. He began life without means, without education, and without influential friends. He lived to be the founder of two colonies, with both of which his name must ever be in-

separably associated. He established two Governments, in both of which he himself occupied the highest place. He was invested by his Sovereign with titles and dignities which might well have satisfied the aspirations of a much more ambitious mind. Unlike many men who have been the sole architects of their own fortunes, he was never spoiled by prosperity, but bore his high honours with a quiet dignity which would have become the proudest scion of aristocracy. When he died, full of years, and all good things which this life affords, he was mourned by thousands who had long regarded him in the light of their common patron; and his memory is still cherished by the inhabitants of an entire Province.

He was born in or near Demerara, in British Guiana, South America, on the 14th of August, 1803. As his name indicates, he was of Scottish origin. His father, who was in humble circumstances, had emigrated from Scotland to British Guiana not long before his son's birth. Both his parents died while he was a mere boy, and he was thus left to fight the battle of life at a very early age. In the summer of 1815, when he had barely completed his twelfth year, he accompanied an elder brother to the North-West Territory, and engaged in the service of the famous North-West Company. In those times the rivalry between that Company and the still more famous one into which it was finally absorbed was at





*James Douglass*



its height, and there was plenty of hard work to be done in its service by young men of willing hands, cool brains, dauntless courage, adventurous spirit, and robust constitution. All these qualifications were united in the person of young James Douglas in a very uncommon degree, and wanted but time and opportunity for their full development. His active, nomadic life, spent largely in the open air, furnished in itself a more admirable physical training than any gymnasium could have afforded, and by the time he had reached manhood he was known throughout the whole of the North-West for a man of almost miraculous vigour and endurance. His frame was cast in a powerful mould; his physical strength was prodigious; and his coolness under circumstances of imminent danger excited the astonishment even of those daring, adventurous spirits among whom his lot was cast. His pre-eminence, however, was not confined to feats of strength and endurance. He was equally remarkable for his tact in dealing with the aborigines, and for his excellent judgment in transacting the business of his employers. Whenever a mission requiring the exercise of exceptional prudence and sagacity was determined upon, there never was any dispute as to who was the most fitting agent to be entrusted with it. He had the rare capacity for preserving strict discipline among wild and lawless men, and was always able to enforce obedience to his commands by the mere force of his personal presence and character. The facts of his early life in the North-West have never been made public with any approach to fulness of detail, and there is probably no man now living who is possessed of sufficient data to present a connected narrative of his career previous to the time of his taking up his permanent abode in Vancouver's Island in 1846.

The rivalry between the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies was terminated

by their amalgamation in 1821. Young Douglas, who had entered the service of the former in a subordinate capacity about six years previously, continued in the employ of the amalgamated company, in which he soon rose to a position of influence. He rapidly grew in favour with his superior officers, who fully recognized his merits, and in course of time he became a Chief Factor of the Company. In the discharge of his multiform duties he visited nearly every corner of the North-West which has ever been traversed by the foot of a white man, and passed through innumerable adventures and hairbreadth escapes. On one occasion when conducting an important mission in New Caledonia—now the mainland of British Columbia—he was seized by one of the Indian tribes while passing through their territory, and detained as a captive for many weeks. He at last contrived to make good his escape, and after enduring privations to which a weaker frame and a feebler will would inevitably have succumbed, arrived in safety at one of the Company's forts. He had long been given up as lost, and was welcomed as one risen from the dead. In 1827 he married Miss Connolly, a daughter of the Chief Factor at Red River. By this lady he had a numerous family, five of whom still survive. His eldest and only surviving son is Mr. James W. Douglas, late M.P.P. for the city of Victoria.

Sometime in or about the year 1833, Mr. Douglas became the Chief Agent of the Hudson's Bay Company for all their territory west of the Rocky Mountains. Soon after being appointed to this responsible position he made his headquarters at Fort Vancouver, in what was then the territory of Oregon. In 1842 he passed over from Fort Vancouver to Vancouver's Island, for the purpose of establishing an Indian trading post there on behalf of the Company. At a point which has since been called

Esquimaux, about three miles from Victoria, he found an excellent harbour, deep enough to float vessels of large burden, and capacious enough for the accommodation of a fleet. If the surroundings of this place had been advantageous, Esquimaux would doubtless have been fixed upon as the site of the Company's operations in the island; but the adjoining shore was rugged and precipitous, and presented a most desolate and forbidding appearance. There was no suitable site for the erection of a fort, and fresh water was scarce in the immediate neighbourhood—a grave drawback in primitive settlements. On the site of Victoria, on the other hand—which was then known by the Indian name of Songish—much of the ground was comparatively level; the appearance of the surrounding country was eminently prepossessing; and fresh water was abundant. The adjacent harbour was shallow, and, as subsequently appeared, ships drawing more than sixteen or seventeen feet of water could not enter it under any condition of the tides; but a commodious harbour was not a prime consideration with Mr. Douglas, who, after mature consideration, selected the latter point as the site of the projected fort. He treated with the Indians for the site, and set about the erection of stockades and storehouses. The fort was completed in the course of the following year; and when, in 1846, by the Oregon Treaty, Fort Vancouver became a part of the United States, the western headquarters of the Company were transferred to Victoria. For long afterwards, the fort and several little houses adjacent thereto, which were occupied by employés of the Company, were the only habitations of civilized beings to be found on the island. On the 31st of July, 1848, the island was granted by the Crown to the Hudson's Bay Company for a term of ten years. The effect of the grant, of course, was to give the Company control over the fur trade of

the district, and they, in turn, undertook to establish in the island a colony of resident emigrants from the British dominions. A deed was at the same time executed conferring upon emigrants certain powers of local self-government. Governor Blanchard received the appointment of first Governor, and arrived from England in 1849. After administering affairs about two years his health failed, and he returned to England. He was succeeded by Mr. Douglas, who took the oath of office in November, 1851. His first official act (and it is notable as an evidence of the strong sense of justice that animated the man) was to summon all the Indian tribes about Victoria and pay them in full for their lands. The Indians were very numerous at that time. Tribes which now comprise a mere handful counted their warriors by the thousand; and collisions were frequent between the settlers and Indians in consequence of depredations by the latter on the cattle of the former. Early in the winter of 1851 a shepherd was murdered at Christmas Hill. The Indian perpetrators fled to Cowichan. Governor Douglas organized an expedition of marines and bluejackets from H.M. ship *Thetis* and a company of Vancouver's Island Volunteers. The Company's vessels *Recovery* and *Beaver* conveyed the expedition to Cowichan, where one of the murderers was given up. The other had fled to Nanaimo, whither the expedition proceeded. They tracked him through the deep snow into the dense forest, and finally caught him hid in a hollow tree. The culprits were hanged at Nanaimo. Not long afterwards a white man was shot and severely injured at Cowichan. Another expedition was formed, of which Governor Douglas took charge. H.M. ship *Trincomalee* was towed to Cowichan by the steamer *Offer*. The Indians turned out armed, naked, and covered with war paint. The two forces confronted each other. The Governor beckoned the chiefs to come for-

ward, and they did so. A parley ensued. The chiefs refusing to give the man up, the forces encamped for the night. The next morning the murderer, armed with a musket, came out in front of the Indian village and levelled it at the Governor. The moment was a critical one. The marines and blue-jackets prepared to open fire, and a mountain howitzer they had brought with them was trained on the village ready for work. The murderer's flint-lock musket snapped, and in another moment he was seized and bound by the tribe and handed over to the expedition. He was tried and hanged at Cowichan in the presence of the Indians, who thus had a salutary lesson set them—a lesson which shaped their conduct in the direction of peace forever afterwards.

The task of colonization, however, proved to be uphill work, and does not seem to have been prosecuted with much vigour. Had it not been for the breaking out of the gold-fever ten years afterwards, Vancouver's Island would be little better known in our time than it was in the days of our fathers. In 1853, five years subsequent to the date of the grant to the Hudson's Bay Company, the entire white population was less than five hundred. Between that time and 1857 Indian wars were numerous on the island, and Governor Douglas was brought into frequent contact with scenes of violence and bloodshed similar to those already referred to. As the supply of ammunition was doled out to the natives in small quantities, this restricted supply was made the pretext of several attempts by them to capture the fort and possess themselves of the contents. Had the fort been in command of a man with less tact and force of character it is not improbable that some of these attempts would have been successful, but the Governor's vigilance was unsleeping, and he was never taken at a disadvantage. He finally succeeded in establishing amicable relations with all the tribes on the island,

who in process of time came to look up to him as their "Great White Father." In 1856 representative institutions were granted to the colony, and on the 12th of June in that year the first Parliament met. Governor Douglas, in his opening speech, compared the colony to the native pines of its storm-beaten promontories, the growth of which, he remarked, was slow, but hardy. In the summer of 1857 his commission as Governor was renewed for a further period of six years.

About this time it became known to the emissaries of the Company that gold had been found by the Indians at several points on the mainland, between the Rocky Mountains and the ocean. The momentous secret was kept as long as the keeping of it was possible, which was not very long. In the autumn of 1857 a small parcel of dust, worth four or five dollars, was brought from Thompson River by an Indian trader, but the circumstance attracted little attention in Victoria. The parcel was forwarded to San Francisco, however, where its contents were rigidly scrutinized, and one or two miners quietly set out to inspect the territory where the dust had been found. The Indians continued to find the precious metal in considerable quantities, and soon began to bring it down to the settlements and offer it in exchange for food, whiskey, and other commodities. They sometimes told fabulous stories about nuggets as large as barrels of flour, and though these stories were justly regarded as exaggerations, rumours began to be rife on the Pacific coast about tremendous auriferous deposits in the interior; deposits of such extent as to eclipse anything that had ever been known either in California or Australia. Prospecting parties started out, and met with sufficient encouragement to satisfy them that the mineral resources of the country might be turned to good account. Their operations soon became known to the miners of

California, and in an inconceivably short space of time thereafter British Columbia was literally invaded by an army of gold-seekers from the washed-out gulches farther south. The news was not long in making its way to the uttermost parts of the earth, and the result was an influx of adventurers from all quarters. The Island of Vancouver was carefully explored, and gold was eventually found in one or two districts, but not in sufficient quantities to induce miners to stay there. The richest deposits were on the Fraser River, which soon became the centre of operations. Victoria, however, was on the direct road thither, and crowded steamers began to arrive several times a week. In the spring of the year 1858 more than 20,000 people disembarked *en route* for the mines; and as the houses were too few for the accommodation of one-tenth of that number, the adjacent country was speedily covered by innumerable tents, which served the purpose of temporary habitations. The provisions and stores of the island were soon exhausted, and before fresh supplies could be obtained prices rose enormously. To such an extent did the inflation in breadstuffs proceed that on one occasion the sum of fifty dollars was offered and refused for a barrel of flour. For several weeks thirty dollars per barrel was the regular price of that commodity, and even ships' biscuits were sold at fabulous prices. Building operations were projected on a tremendous scale, and from ninety to a hundred dollars per thousand was readily paid for sawn lumber. More than two hundred houses—such as they were—were built within the space of a single month. Town property was sold at any price the owners chose to demand, and for a short time vacant lots in Victoria were worth as much as in San Francisco. Lots bought from the Company in April at fifty dollars were resold in May at \$2,500. Rents were in proportion; and plots of ground with a frontage of thirty

feet, and only sixty feet in depth, were rented at \$400 a month. A good many of the newcomers, upon their arrival at Victoria, abandoned the notion of going any farther to wring gold from the soil, when gold might be made so much more easily by speculating in real estate. During the season of 1858, most of those who went on to the mines arrived there at a time of year when the rivers were swollen, and when the most prolific beds of gold were submerged. The consequence was that many abandoned the quest and returned to the settlements in despair. Of those who remained, some realized large fortunes, others a moderate competency, and others little or nothing beyond blighted hopes and broken constitutions. Of those who returned without waiting for the ebb of the rivers, some took up their quarters in Victoria, where they made a living as best they could. Such others as were able to return to their homes in California or elsewhere lost no time in doing so, and the surplus population of Victoria soon melted away. Not only did the tents disappear, but every street had its beggarly account of empty houses and shanties. Real estate, of course, fell tremendously, and the fall brought ruin to the door of many an unfortunate speculator. In one instance, a small piece of land for which \$23,000 had been paid only a few months before, was with difficulty disposed of for \$600. This was probably an extreme case, but there were others which approximated to it, and business was at a standstill. In the autumn of 1859 the population was only about 1,300. In the course of the following winter, however, more favourable reports began to be received from the mining districts, and business improved considerably. Next spring the reports were so good that a tide of miners again set in, on a small scale as compared with that of the preceding year, but still vigorously enough to indicate that mining enterprise was not

altogether a thing of the past. From that time forward the search for gold has been steadily carried on, with varying success. The last important development was the discovery of the Cassiar deposits, which still continue to furnish a fairly abundant yield.

In 1859, the grant to the Hudson's Bay Company having expired, Vancouver's Island became a Crown colony, with Victoria as its capital. Mr. Douglas was appointed Governor, and was invested with the dignity of a C.B. The same year ushered in the San Juan difficulty. A company of United States soldiers landed on the Island of San Juan, in the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and took possession of it as American territory, claiming that it had been ceded by the Oregon Treaty. The ensuing few months were months of great excitement. British ships of war were summoned from China, and anchored in the harbour of Esquimaux. The American force on the Island received numerous accessions, and for a time it seemed that war could not be averted. A single act of indiscretion on the part of Governor Douglas would unquestionably have plunged the colony into hostilities; but his judgment and tact were equal to the occasion. In course of time General Scott arrived from Washington as United States Commissioner, and he and Governor Douglas agreed upon a joint occupation until the dispute could be settled by arbitration. The island was finally ceded to the United States in 1872.

Meanwhile a Government had been organized in British Columbia, on the mainland, and placed in Governor Douglas's charge. Customs duties were imposed, and a considerable revenue collected; but not sufficient to make improvements or cheapen the cost of provisions at the mines by providing good roads. The Governor asked the Home Government for pecuniary aid, and was refused. In 1862 freight to Cariboo

was \$1 per pound, or \$2,000 per ton. All goods were carried on the backs of mules. Flour sold at \$2.75 a pound, and all other articles of consumption at a like exorbitant rate. Thousands left the diggings, unable to procure the simplest necessities at any price. The Governor was sorely tried. He saw the people suffering, and had not means to afford them relief. At last he hit upon a plan which proved successful. He raised £100,000 in England by loan, and gave a company that offered to make a main trunk road from Yale to Cariboo—a distance of 400 miles—the privilege of collecting tolls on goods passing over the road for a limited number of years. Similar franchises were given to parties who bridged the streams, and in a single season goods at the mines fell to living rates. In 1863 the roads and bridges were completed and ready for traffic. Mule trains were disbanded and freight wagons substituted, and the mining population, with the advantage of cheap food, proceeded to develop the wonderfully rich mines of Cariboo. These roads will ever remain a monument to the enterprise of British Columbia's greatest Governor. In October, 1863, Her Majesty was pleased to confer upon him the distinguished honour and dignity of Knighthood as a mark of her appreciation of his public services. He had, it is true, despotic power; but he always used it to advance the country. He oppressed no one, but moved steadily on in the great work of organizing a Government from chaotic materials, and in improving the condition of the people. He was then governing two Provinces—Vancouver's Island and British Columbia—with two sets of officials, and a military man—Colonel Moody—residing at New Westminster, as Lieutenant-Governor. The Governor's position was incongruous. The mainland people charged him with building up Victoria at the expense of the mainland; and the Victorians accused him of favouring the Hudson's

Bay Company in the settlement of the land question between the Imperial Government and the Company. For many months he bore the assaults of his enemies with the calmness that is the offspring of integrity, knowing well that when permission should be obtained to publish the official despatches on the subject he would be fully vindicated. Permission was finally obtained, and the appearance of the blue-book so completely vindicated his course that everyone became convinced that Governor Douglas had really been the truest friend of the Province, and had actually fought its battles at the very time he was charged with conspiring to defraud it of its rights. The Governor's commission for Vancouver's Island expired in September, 1863, but he was not relieved till March, 1864. When he laid down the reins of Government the people vied with each other in doing him honour. He was entertained at a public banquet in which representative men of all classes took part, and a beautiful casket of Colonial woods, inlaid with gold, was presented to His

Excellency on behalf of the people of the Colony. In the fall of the same year the Governor's commission for British Columbia expired, and he was succeeded by Governor Seymour, who afterwards became Governor when the Colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver's Island were made one. After having been relieved of his official duties Sir James Douglas made the tour of Europe. Upon his return to the land he loved so well he withdrew entirely from public life, enjoying in the bosom of his family the repose he had so well earned, and joining with Lady Douglas, to whom at the time of his death he had been married fifty years, in dispensing charity with a generous hand.

A few weeks before his death it became known to his family that his health was seriously impaired, but it was not suspected that his end was so near as subsequent events proved to be the case. He died at his home in Victoria on the 2nd of August, 1877. Had he lived eleven days longer he would have completed his seventy-fourth year.



## THE REV. JOHN HUGH MACKERRAS, M.A.

"A MAN of rare natural endowments, he was also a man of large culture. Learned was he and eloquent; an accomplished scholar, an able and persuasive preacher. All this the Presbyterian people and Church in Canada have known for the last twenty years. These were endowments that loomed before the public eye, but they were insignificant compared with his qualities as a man and his excellence as a Christian. Singularly gentle by nature, he became by divine grace the humble, simple-hearted Christian sitting at the feet of Jesus, and, while learning from His words, drinking largely into His spirit. To those who knew him in private life, his grace and gentleness, his transparent honesty and truthfulness, his reverent spirit, his godly walk, were felt to give a charm and brilliancy to his character which his more public qualities failed to impart. His was indeed the path of the just. His religious character grew, and Christian principle, as he passed on in life, deepened within his great nature. He advanced in divine knowledge. In the love and grace of Christ he more and more abode. On and on he went, walking in the light of heaven while yet with us on earth. Such men rarely appear in the firmament of the Church. When they pass beyond to other spheres, a blank is left which it takes generations to fill up. We shall never again hear his eloquent voice, never again shall we have the privilege of

being guided by his wise counsels, but the Church in heaven has received him into her membership, and the eye of faith sees him to-day near the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the perfect unchanging day of heavenly joy."

Such was the glowing tribute paid to the character and career of the subject of this memoir, on the Sunday following his death, by his friend the Rev. Dr. Jenkins, from the pulpit of St. Paul's Church, Montreal. As a general rule, such utterances as these, especially when delivered by personal friends, and under a sense of recent bereavement, are not entitled to much weight. In the case of Professor Mackerras, however, the universal testimony of those who knew him, and who watched his course during the greater part of his ministerial life, is to the effect that Dr. Jenkins's eloquent eulogy was fully borne out by the singularly beautiful attributes of the subject of it, and that its characterization will stand the test of time. It seems to be conceded on all hands that the late Professor was one of the gentlest and most lovable of men, and that he was justly revered and loved by all who came into intimate relations with him. His scholarly attainments were high and varied; his preaching was distinguished by vigorous thought, clear and concise language, and a natural, unadorned style of delivery which gave an additional attractiveness and force to all that he advanced, and which secured

for him a high position as one of the most effective preachers of his Church. He died at the early age of forty-eight years, but of him it may truly be said that "he, being dead, yet speaketh," and that he still survives in the memory and aspirations of many whom he trained to walk in those paths which he himself trod throughout the brief span which made up the measure of his life.

The conspicuous events of his life were few. He was born at Nairn, in Scotland, on the 5th of June, 1832. His family emigrated to this country in June, 1838, when he was exactly six years of age, so that he may almost be regarded as a Canadian by nationality as well as by predilection. His parents settled at the village of Williamstown, in the county of Glengarry, where his father, the late Mr. John Mackerras, for some time taught school. In his early boyhood he attended his father's school. Later on he attended for several years at the Eastern District School, now known as the Cornwall Grammar School. This establishment was then presided over by Mr. Kay, a gentleman to whom his grateful pupil was accustomed to refer in after life as one of the ablest classical scholars and teachers whom this country has known. In the month of October, 1847, young Mackerras was entered at Queen's College, Kingston, where, three years later, he graduated as B.A. Both at Cornwall and at Kingston he distinguished himself alike by his industry and his quickness of apprehension, and achieved high honours in various departments of study. His intellectual supremacy was admitted by all his young competitors, and the honours which he achieved were on all hands admitted to have been fairly won. The kindness and amiability of his disposition were such that his successes aroused no feelings of envy. With many of his fellow-students he formed warm friendships which were preserved unbroken throughout his short life. In 1852, after being subjected to an examina-

tion of unusual severity, he obtained his degree of M.A., and in the following year received a license to preach from the Presbytery of Bathurst. In the early summer of 1853, he received competing calls from congregations at Darlington (Bowmanville), Scott and Uxbridge. He accepted the call from Bowmanville, and was inducted on the 20th of September of the same year. Only three months had then elapsed since he had attained his majority, but his diligent application and native precocity had given him an unusual maturity of mind, and from this time forward he gave perpetually-recurring proofs of his ability to take his place in the world as a man.

While settled at Bowmanville he took an active interest in education. He was for several years a member of the Grammar School Board, and Chairman of the Circuit Board of Public Instruction. He acted as Assistant Clerk of the Presbytery of Toronto, and Convener of the Finance Committee of the Synod. He remained at Bowmanville until he received the appointment of Professor of Classics in Queen's College, Kingston, which he held thenceforward up to the time of his death. He was practically appointed to the Classical Professorship in August, 1864, but as the title to the incumbency of the Chair was before the Court of Chancery, he was not formally appointed until April, 1866. In June, 1865, on the resignation of Dr. Snodgrass, he was elected Clerk of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. This office he held until the union, when he was appointed one of the Clerks of the General Assembly of the united Church. Towards the close of 1868, the Local Government of Ontario withdrew its annual grant of \$5,000 to the Arts Faculty of Queen's College. In this emergency a special meeting of the Synod was held in January, 1869, to decide as to the future of the institution. It was resolved

to raise from the voluntary offerings of the people a capital sum of \$100,000. Dr. Snodgrass and Professor Mackerras were entrusted with the work of providing this large amount. They undertook it and succeeded. From the time that negotiations for union commenced in 1870, he was thoroughly true to the cause, and gave up much of his time to its advancement. Though not a member of the negotiating Committee, as Dr. Snodgrass was deemed sufficient to represent the interests of the College, he took his part in the councils of the Church invariably in favour of the consummation of union. He also travelled about the country during his vacations, and aroused the enthusiasm of the adherents of the Presbyterian Church by spirit-stirring appeals for aid, which were liberally responded to. The endowment of \$100,000 was secured, and the object for which it had been raised was carried out. There can be no doubt that his exertions in this cause, and the hardships he was compelled to endure while on his travels, contributed to the shortening of his life. True, the hardships seldom consisted of anything more trying than bad roads, irregular hours and unsuitable food; but these things, which would have been trifles to a man of robust constitution, were fraught with peril to a man of feeble health, whose life was held by a frailter tenure than is that of most persons. In 1874 his health became so precarious that he was obliged to repair to England for medical advice and change of air. On that occasion his friends presented him with a flattering address and a purse of \$1,100, while the Trustees of the University gave him a year's leave of absence and paid the salary of his substitute. During his absence abroad he passed over to the continent, and spent a portion of the winter in Italy, chiefly in Rome and its neighbourhood. It will readily be conceived that the historic and other associations of that spot

—hallowed alike to the lover of art and the student of history—stirred afresh within his soul the ardent enthusiasm of earlier years. The classics had always been a favourite study with him during his educational course, and his intimacy with them was continued as a recreation long after his college days.

After his return to his native land, owing to the infirm state of his health, he was unable to take so prominent a part as formerly in matters outside his class-room, but his interest in all subjects pertaining to his professorship never waned, and down to the time of his death he exerted himself in promoting various good works. As President of the Elocution Association in connection with the College, he laboured ardently and successfully to improve the public reading and speaking of the students. For the last eleven years of his life he was an active member of the Temporalities Board of the late Synod of the Church of Scotland.

He was married on August 16th, 1865, to Margaret, eldest daughter of Judge Dennistoun, of Peterboro', by whom he left three children. During the winter of 1877-8 his health, which had been partially recruited by his sojourn abroad, again gave way. He was first compelled to depute the more laborious of his duties to others, and afterwards to relinquish them altogether. It soon became apparent to his friends and to himself that his days were numbered. He awaited the consummation with manly fortitude, and with a firm reliance upon the Divine goodness. His death took place at the residence of his father-in-law, on Friday, January 9th, 1880. His remains were forwarded to Kingston, where he was interred in Cataraqui Cemetery on Monday, the 12th. His aged mother died at Kingston on the day previous, and was interred at the same time as her son. She had attained the great age of ninety years.

## THE HON. SIR WILLIAM BUELL RICHARDS.

THE ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Dominion is descended from an English family which emigrated from Staffordshire to Norwalk, Connecticut, during the early part of the eighteenth century, and remained there until the breaking out of the War of the Revolution in 1775. Early in the present century, Stephen Richards, father of the ex-Chief Justice, resided in Otsego County, in the State of New York, whence he removed, in 1808 or 1809, to Brockville, in Upper Canada. Soon after settling in this Province he married Miss Phoebe Buell, a daughter of the late William Buell, of Brockville. Mr. Buell was a distinguished U. E. Loyalist who came over to this country immediately after the close of the Revolutionary War, and who subsequently took an active part in the politics and public affairs of his District. Stephen Richards, who survived till the year 1863, was a man highly respected for his strong common sense and the sterling uprightness of his character. He never entered political life, but his political influence in the Johnstown District—then one of the most important Districts in the Province—was considerable, and was always exerted on the Liberal side. He had three sons, all of whom still survive, and all of whom have risen to positions of wealth and influence in the State. The eldest is the subject of the present sketch. Stephen, the second son, has long been known as an eminent

lawyer, carrying on business in Toronto. He has also made a figure in political life, having held the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Coalition Government formed immediately after Confederation under the leadership of the late Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald. The third son, the Hon. Albert Norton Richards, is the present Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, and a sketch of his career will be found elsewhere in these pages. They all became Queen's Counsel.

William Buell Richards was born at Brockville, on the 2nd of May, 1815. He received his education at the famous Johnstown District Grammar School, in his native town; and subsequently at Potsdam Academy, in the State of New York. He early chose the law as his profession in life, and spent the first years of his clerkship in the office of Andrew Norton Buell, who then practised the legal profession in Brockville, and who subsequently became Master of the Court of Chancery for Upper Canada. Before his studies had been completed, young Richards transferred his services from the office of Mr. Buell to that of the late Mr. George Malloch, who subsequently became Judge of the County Court of the United Counties of Leeds and Grenville. After being called to the Bar, in Michaelmas Term, 1837, he entered into partnership with Mr. Malloch, under the style of Malloch & Richards. Under this style the busi-



Ap<sup>th</sup> B Richards  
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ness was carried on until the senior partner's elevation to the Bench, when Mr. Richards formed a partnership with his old principal, Mr. Buell, who still survives, and who is the oldest barrister now living in this Province.

Mr. Richards was early identified with the Reform Party in politics, and sympathized with the efforts of that Party in its struggle with Sir Charles Metcalfe on the question of Responsible Government. In 1844 he was nominated as a candidate for the representation of the county of Leeds in the Legislative Assembly, but retired in favour of his maternal uncle, the above-named Mr. William Buell, who was defeated at the ensuing election by the late Mr. Ogle R. Gowan. At the general election in January, 1848, being again solicited, Mr. Richards accepted the Reform nomination, and was elected for the county of Leeds over Mr. Gowan by a majority of sixty, the vote standing—for Richards 984, for Gowan 924. He took his seat as a supporter of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration. His support of that Administration was active and zealous, all through that Parliament, and he was pronounced by Mr. Lafontaine to be the most logical thinker and debater who then sat in the Assembly. In 1849 he was chosen a Bencher of the Law Society of Upper Canada. In 1850 he was created a Q.C., and he subsequently received a patent of precedence next after Attorney-General Baldwin. He continued to act with the existing Government until 1851, when both the leaders retired from public life. Upon the formation of the succeeding Government under Messrs. Hincks and Morin, he took office as Attorney-General, and was re-elected for Leeds in 1851 at the general election, increasing his majority over Mr. Gowan to 133; the vote standing—for Richards, 1,205; for Gowan, 1,072. He continued to fill the position of Attorney-General until the death of the Hon. Robert Baldwin Sullivan, one of the Puisné Judges

of the Court of Common Pleas, in 1853. Mr. Richards was then appointed to the vacant judgeship. Owing to his comparative youth and inexperience, his appointment to the Judicial Bench at this time was the subject of much hostile criticism on the part of his political opponents. This criticism was soon proved to have been wholly without justification. Mr. Richards possesses precisely the qualifications requisite for the exercise of judicial functions, and Mr. Lafontaine's dictum soon found acceptance among the legal profession and the country at large. His career at the Bar was neither brilliant nor pretentious, but his perceptions were remarkably keen, and his judgment singularly mature for his years. On the Bench these qualifications were rendered still more conspicuous, and his decisions have always commanded the highest respect of both Bench and Bar. On the retirement of Sir John Beverley Robinson from the position of Chief Justice of Upper Canada, in 1862, he was succeeded by the Hon. Archibald McLean, who was in turn succeeded by Mr. Draper, leaving the Chief Justiceship of the Court of Common Pleas vacant. Mr. Richards was appointed to that position on the 22nd of July, 1863. When Mr. Draper was appointed President of the Court of Error and Appeal, in 1868, Mr. Richards was promoted to the Chief Justiceship of the Province, which office he held up to the 8th of October, 1875, when he was appointed the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Dominion. This appointment rendered it necessary that he should remove from Toronto—where he had resided for more than a quarter of a century—to Ottawa; a clause in the Act instituting the Supreme Court requiring the judges of that Court to reside within three miles of the capital. During the previous year he had been appointed Arbitrator on behalf of the Province of Ontario for the settlement of the North-Western Boundary;

a position which he resigned in 1876. During Lord Dufferin's absence from Ottawa on the occasion of his visit to British Columbia in the year last-named, Chief Justice Richards was Deputy Governor, and administered as such the affairs of State. He again acted in the capacity of Deputy Governor in 1878, when (on the 7th of February) he opened the last session of the Third Parliament of Canada. In the month of October, 1877, he received the honour of knighthood, which was at the same time conferred upon Chief Justice Dorion, of Quebec.

In 1879, during an absence in Europe for the benefit of his health, Chief Justice Richards resigned his position on the Bench of the Supreme Court, and retired to private life. He had served his country in a judicial capacity with marked ability for a consecutive period of twenty-five years, and

was fully entitled to rest from his arduous labours.

He married in 1846, Miss Deborah Catherine Muirhead, a daughter of Mr. John Muirhead, of Niagara, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Colonel John Butler, who during the American War of Independence raised and commanded the regiment of "Rangers" which goes by his name. After the war had been brought to a close, a great many of the famous "Butler's Rangers," whose achievements occupy so large a space in Revolutionary annals, settled on the Niagara peninsula. Mr. Muirhead's grandfather was one of the earliest to arrive, and his descendants are still to be found there in considerable numbers. Mrs. Richards died in 1869, leaving a family of five children, consisting of three sons and two daughters.



## MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

"'Tis in the prime of summer-time, an evening calm  
and cool,

When certain bright-eyed English boys come  
bounding out of school."

THE school is at Greenwich, six miles below London Bridge, and is kept by the Reverend Samuel Swinden. Date, some time in the month of June, 1741. The boys are of all ages, from five years upwards, and most of them are sons of military and naval officers resident in the neighbourhood. One of them, a sturdy little urchin of seven years, is a son of the Treasurer of the great Marine Hospital down by the river's bank. He is destined by his father for the legal profession, but has already begun to show his contempt for the law by breaking His Majesty's peace several times in the course of every week. He has been at school only a few months, and hitherto he has not displayed much aptitude for his lessons; but he has distinguished himself in numberless hand-to-hand engagements with his fellow-scholars, and has gained the reputation of being, for a youngster of his inches, tremendously heavy about the fist. On this particular evening the school has been dismissed barely five minutes before the pugnacious little rascal contrives to get into an altercation with a lad several years his senior. As to the precise nature of the *casus belli*, history and tradition are alike silent. The pair adjourn to a secluded part of the play-ground to settle their differences *à la*

Dogginson, "by fighting it out with their fists." The other boys follow, as a matter of course, to see fair play. It is to be regretted that history has not furnished sufficient data to enable us to describe the passage of arms very minutely. Suffice it is to say that after a few rounds have been fought, it becomes apparent to all the spectators that Master Jackey Jervis has at last found his match. His opponent, a great hulking fellow without any forehead, who has arms like sledge-hammers, and who has hitherto found it impossible to learn the multiplication table, takes all Master Jackey's blows with seeming nonchalance, and ever and anon puts in a tremendous rejoinder which stretches the Treasurer's son upon the sward. When the contest has gone on after this fashion for some time the seconds propose that, as there has been a sufficient effusion of blood to vindicate the courage of both the combatants, there may well be a cessation of hostilities. The big fellow stolidly remarks that it is all one to him; but Master Jackey spurns the proposal with lofty contempt. The contest is renewed; another round is fought, and the lighter weight once more bites the grass. Before he can rise to resume the fray, the company receives an accession in the person of a tall, slabsided, awkwardly-made youth, who impetuously elbows the others aside, and makes his way to the centre of the fistic arena. The newcomer is somewhat older than any of the

other boys, and is apparently verging towards manhood. His appearance is somewhat peculiar. The most partial admirer could hardly pronounce him handsome. Apart from his ungainly build, he has fiery red hair, high, prominent cheek bones, a receding forehead, and a proboscis of the kind which the French call a nose in the air. There is a set, decisive expression about his mouth which betokens an indomitable will; and a flash in his sparkling blue eyes bears witness that he has an ominous temper of his own. But, though his personal appearance is by no means that of an Adonis, the brightness of his complexion and a certain bold frankness of facial expression preserve him from absolute ugliness. Those who know him, moreover, are aware that he possesses qualities which more than redeem his plainness of feature. Though by no means of a robust constitution, he is endowed with unflinching courage. He has a high sense of honour, and is the repository of the secrets of nearly every boy in the school. He is a diligent student, and though somewhat vain of his superior knowledge, is ever ready to assist those of his fellow-pupils who are anxious to learn. Add to all this that he is the senior boy of the school; that, though a stern disciplinarian, he is generous, impartial, and a protector of the weak; and it will readily be understood that he is popular both with master and scholars. Unnecessary to say that there is no more fighting, for the senior boy has forbidden it, and he is not one who tolerates any opposition to his authority. Two minutes suffice to quell the disturbance; and the belligerents shake hands and march off to their respective homes. Little Jackey, however, has been rather severely handled in the encounter, and does not put in an appearance for several days, when the preceptor reads him a lecture before the whole school on the ill effects resulting from little boys permitting their angry passions to rise.

It is to be presumed that the lecture was not taken very seriously to heart, for Master Jervis, during the following seventy years, was many times conspicuous for little ebullitions of temper. He never took kindly to his father's scheme to make a lawyer of him. About three years subsequent to the event just recorded he ran away to sea, and began that glorious maritime career, the details of which form an important chapter in the history of England. For Master Jackey Jervis lived to take part in more deadly encounters than the one in the play-ground at Greenwich, and to take high rank among the naval heroes of Great Britain. After valiantly fighting the battles of his country in both hemispheres, and rising to the rank of Admiral, he achieved that signal victory over the Spanish fleet which procured for him the Earldom of St. Vincent. Nor is the low-browed lad who was his opponent altogether unknown to fame. His name was Thomas Brett, and he lived to do good service in various capacities under Nelson and Collingwood. But the fame of the senior boy—the florid-complexioned youth with the aspiring nose—is more dear to Canadians of British blood than is that of either of his school-fellows; for his name was James Wolfe.

His career was short, and was compressed within a space of less than thirty-four years. It terminated in the moment of victory on the Plains of Abraham. But, brief as was his earthly span, few lives of any length have accomplished so much; and his death was so glorious that it should scarcely have been regretted, even by his nearest and dearest. What he *did* is known to us. What he might have done, if his life had been spared, can only be conjectured; but he possessed all the qualifications of a great military commander, and needed but time and opportunity for their development. Of these, so long as they were vouchsafed to him, no man knew bet-

ter how to take advantage; and it is not extravagant to believe that had he lived to the age of Marlborough or Wellington, he would have won a place in history not less distinguished than theirs.

He was born at "the Vicarage," in the little village of Westerham, Kent, on the 2nd of January, 1726.\* His father, Colonel Edward Wolfe, was an officer in the English army, who subsequently rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General. His mother was Henrietta, daughter of Edward Thompson, of Marsden, Yorkshire. James was their first-born, and was the only member of the family destined to attain high distinction. The only other offspring of the marriage was a younger son called Edward, after his father, who was born about a year after the birth of James, and who did not live to reach manhood. Edward entered the army while still a mere lad, and fought in the battle of Dettingen, on the 16th of June, 1743. He died in October of the following year, of consumption, accelerated by the hardships incidental to a campaigning life.

But little is known of the childhood of the two brothers. Both of them seem to have been of rather frail constitutions, and the precarious state of their health is said to have caused their parents much anxiety. As they grew up to youth they appear to have become somewhat more healthful, though still far from robust. Their earliest scholastic attainments were received at the hands of a Mr. Lawrence, who kept a small school in their native village. Their father

was almost always on active service with his regiment, and the boys saw very little of him. About 1737 the family removed from Westerham to Greenwich, where the children at once began to attend Mr. Swinden's school. The episode described in the opening paragraph is about the only anecdote which has been preserved of their connection with that institution, and for it we are indebted, not to any life of Wolfe, but to an old history of Greenwich. Early in November, 1741, within five months after the happening of the incident above described, Master James received his first commission, appointing him Second Lieutenant in his father's regiment of Marines; but there is no trace of his ever having served under it. He shortly afterwards exchanged into the Line, and his first active service was in the capacity of Ensign of the Twelfth, or Colonel Duroure's Regiment of Foot. The exchange took place early in 1742, and in April of that year he embarked with his regiment for Flanders. The first of his letters which has been preserved is written to his mother from Ghent, and is dated August 27th, 1742. His brother Edward followed him to the Continent during the same year, and died, as we have seen, in October, 1744. James's aptitude for the military profession soon became apparent to his superior officers, and shortly after the completion of his seventeenth year we find him filling the important post of Adjutant. He, as well as his brother, took part in the battle of Dettingen, on the 16th of June, and, though they were placed in the middle of the first line, they both escaped without a scar. A few days afterwards, James, in consequence of the talent for command which he had already displayed, was promoted to a lieutenancy, and on the 3rd of June, 1744, he received a captain's commission in the Fourth or King's Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-General Barrell. His life for some

\* Authorities are all but unanimous in placing this date a year later *i.e.*, on the 2nd of January, 1727. Even the standard biography of Wolfe (Wright's) repeats the error. That it is an error becomes apparent when we learn that he was baptized at twenty days old, and that the parish register shows this ceremony to have taken place on the 11th of January, 1726—the latter date being Old Style, equivalent to January 22nd, New Style. The correct date is further confirmed by the entry in the register of the baptism of his brother, Edward, who was about a year younger, and who was baptized on the 10th of January, 1727.

months thereafter was one of uninterrupted campaigning, but it contained no incident necessary to be remarked upon. Next year, Great Britain was compelled to withdraw her forces from Flanders in order to suppress the Jacobite rebellion in Scotland, known as the "Rising of the Forty-Five." Early in June, Wolfe was commissioned a Brigade-Major, and almost immediately afterward he returned to England. He was at once despatched northward to Newcastle, and fought at Falkirk and Culloden, in both of which engagements his regiment suffered severely, though he himself escaped un wounded.

The Anti-Jacobin *Review* for 1802 contains an anecdote which, though probably apocryphal, may as well be inserted here. It is said that when Wolfe was riding over the field of Culloden with the Duke of Cumberland they observed a Highlander, who, although severely wounded, was able to sit up, and who, leaning on his arm, seemed to smile defiance upon them. "Wolfe," said the Duke, "shoot me that Highland scoundrel, who thus dares to look on us with such insolence." To which Wolfe replied: "My commission is at your Royal Highness's disposal, but I can never consent to become an *executioner*." From this day forward, it is said, Wolfe visibly declined in the favour of the Commander-in-Chief. It is manifestly impossible to disprove such a story as this; but it is an undoubted fact that Wolfe did *not* decline in the Duke's favour after the battle of Culloden, and as no authorities are cited in support of the anecdote, it is not unreasonable to infer that the whole is fictitious. For some months after the "dark day of Culloden," Wolfe remained in the Highlands, but we have no information as to how he spent his time there. He passed a part of the following winter in London, where he took up his quarters with his parents, who then lived in their town house in

Old Burlington street. During his stay in the metropolis at this time he must frequently have passed through Temple Bar. If so, he doubtless had the grim satisfaction of seeing the heads of some of his former opponents, the Highland rebels, grinning at passers-by from the spikes over the gateway.

In January, 1747, he again set out for the Continent with the British reinforcements for the Netherlands. At the battle of Laffeldt, fought on the 2nd of July, he received a slight wound, and was publicly thanked by the Commander-in-Chief for his distinguished services. We do not find that he took part in any other active engagement at this time, and we hear no more of his wound. We next find him in London, where he seems to have spent the greater part of the winter of 1747-8. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed soon after, whereby peace was restored to Europe.

About this time Wolfe had his first experience of the tender passion, the object being Miss Lawson, one of the maids of honour to the Princess of Wales. His suit, however, was disapproved of by his parents, and does not appear to have been particularly acceptable to the young lady herself, for, after a good deal of delay, she rejected his offer of his hand. She died unmarried in March, 1759—the same year which witnessed the death of her former admirer. Wolfe was not precisely the kind of material of which despairing lovers are made, and, beyond a few expressions of regret, he does not seem to have taken the rejection very deeply to heart. On the 5th of January, 1749, he was gazetted as Major of the 20th Regiment, stationed in Scotland, whither he repaired soon after. His promotion to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the same regiment followed fifteen months later, and the next three-years were for the most part spent with his regiment in the Highlands, which were gradually recovering from

the effects of the rebellion. Then came a journey to Paris, where he remained several months, and where he was presented to the King, Louis XV., and to Madame de Pompadour. The following two or three years of his life were not marked by any incident of special importance.

In 1757, in consequence of the recommencement of hostilities with France, British forces, under Sir John Mordaunt, were despatched to attack Rochefort, and Wolfe accompanied the expedition as Quarter-master-General. This expedition was destined to exercise an important influence upon his future career. He had hitherto been known simply as a brave and efficient officer, but it was not commonly supposed, even by his intimate friends, that he was endowed with an original military genius of high order. The time had arrived when the world was to form a more accurate estimate of him. Sir John Mordaunt, who was placed in command of the land forces for the Rochefort expedition, was totally unfit for so responsible a post. Sir Edward Hawke, who commanded the fleet, did good service both before and after that time; but this expedition was one for which he does not appear to have been suited. The incapacity of both the commanders soon began to be plainly apparent; and Wolfe, a soldier by nature as well as by training, determined to show them how the siege of Rochefort should be conducted. While they were wasting time in laying and abandoning immature plans, and in suggesting this, that and the other impracticable scheme, he, with Sir John's sanction, quietly landed on the island at one o'clock in the morning, and made his observations. He saw a small post on the promontory of Fouras, which it was evident must be taken before Rochefort could be besieged with success. He further noted the most favourable point for landing the troops. Having matured his scheme, he returned and made his report to Sir John

and Sir Edward, and urgently recommended that his suggestions be acted upon. Sir Edward approved of the plan, but Sir John thought proper to call a Council of War, which, after a long session, decided that such an attempt was neither advisable nor practicable. The lucky moment was lost, and the expedition returned to England without having accomplished anything. The English people had confidently counted on the success of the expedition, and were proportionately disappointed. A committee of inquiry was summoned, and Sir John Mordaunt was tried by court-martial. He was acquitted; but Pitt, who was at the head of the Government, after carefully mastering the evidence given by Wolfe, came to the conclusion that the Quarter-master was an extraordinary young man, and that if his advice had been followed there would have been a very different result from the expedition. The youth who had the intrepidity to take the initiatory observations, and who had the military skill to concoct the plan of attack, was evidently a person whose services it might be worth while to turn to account. At no period in the history of England had there been a greater scarcity of capable military leaders, and not often had capable leaders been more urgently needed. This young Wolfe was evidently an original military genius, and must be pushed forward. He was immediately raised to the rank of Colonel, and was soon to receive still higher promotion.

The incompetency of the superior officers in the British army had of late become painfully manifest on both sides of the Atlantic. The American campaign of 1757 was even more disastrous than were the British operations in Europe. Lord Loudoun, who had been despatched to America in the preceding year, to direct the campaign against the French, had accomplished nothing; and the enemy, under Montcalm, were

uniformly successful in their operations. In August occurred the terrible massacre at Fort William Henry. Other massacres followed, and the colonists were literally panic-stricken. The border settlements were laid waste, the houses and property of the inhabitants destroyed, and the colonists themselves scalped and murdered by the French and their Indian allies. French spies gained early intelligence of every movement contemplated by the British, and were thus, in many cases, the means of rendering those movements abortive. The grand British scheme of the year, however, was the reduction of Louisburg, in furtherance of which an armament such as had never before been collected in the British Colonies assembled at Halifax. This armament consisted of about 12,000 troops, nineteen vessels of war, and a considerable number of smaller craft. The troops were embarked early in August, with the ostensible object of capturing Louisburg; but Lord Loudoun, learning that the French anticipated the attack, and were prepared to oppose it, abandoned the idea. He landed a part of the forces on the coast of Nova Scotia, and returned with the rest to New York. A fleet specially sent out from Great Britain, under the command of Admiral Holborne, sailed for Cape Breton about the same time; but the sight of the French ships in Louisburg harbour proved too much for the Admiral's nerves, and he steered for Halifax. Here he was reinforced by four men-of-war, and the fleet again set sail for Louisburg. The French fleet remained under the shelter of the batteries in the harbour, and would not be coaxed out. Holborne cruised about the coast until late in the autumn, when his fleet was dispersed and almost destroyed by a succession of violent storms. Considering that, under the circumstances, he had done enough for his country for that time, he returned to England with the shattered remains of his fleet.

Such was the position of affairs at the close of the year 1757. Public indignation was aroused by the incompetency and supineness of the military and naval commanders, and it became apparent either that more efficient leaders must be found or that all operations in America must be abandoned. The new Ministry, with Pitt at its head, proved equal to the occasion. Lord Loudoun was recalled and General Abercromby appointed in his stead. The Great Commoner formed his plans for next year's campaign, which included the reduction of Fort Duquesne, Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point. The expedition against Louisburg required a conjoint naval and military armament. The naval command was assigned to Admiral Boscawen, and the military forces to Colonel Amherst, who was advanced to the rank of Major-General. With the latter was associated Wolfe, Whitmore, and Lawrence, as Brigadier-Generals. Operations against Crown Point and Ticonderoga were entrusted to General Abercromby and Lord Howe. Those against Fort Duquesne were conducted by General Forbes. The expedition against Fort Duquesne was completely successful, but Abercromby proved himself as inefficient as his predecessor in office, Lord Loudoun. Howe, who was a thoroughly capable officer, was killed at Ticonderoga on the 6th of July, before his powers could be brought into play. The expedition under Abercromby proved an utter failure. Not so the expedition against Louisburg, the capture of which was the most important event of the year. Being regarded as the key to the St. Lawrence, it was a strongly fortified place. A fortress had been erected there at a cost of 30,000,000 livres. The garrison was defended by Chevalier de Drucourt, with 3,400 troops and about 700 Indians; while two frigates and six line-of-battle ships guarded the harbour, the entrance to which was blocked by three sunken frigates.

Boscawen's fleet crossed the Atlantic, and in due course laid siege to Louisburg. Wolfe led the left division of attack, which may be said to have borne the brunt of the entire siege. A landing was effected on the 8th of June, and during the following seven weeks the operations were almost entirely conducted by Wolfe, to whose skill and judgment their success is mainly to be attributed. The garrison surrendered on the 26th of July, and, together with sailors and marines, amounting collectively to 5,637 men, were carried to England as prisoners of war. Fifteen thousand stand of arms and a great quantity of military stores became the property of the victors; and a glorious array of captured colours were sent to England, where they were carried in solemn procession through the principal thoroughfares, and finally placed in St. Paul's Cathedral. The town of Louisburg was reduced to a heap of ruins. The inhabitants were sent to France in English ships, and the fortifications were soon after demolished. A few fishermen's huts are all the dwellings to be found on the site at the present day.

From the moment when the news of the fall of Louisburg reached England, the eyes of the entire nation were turned upon Pitt and Wolfe, who jointly shared the popular enthusiasm. The lustre of the British arms—tarnished by so many reverses—began to shine with restored brilliancy, and the nation rose almost as one man to do honour to the brave young officer whose prowess and courage had been so signally displayed in its behalf. He returned to England towards the close of the year, and at once rejoined his regiment. His health had suffered a good deal during the campaign in America, but this did not prevent his offering his services to Pitt for the forthcoming campaign in the St. Lawrence. His offer was accepted, and he was rewarded with the rank of Major-General. To him was assigned the command of the land forces;

the naval armament being entrusted to Admiral Saunders.

Before starting on this, his final expedition, he became a suitor to Miss Katherine Lowther, sister to Sir James Lowther, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale. Her father had formerly been Governor of Barbadoes, and died in 1745. We have no means of ascertaining when Wolfe first formed the acquaintance of this lady, but there is no allusion to her in any of his letters written previous to this time, and it is probable that until his return from America there had been no love passages between them. His courtship in this instance was successful. What young lady of generous impulses would be likely to refuse the hand of the brave hero of Louisburg, whose praises were in everybody's mouth, and who was the favourite of the greatest statesman that ever swayed the destinies of Great Britain? His suit was accepted, and he carried the lady's portrait with him across the seas, wearing it next his heart until the evening before his death.

Having got together a staff of officers to his liking, he embarked at Spithead on the 17th of February, 1759, and reached Halifax on the 30th of April following. Louisburg harbour was not clear of ice until about the middle of May, when the fleet sailed thither. During his stay at Louisburg Wolfe received intelligence of the death of his father, who died at Blackheath on the 26th of March, in the 75th year of his age. The fleet left Louisburg early in June, and proceeded to the St. Lawrence. Wolfe, in due course, landed on the Isle of Orleans, just below Quebec, where the troops, to the number of 8,000, were landed without opposition, on the morning of the 27th of June. Having seen his army encamped, Wolfe set out, accompanied by his Chief Engineer and an escort, to reconnoitre the enemy's position. Upon reaching the western point of the island, he was not long in perceiving that

Quebec would not fall without a struggle. The prospect, sufficiently grand at any time, was rendered more than ordinarily impressive by the warlike preparations to be seen on every hand. In front, on the summit of Cape Diamond, rose the lofty citadel, with the flag of France fluttering in the breeze. Above, all the way to Cape Rouge, every landing-place bristled with well-guarded encampments. Below, on the elevated range extending from the mouth of the River St. Charles to the mouth of the Montmorenci—a distance of eight miles—was a still more imposing array. Every assailable point was efficiently guarded by a redoubt. A bridge, protected by *têtes de pont*, spanned the St. Charles, and formed a ready means of communication between the garrison and the troops on the opposite side of the river. The mouth of the stream, just below the citadel, was closed by a boom, and was further defended by stranded frigates. The natural advantages of the situation had been enhanced by the highest military skill, and there was not a vulnerable point to be seen anywhere. The enemy's forces, 12,000 strong, composed of French regulars, Canadian militia, and a few Indians, were under the direction of the Marquis de Montcalm, one of the most consummate generals of the age. The position was one which might well have been pronounced impregnable, and Wolfe could hardly have been censured if he had then and there abandoned all hope of success.

But there are some men whom no difficulties can discourage, and whom no danger can daunt. Such a man was the intrepid young Major-General who had been sent out by Pitt to sound the death-note of French Dominion in Canada. With a shattered constitution, and a frame already in an advanced stage of consumption, the indomitable young hero commenced the first moves in that desperate game which he was finally destined to win at the cost of his own life.

The siege lasted nearly three months, during all of which time, consumed by organic disease, and worn out by long and uninterrupted service, his dauntless resolution never wholly failed him. For weeks and weeks his eagle eye, ever on the alert to spy out a vulnerable point in that seemingly immaculate coat-of-mail, scanned the redoubts from Cape Rouge to the Montmorenci. There was no fool-hardiness—no wilful throwing away of life—but there was much to be dared, and much to be left to mere chance. Whenever there seemed to be any, even the slightest, prospect of effecting an opening, that chance was greedily seized and eagerly acted upon. Contemplated in the light of the grand result, we are lost in amazement at the indomitable soul of that frail young invalid who, undismayed by repeated defeat, by conflicting counsels, and by the effect of continued exposure upon his enfeebled frame, steadfastly persevered in his course until the goal was won. For British dominion in Canada was established not by bravery alone. Montcalm's veteran troops were as brave as those to which they were opposed. Quebec was won by patience, by unceasing vigilance, by military skill, and by an inward conviction in the breast of the English commander that "All things are possible to him who will but do his duty, and who knoweth not when he is beaten." The time was one which called for action, and no time was lost in useless deliberation. Wolfe's plan of attack was soon formed, and he at once proceeded to carry it out. The soldiers were directed to hold themselves in readiness either to march or fight at the shortest notice. A little before midnight on the 28th—about thirty hours after the forces had been landed—the sentinel on the western point of the island perceived certain black objects in the river which were slowly moving towards the land where he stood. He had no sooner aroused his companions than a tremendous discharge of artillery



took place. The force immediately turned out and prepared for battle, but no enemy being visible, it was necessary to wait for daylight. It then appeared that the French commander had despatched eight fire-ships and rafts, freighted with explosives, towards the British fleet in the river. These explosives had been launched from the shore in the darkness, but had been lighted prematurely, and failed to accomplish anything beyond a grand display of fireworks. Wolfe proceeded with his plans, and on the 30th he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, calling upon them to transfer their allegiance, and enjoining upon them that they should at least preserve a strict neutrality. Monckton, one of Wolfe's Brigadier-Generals, then crossed over the arm of the river with a strong detachment, took possession of Point Levi, threw up entrenchments, and planted batteries along the southern shore. In effecting this manoeuvre a body of 1,200 Canadians were dislodged and repulsed, and the British gained an advantageous position for attacking the citadel. Monckton held the position in spite of all Montcalm's efforts to dislodge him, and on the 13th of July the batteries opened fire from here upon the citadel. The fleet in the river also opened fire upon the French lines on the northern shore, between Quebec and the Falls of Montmorenci, and under cover of the fire Wolfe landed on the eastern bank of the Montmorenci River, and entrenched his position there. The shells from the batteries at Point Levi set fire to the Upper Town of Quebec, whereby the great Cathedral and many other buildings were destroyed. Hostilities were renewed day by day, and there was great destruction both of property and of human life; but after weeks of toilsome operations the capture of Quebec seemed as far off as when the British fleet first arrived in the St. Lawrence. On the night of the 28th of July, the French made a second attempt to destroy the Eng-

lish fleet with fire-rafts, but the sailors grappled the rafts before they could reach the fleet, and quietly towed them ashore.

Meanwhile, Wolfe's efforts to decoy Montcalm into emerging from his fastnesses and entering into a general engagement were unceasing; but the French General was not to be tempted. Several British men-of-war sailed up the St. Lawrence, past the city, and got into the upper river. Wolfe was thus enabled to reconnoitre the country above, the bombardment of the citadel being kept up almost without intermission. On the 31st, Wolfe, from his camp near the mouth of the Montmorenci, made a formidable attack upon the French on the other side of the (Montmorenci) River, near Beaufort. The attack was unsuccessful, and the British were compelled to retire with considerable loss. Attempts to dislodge the French were made at all points along the river; but owing to their advantageous position all such attempts were fruitless, and as the weeks passed by without securing any decisive advantage to his arms, Wolfe's anxiety became so great as to bring on a slow fever, which for some days confined him to his bed. As soon as he was able to drag himself thence he called his chief officers together and submitted to them several new methods of attack. Most of the officers were of opinion that the attack should be made above the city, rather than below. Wolfe coincided in this view, and on the 3rd of September transferred his own camp to Point Levi. Soon afterwards a narrow path, scarcely wide enough for two men to march abreast, was discovered on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, leading up the cliffs, about two miles above the city. The spot was known as L'Anse du Foulon, but has since been known by the English name of Wolfe's Cove. Wolfe determined to land his forces here, and under cover of night to ascend to the heights above. The heights once reached, it was probable that Mont-

calm might hazard a battle. Should he decline to do so, the British troops would at any rate have gained an advantageous point for a fresh attack upon the citadel.

Having determined upon this line of proceeding, preparations were at once set on foot for carrying it out. An important point was to keep the French in ignorance of the design, and if possible to mislead them as to the spot where it was proposed to make the attack. With this view, soundings were made in the river opposite Beauport, between the mouth of the St. Charles and the Falls of Montmorenci, as though with the intention of effecting a landing there. The ruse was successful, and Montcalm's attention was directed to this spot as the probable point which he would soon have to defend. He hurried down to the entrenchments at Beauport, and made preparations to oppose the British in their anticipated attempt to land.

On the evening of the 12th of September several of the heaviest vessels of the British fleet anchored near Beauport. Boats were lowered, and were soon filled with men, as though it were intended to effect a landing forthwith. Montcalm's attention having been thus concentrated upon this point, the smaller vessels sailed up the river past Cape Diamond, and joined the squadron under Admiral Holmes, which lay near Cape Rouge. The forces on the south bank of the St. Lawrence simultaneously advanced up the shore from Point Levi, and having arrived opposite the squadron, were quietly taken on board, where they awaited further orders. Wolfe, with the germs of a hectic fever still rankling in his blood, was nevertheless actively engaged in reconnoitring the position both on the river and on land. And now we again meet for a few moments with our old friend, Mr. John Jervis. Eighteen years have passed over his head since we last saw him in the playground at Greenwich. He is now commander of the *Porcu-*

*pine*, one of the sloops of war in the St. Lawrence. A few weeks before this time he had rendered an essential service to his old school-fellow, James Wolfe. One of the General's passages up the river had been made in the *Porcupine*, and in passing the batteries of the Lower Town of Quebec, the wind had died away, and the vessel had been driven by the current towards the northern shore. A cannonade was at once opened upon the vessel from the French batteries, and Wolfe would soon have been in the hands of the enemy. Jervis proved equal to the occasion. His word of command rang out to lower the ship's boats. The command was at once obeyed, and the crew soon towed the *Porcupine* out of danger. The memory of this event may perhaps have had something to do with Wolfe's conduct towards his old friend on the evening of this 12th of September. The General sent for young Jervis, and had a conversation with him upon various private matters. He expressed his conviction that he would not survive the impending battle, and taking Miss Lowther's picture from his bosom, he delivered it to Jervis. "If I fall," he said, "let it be given to her with my best love." Jervis, of course, promised compliance, and the somewhat pupils of Mr. Swindon bade each other a last farewell.

The hours intervening between this conference and midnight were chiefly spent by the General in adding a codicil to his will, and in making a final inspection of arrangements for the proposed landing at L'Anse du Foulon. By this time all his preparations for the coming struggle had been made, and he awaited the march of events with composure. The night was calm and beautiful, and as he passed from ship to ship he commented to the officers on the contrast between the quietness which reigned supreme, and the resonant roar of battle which would almost certainly be heard there on the morrow. As he quietly moved about

he was heard repeating in a low tone several stanzas of Gray's "Elegy." One of these stanzas he repeated several times:

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,  
Await alike th' inevitable hour:  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

The occasion was a solemn one, and he doubtless felt that, for him, the last line had a special significance at that time. Who shall say what other thoughts filled his breast on that last evening of his life? Perchance he thought of his mother, of his dead father and brother, and of her who was pledged to share his name and fame. Let us hope that, in that solemn hour, with the forebodings of his coming doom strong upon him, he was able to look back upon his life with a consciousness that he had served his God with at least some measure of the zeal which he had ever been wont to display in the service of his country. He continued to repeat the beautiful lines of the poet, down to the concluding words of the epitaph. Then after a brief pause, turning to his officers:—"Gentlemen," he said, "I would rather be the author of that piece than take Quebec to-morrow."\*

But not much time could be given to sentiment. A little after midnight Wolfe embarked a strong detachment of forces in flat-bottomed boats, and, placing himself at their head, quietly glided down the river to L'Anse du Foulon. The spot was soon reached, and the landing was effected in safety. The cliff here rises almost perpen-

dicularly to a height of 350 feet, and one of the soldiers was heard to remark that going up there would be like going up the side of a house. No time was lost, and the ascent of the ravine was at once begun. The enemy had a line of sentinels all along the top of the cliff, and one of the sentries was stationed at the precise spot where the British would emerge on the summit. When those who were in the van of ascent had reached a point about half way up the acclivity, the sentry's attention was aroused by the noise of scrambling that was necessarily made by the British soldiers. Calling "*Qui vive!*" down the cliff, he was answered in French, and, suspecting nothing amiss, he proceeded on his rounds. Meanwhile the British had not waited to ascend two abreast, but were scrambling up as best they could. Seizing hold of bushes, roots, and projections of rock, they rapidly scaled the steep sides of the cliff, and were soon within a few yards of the top. About a hundred of them made the ascent at a point a few yards farther east than the ravine, and directly above their heads was a sentry-post with five or six French soldiers, who, hearing the noise, began to peer down the side of the cliff. Darkness prevented their seeing much, but the roots and bushes seemed all alive, and firing a volley down at random, they took to their heels and fled. The British vigorously pushed their way up, and were soon on level ground. Long before daylight 4,828 British troops stood upon the Heights of Abraham, commanding the city from the west. One solitary cannon had been toilsomely dragged up the ravine. It was destined to do good service against the French troops, and to carry a message of death to their commander, ere many hours had passed.

The decisive moment was at hand. By this time Wolfe felt certain that the French General would now emerge from his entrenchments and fight. His conviction

\* There is a story to the effect that Wolfe, on this night, composed the well-known song which bears his name, commencing: "How stands the glass around?" The story is altogether without foundation, the song having been written and published long before General Wolfe was born. The poetical talent of the family seems to have been confined to the Irish branch, one of the members whereof, the Rev. Charles Wolfe, subsequently won immortality by a single short poem, "The Burial of Sir John Moore."

proved to be well founded. About six o'clock in the morning, Montcalm, who had been vigilantly watching during the night for an attack at Beauport, received the intelligence of Wolfe's manœuvre. Hastening across the St. Charles, he hurried along past the northern ramparts of Quebec, and advanced to do battle. His forces consisted of 7,520 troops, besides 400 Indians. In addition to these, he had a force of about 1,500 men farther up the river, near Cape Rouge, under M. de Bougainville. Messengers were despatched to this officer directing him to hasten to the scene of action and attack the British in their rear.

The battle began early in the forenoon, when Montcalm's artillery opened fire upon the British. His force, independently of that under M. de Bougainville, being nearly double that of the British, he hoped to turn his numerical superiority to account by outflanking the enemy's left, and crowding them towards the bank, when he would oppose them to the front and to the north, while M. de Bougainville would sweep down upon their rear. M. de Bougainville, however, was slow in arriving, and Montcalm's attack on the north and east was opposed by the British with such determination that he was compelled to draw back. Then, remustering his troops, he returned to the charge. This was the decisive moment. The British, by Wolfe's command, threw themselves on the ground, and though the hot fire of the approaching Frenchmen did terrible execution among them, not a shot was fired in return. On came the foe, until they had advanced to within forty yards of the British. Then Wolfe's voice was suddenly heard above the din of battle like the note of a clarion. Responsive to his call, the troops rose as one man and poured in a volley so deadly as to strike even the well-trained veterans of France with awe. Scores of them fell to rise no more, and hundreds sank wound-

ed on the plain. Such of the terrified Canadian troops as were able to run, fled in sheer terror. Before the smoke of that terrible volley had cleared away, Wolfe, his delicate frame trembling with illness, but buoyed up with the assurance of a glorious victory, placed himself at the head of the Louisburg Grenadiers and the 28th Regiment, and led them to the fray. Wrapping a handkerchief round his left wrist, which had just been shattered by a bullet, he continued to advance at the head of his men, inspiring them alike by his acts and his deeds. He gave the word to "Charge," and the word had scarcely passed his lips when he received a bullet in the groin. Staggering under the shock, he yet continued to advance, though unable to speak above his breath. The battle had not yet raged more than fifteen minutes, but it was even now virtually decided. The French troops were utterly disorganized, and fled in all directions. Montcalm, brave to rashness, rode along the broken ranks, and vainly tried to re-form them. As he continued to harangue them, exposing himself to the enemy's fire with utter indifference to his own safety, he was struck by a shot from the solitary gun which the British had been able to drag up the heights. He fell, mortally wounded; and from that moment there can no longer be said to have been any fighting. It was a fierce pursuit on the one side and a frantic flight on the other.

Less than three minutes before Montcalm's fall, Wolfe had received a third bullet wound—this time in the left breast. He leant upon the arm of the nearest officer, saying, "Support me—do not let my brave fellows see me fall. The day is ours—keep it." He was at once carried to the rear. Hearing some one giving directions to fetch a surgeon, he murmured, "It is useless—all is over with me." As his life ebbed away he heard a voice exclaim

"They run, they run!" The words inspired him with temporary animation. Slightly raising his head, he asked, "Who—who run?" "The enemy, sir," was the reply; "they give way everywhere." Summoning his fast-fleeing strength, he rejoined, "Go, one of you, to Colonel Burton. Tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles River to cut off the retreat." His head then sank, and turning slightly on one side, as in a heavy sleep, he was heard to murmur, "Now, God be praised, I die in peace."

And thus died all that was mortal of James Wolfe.\*

Everybody knows the rest of the story; how M. de Bongainville appeared on the field too late to be of any service; how, seeing what had befallen, he retreated again to Cape Rouge; how the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor, and his 1,500 Canadians deserted the lines below Quebec, and made what haste they could to Montreal; how the beleaguered garrison, reduced by famine and slaughter, capitulated on the fifth day after the battle; how a year afterwards Canada was surrendered to the British Crown; and how the surrender was ratified by the Treaty of Paris on the 10th of February, 1763.

And Montcalm. He had his wish, expressed shortly after he received his death-wound, and did not live to see the surrender of the city which he had defended so bravely. The story of his life and death will be told at length in a future sketch. At present it is sufficient to say that he died on the day following the battle, and that he was buried within the precincts of

the Ursuline Convent, on Garden street, Quebec.

The British loss on the Plains of Abraham consisted of 59 killed and 597 wounded. The French loss was much greater, amounting to about 600 killed and more than 1,000 wounded and taken prisoners. The death-roll seems wonderfully small when compared with the carnage on many fields famous in history; but, judged by its results and all the attendant circumstances, the battle may very properly be numbered among the decisive conflicts of the world.

When intelligence of the death of Wolfe and the fall of Quebec reached England, the enthusiasm of the people rose to a height which may almost be described as delirious. The effect was much heightened by the fact that such good news was wholly unexpected; for only three days before, despatches had arrived from Wolfe wherein it did not appear that he was by any means sanguine of success. Bonfires blazed from one end of the kingdom to the other, and the streets of the metropolis were redolent of marrow-bones and cleavers. Persons who had never seen each other before shook hands, and in some cases even embraced one another, when they met on the streets. The coffee-houses were thronged with hysteric orators who held forth about the days of chivalry having come back again. Sermons about the sword of the Lord and of Gideon were heard in churches and chapels throughout the land. While all these things were passing in nearly every city, town, and important village in the kingdom, one spot remained unilluminated. That spot was Blackheath, where the hero's mother mourned the loss of her only child—the child to whom, notwithstanding his delicate health, she had tried to look forward as the stay of her declining years. The neighbours, one and all, of whatsoever degree, respected her great sorrow, and for-

\* There are various accounts extant of this closing scene in Wolfe's life, all professing to come more or less directly from eye-witnesses. No two of them agree in all points, and one of them states that the General never uttered a syllable after he was carried to the rear. The above is the version generally accepted by historians, and is supported by the testimony of the most trustworthy of those who were present at the scene.

bore to take part in the general rejoicings. We can fancy, too, that there was mourning and desolation at Raby Castle, the home of the beautiful Miss Lowther.\* A month later this lady wrote to one of her friends as follows, concerning Mrs. Wolfe: "I feel for her more than words can say, and should, if it was given me to alleviate her grief, gladly exert every power which nature or compassion has bestowed: yet I feel we are the last people in the world who ought to meet."

Wolfe's body was embalmed and conveyed to England, where, on the 20th of November, it was deposited beside that of his father in the family vault, beneath the parish church of Greenwich. An immense concourse of people assembled to do honour to the dead hero's remains. On the day after the funeral, Pitt rose in the House of Commons and proposed an address to the King, praying that a monument might be erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of the Conqueror of Quebec. The prayer was assented to, and a committee appointed to carry out the details. The sculpture occupied thirteen years, and the ceremony of unveiling did not take place until the 4th of October, 1773. The monument is of white marble, and stands in the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, facing the ambulatory. The sculpture is very fine,

\* The portrait of this lady confided by Wolfe to John Jervis on the night of the 12th of September was subsequently delivered to her, and she wore it in memory of her dead hero until her marriage, nearly six years afterwards, to Harry, Sixth and last Duke of Bolton. She survived until 1809, when she died at her mansion in Grosvenor Square, London, at the age of seventy-five.

and embodies various emblematic scenes in Wolfe's life. The inscription runs as follows:

TO THE MEMORY  
OF  
JAMES WOLFE,  
MAJOR-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF  
OF THE  
BRITISH LAND FORCES,  
ON AN  
EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC,  
WHO,  
AFTER SURMOUNTING BY ABILITY AND VALOUR  
ALL OBSTACLES OF ART AND NATURE,  
WAS SLAIN IN THE MOMENT OF VICTORY,  
ON THE  
XIII OF SEPTEMBER, MDCLXIX.  
THE  
KING AND PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN  
DEDICATE THIS MONUMENT.

A monument was also erected to Wolfe's memory in the parish church of Westerham, the village where he was born; and other memorials are to be found in Squerries Park and at Stowe. In the year 1832, Lord Aylmer, Governor-General of Canada, erected a small pillar on the Plains of Abraham, on the exact spot where Wolfe is believed to have breathed his last. The railing around it being insufficient for its protection, it was ere long defaced by sacrilegious hands. In 1849 it was removed, and a more suitable memorial set up in its stead. The cost of the latter was chiefly defrayed by British troops stationed in the Province. The inscription upon it is as follows:

HERE DIED  
WOLFE:  
VICTORIOUS.





*Ly. Hincks*  
V.S.



## THE HON. SIR FRANCIS HINCKS.

SIR FRANCIS HINCKS forms almost the last—if not absolutely the last—living tie which connects us of the Upper Province with the old ante-Union days. When his life shall be brought to a close—an event which we trust may be far distant—he will leave behind him no one who took an equally conspicuous part in public affairs at so early a period of our history. Nearly fifty years have elapsed since he first began to figure in our annals, and his career ever since, both in Canada and elsewhere, has been a busy one. Indeed his whole life, embracing up to the present time a period of nearly seventy-three years, may be said to have been a busy one. Even since his retirement from political life, after the fall of Sir John Macdonald's Government in 1873, his restless mental activity has prevented him from enjoying the repose which his long services justly entitled him to take. Repose, indeed, has always been repugnant to his nature, and his retirement made no change in this respect. Though withdrawn from official participation in political life, he has continued to contemplate public affairs with a keen and watchful eye. He has engaged in journalistic and other commercial enterprises, but these have engrossed only a small share of his superabundant energy, and he has from time to time found ample leisure to deliver himself on important questions, both through the public press and from the lecture platform. In

the course of his long life he has made some warm friends and a good many bitter enemies, but the bitterest of the latter will not deny that he has fully earned the rest due to a long and not unproductive career.

No man whose name figures in Canadian history has been more unfortunate in his biographers than Sir Francis Hincks. No fewer than seventeen different sketches of his life are lying before us while we write. They have evidently been written by persons of the most diverse shades of political opinion, and of the most various degrees of literary capacity. It is not surprising that there should be conflicting opinions as to some episodes in Sir Francis's public career, but it is not a little remarkable that there should be wide divergences as to such easily ascertainable matters as the date of his birth, the date of his first marriage, and the term of his Governorship of the Windward Islands. The errors wherewith many of these sketches are thickly strewn are the less excusable inasmuch as Sir Francis is one of the most approachable of mankind, always ready and willing to supply information about himself and other matters of public interest to any one having reasonable grounds for inquiry. It is proper to mention in this place that most of the dates embodied in the following memoir have been obtained from trustworthy sources, and that wherever they vary from those given in

sketches previously published their accuracy may be implicitly depended upon.

Sir Francis Hincks is descended from an old Cheshire family, the head of which seems to have been a considerable landed proprietor as far back as the days of the Tudors. Towards the close of the seventeenth century we find one branch of the family established in business, and in high commercial standing, in the historic old city of Chester. Fifty years later, owing to unsuccessful ventures in the Turkish trade, the business declined somewhat in importance, but continued to be conducted with some degree of vigour until about 1760, after which we find no trace of its existence. The grandfather of Sir Francis was a member of the firm by which the business was carried on. Soon after the accession of King George III.—probably in 1763 or 1764—this gentleman received an appointment in the Irish Customs, which rendered it necessary that he should forsake the land of his birth, and take up his abode in Ireland. Leaving behind him the picturesque old walls and hallowed associations of his native city, he betook himself to Dublin, where, in 1766, we find him married and settled down in comfortable circumstances. Among the children born to him was one who was afterwards widely known in Ireland as the Reverend Dr. T. D. Hincks, father of Sir Francis. Dr. Hincks, who survived until the year 1837, was a highly distinguished scholar. He was a minister of the Irish Presbyterian Church, and was for many years Head Classical Master and Professor of Oriental Languages in the Royal Academical Institution of Belfast. He enjoyed much local celebrity as an authority on Irish history and archaeology. He had five sons, the eldest of whom, the Reverend Dr. Edward Hincks, achieved a still higher scholastic reputation than his father, and was known as one of the first Orientalists in Great Britain. The second

son, the Reverend William Hincks, was also a man of high attainments. His name is known to Canadians through his connection with University College, Toronto, in which institution he held the position of Professor of Natural History from 1853 down to the time of his death, at an advanced age, in 1871. Thomas, another son, also entered the church, and has had a highly useful and honourable ecclesiastical career. He has for many years been Archdeacon of Connor, Ireland, and though now in his eighty-fifth year still retains a large measure of physical and intellectual vigour, and preaches regularly to his congregation. The Rev. John Hincks, the only son of the Archdeacon, now resides in Ontario, and occupies the position of Rector of Galt, in the county of Waterloo.

The only other son of whom it is necessary to take present account was the subject of this memoir, who was the youngest of the five, and who was born at Cork, on the 14th of December, 1807. He received a primary education at the Fermoy classical school—an establishment of high repute in the south of Ireland in those days—where his father then occupied the position of Principal. From this establishment he passed to the Royal Belfast Institution, where he went through the regular classical curriculum. His attendance at this seat of learning extended over several years, and did not cease until the close of the session of 1823-4. Having finished his collegiate course, it was deemed expedient that his future career should be determined upon. Various circumstances contributed to influence his mind in favour of commercial pursuits. Belfast was, even in those days, a town of considerable commercial importance, and many of the embryo statesman's young schoolfellows and companions were the sons of prosperous merchants who had realized large fortunes in trade. Some of these schoolfellows were themselves destined for commercial life. It seems probable that his

associations at this period had much to do with leading young Francis Hincks to form a strong predilection for commerce. His father and eldest brother were both rather averse to this predilection. They would have vastly preferred to see him follow their own example, and devote himself to scholastic pursuits. No attempt was made, however, to coerce him in his choice of a future career. On the contrary, Dr. Hincks, when he saw the bent of his son's mind, ceased to oppose his inclinations, even with advice. He paid the premium of a hundred pounds with a good grace, and on the 1st of November, 1824, saw his son duly installed as an articled clerk, for a term of five years, in the mercantile establishment of Messrs. John Martin & Co., of Belfast. Here the young man spent the full term of his articles, at the expiration of which period he for the first time crossed the Atlantic. In previous sketches of his career, it has been the fashion to represent him as having made a voyage to the West Indies in furtherance of the business of Messrs. John Martin & Co. This is an error, as Mr. Hincks's connection with that firm had ceased before he set out for the West Indies. His old employers, however, had business relations with Barbadoes, Demerara, and Trinidad, and one of their ships—the *Anne Comer*—being about to sail early in 1830, he took passage in her. He at this time contemplated life from a commercial point of view, and was ready to avail himself of any opportunity of advancing his prospects which might come in his way; but his first western voyage was undertaken with no definite object in view beyond a desire for change and relaxation. Being supplied with letters of introduction to leading mercantile houses at the different points which he contemplated visiting, he set sail during the first week in February, and in due course reached Barbadoes, where he remained only a few days, and saw nothing to induce him to prolong his stay. If

he could have looked into the future, and could have seen himself rather more than a quarter of a century later, landing at the same spot, he would doubtless have been impressed and bewildered by the contrast in his surroundings. In March, 1830, he stepped ashore at Barbadoes as a young and friendless adventurer, "lord of his presence and no realm beside." No one looked at him. No one had ever heard his name. In January, 1856, he landed there once more. This time, however, it was not as an unknown and a friendless adventurer, but as a man upon whom the world has set its approving mark of success. He stepped ashore amid the roar of artillery, and the enthusiastic huzzas of the inhabitants, as the honoured representative of his Sovereign.

When the *Anne Comer* resumed her voyage the young man accompanied her successively to Demerara and Trinidad. When the vessel started on her return homeward he remained behind at Trinidad, where he had succeeded in making several warm friends. After a stay there extending over nearly two months he returned to Barbadoes, with the intention of proceeding to Demerara, and taking passage thence to England. This intention was not destined to be carried out. Almost immediately upon his arrival at Barbadoes he formed the acquaintance of Mr. George McIntosh Ross, a young Scotch-Canadian merchant who resided and carried on business at Quebec. This acquaintance was fated to have a very material influence upon the future career of Francis Hincks. Mr. Ross, who had come from Quebec to Barbadoes in one of his own vessels, took a fancy to the clever young Belfast merchant, and gave him a cordial invitation to return home by way of Quebec. The voyage from Barbadoes to Quebec would be made in Mr. Ross's vessel, and would be free of cost. From Quebec to Liverpool or Belfast the passage money would be considerably less than from Bar-

hadoes. These considerations were urged upon young Hincks, and it was further urged that by adopting the suggestion he would have an opportunity of seeing something of Canada. Suffice it to say that he acquiesced in the proposal, and sailed with his new friend for Quebec, whither he arrived about the middle of October. After a short stay there Mr. Hincks proceeded up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, where he spent about five weeks. By this time he had given up the idea of returning to England before the following spring, and had determined to visit Upper Canada. He left Montreal early in December, and travelled by land to Prescott, where he took passage in a schooner for Kingston. From here he took passage for Toronto, or York, as it was then called. The vessel, however, was driven out of its course, and was compelled by stress of weather to put into Niagara, and in an unpublished MS. of Sir Francis he records the fact that his first visit to the celebrated Falls of Niagara was made on horseback in the middle of December. Such were the vicissitudes of a journey from Montreal to York less than half a century ago.

Mr. Hincks spent the whole of the ensuing winter at York, which was a very different spot from the Toronto of the present day. Its entire population was only about 4,000, and the aspect of the streets was by no means metropolitan. The Upper Canadian Legislature was then in session, and he spent a great deal of his time listening to the debates, which for him had all the charm of novelty, as he had never before had an opportunity of being present at Parliamentary proceedings. It will readily be understood that the speeches were interesting to him, for he had already a decided leaning to the side of Reform, and the speakers on the Reform side in the Upper Canada Assembly at that time were such men as Marshall Spring Bidwell, William Lyon Mackenzie, and Peter Perry. Some of

the issues before the country were of the first importance, and these were the days of plain speaking—the days when Solicitor-General Hagerman, one of the shining lights of the “Family Compact” in those days—called Mr. Mackenzie “a spaniel dog” and “a base reptile,” on the floor of the House. After spending what seems to have been on the whole an agreeable winter at York, Mr. Hincks returned to Ireland, having gained a great deal of experience, and being very much the wiser for his travels. Colonial life had many attractions for him, and he had conceived a strong predilection for making Upper Canada his future home. He found, however, that his friends had decided objections to his settling abroad, and had formed other plans for him in his absence. One of his brothers—not mentioned in the previous enumeration—the Reverend John Hincks, had recently settled in Liverpool, and had been placed in charge of a congregation there. An arrangement had been made by his father that Francis should also take up his abode in Liverpool, and embark in business there. Just before his return from America his brother John had died, very suddenly, but the business arrangements on behalf of Francis had proceeded to such a length that he resolved to obey his father's wishes, and to abandon, or at least postpone, his scheme of emigrating to Canada. He accordingly entered as a junior partner in a commission house in Liverpool, and remained in the establishment about a year. Before his departure for the West Indies he had become attached to Miss Martha Anne Stewart, daughter of a prominent merchant of Belfast, and had been a successful suitor for her hand. When the Liverpool project was laid before him his assent to it was largely due to an expectation of being able to marry without delay. The commission business, however, does not seem to have flourished according to his expectations, and letters from Upper Canada

kept his former idea of emigration fresh in his mind. Obstacles had arisen which seemed to prevent the possibility of his being able either to marry or to emigrate for some time to come. In the course of his year's residence at Liverpool, however, these obstacles, whatever their nature may have been, were overcome. He severed his connection with the Liverpool house, and repaired to Belfast, where on the 23rd of July, 1832—little more than a year after his return from his travels—he married the object of his choice. Within a few days afterwards he sailed for New York on his way to Upper Canada. He reached his destination early in September, and took up his abode at Little York. A few months more, and we find him established in a little wholesale warehouse, belonging to Mr. Robert Baldwin, on the corner of Yonge and Melinda streets. Its number, as we learn from an old directory published early in 1834, was 21 Yonge street. The Baldwins, father and son, resided at No. 23. Dr. Baldwin was himself an Irishman, and like Mr. Hincks, had formerly resided at Cork. The latter's friendship with the Baldwins commenced immediately after he began to reside at York, and was maintained on a very intimate footing for many years. Their common nationality was not the only tie which bound them together, for they had many tastes in common, and the elder Baldwin interested himself in advancing the fortunes of the young emigrant. Notwithstanding this support, and his own great aptitude for commercial life, the first years of his residence in Canada were years of struggle. Trade was much depressed, money was scarce, and the credit system, which was prevalent throughout the Province, was a great drawback to a young merchant doing business on a restricted capital. His letters written to his kinsfolk in Ireland at this time are couched in a rather despondent tone, and he hints at a resolution to look out

for a more remunerative occupation than that afforded by his warehouse business. He was evidently feeling his way, and carefully watching the course of events. His views on political questions at this time do not seem to have been fully matured. His leanings were undoubtedly in the direction of Reform, but he for several years cautiously refrained from taking a decided stand. Mr. Mackenzie's popularity was then at its zenith among the extreme radicals of Upper Canada—a popularity which the persecution of his enemies did much to increase. The violence and manifest injustice with which he was treated by the dominant faction gained for him the warm sympathy of many persons who had theretofore held aloof from him. The oligarchy succeeded in expelling him from his seat in the Assembly no fewer than five times, but he was as often triumphantly re-elected by ever-increasing majorities, and was more than once carried through the streets amid the loud-mouthed enthusiasm of the people. When the Town of York became the City of Toronto in March, 1834, he was elected the first mayor of the new municipality. Between Mackenzie and Hincks, however, there was from the first a well-marked antagonism. The latter, while giving due credit to the former for the sincerity of his professions, had an utter distrust of his prudence and political sagacity. Mr. Mackenzie, on the other hand, while doing full justice to Mr. Hincks's abilities, was always suspicious of his integrity. He regarded him as a young Irish adventurer, whose first object in life was to advance his fortunes, and who was by no means scrupulous as to the means to be pursued in attaining that object. Several years later, after the Welland Canal investigation had taken place, and when Mr. Hincks had shown his aptitude for dealing with matters of finance, it was suggested to Mr. Mackenzie, in the presence of Mr. Hincks himself, that the latter might not

improbably at some future time fill the post of Inspector-General of Public Accounts for Upper Canada. Mr. Mackenzie, with a degree of frankness which would have been simple rudeness in a man of less pronounced opinions, remarked to him: "You are fully equal to the duties, and your talents would be of inestimable value to the public. The only question with me is, whether or not you would be proof against the temptations of the position." Meanwhile the young emigrant stood aloof from the extreme sections of both political parties, and quietly awaited his opportunity, which was not long delayed. His capacity for dealing with financial questions had already been displayed in several small enterprises, and early in 1835 he was appointed secretary of a Mutual Insurance Company and cashier of a new banking institution called "The People's Bank." The little warehouse was consigned to the limbo of forgotten things. Two months later the House of Assembly appointed Mr. Mackenzie Director of the Welland Canal Company, in respect of the stock held by the Province. The new Director had long been suspicious of the management of this great enterprise, and had not been slow to give expression to his sentiments. He now entered into a searching examination of the Company's affairs. A Parliamentary Committee of Investigation was appointed, and Mr. Mackenzie secured the co-operation of Mr. Hincks, who was appointed accountant to the Committee. His keen eye soon brought some startling facts to light, and it was apparent that Mr. Mackenzie's suspicions had been well founded. After a long and careful scrutiny of the books and accounts, Mr Hincks wrote to Mr. Mackenzie, as follows: "As to the Welland Canal books, I have already said, and I now publicly repeat and am willing to stake my character on the truth of it, that for several years they are full of false and fictitious entries; so much so that if I

was on oath I could hardly say whether I believe there are more true or false ones. I am persuaded it is impossible for an accountant who desires to arrive at truth to investigate them with any satisfaction, particularly as the vouchers are of such a character as to be of little or no service. With respect to the charges against the officers, the press and the public seem to have predetermined that unless Mr. Merritt were proved guilty of an extent of fraud that would have justly subjected them to a criminal prosecution they were to be absolved from all blame, and to escape censure for the numerous charges which have been clearly proved. The conduct of the press, and indeed of the House of Assembly on this subject, has been such as to encourage a similar system of managing the money of the people, and, most assuredly, to deter any individual from even attempting to expose similar abuses. It has been clearly proved that large sums of money have been lost to the Company, and of course to the Province, which, if the present directors do their duty, can in great part be recovered." The facts elicited in the investigation were such as fully to justify Mr. Mackenzie's strictures. The Committee unearthed large defalcations on the part of the Company's officers, as well as numerous spurious accounts duly sworn to by the Secretary as correct. It appeared that large sums had been borrowed by the officers from the Company without any authority from the Board. Contracts had been tampered with, leases of water-power had been granted by the President and Directors to themselves; and, in a word, the country had been robbed of a large amount of money. The result of this investigation was to make the name of Francis Hincks known to a much wider circle than had theretofore been familiar with it. His skill in dealing with figures and involved matters of account was discussed from one end of the Province to the

other. It is probable that he would immediately have come to the front had the country been in a more prosperous and settled condition. The country, however, was in a condition very much the reverse of prosperous, and moreover was on the verge of rebellion. In that rebellion Mr. Hincks, of course, took no part, but his intimacy with the Baldwins and the general course of his conduct, both personal and political, had identified him with the Reform Party, and he came in for a share of the obloquy which, for some time after Mr. Mackenzie's ill-judged attempt, attached to the name of Reformer. The months following the fiasco at Gallows Hill were gloomy months indeed for the members of the Reform Party in this Province. They were left without a press, and were identified in the popular mind with agitators and rebels. The dominant faction, of course, did its utmost to disseminate this prejudice, and the respectable Reformers themselves felt like members of an honourable family may be supposed to feel when one of its members has proved false to ancestral traditions and brought disgrace upon his relatives. A few of the leading spirits, however, with Robert Baldwin at their head, applied themselves diligently to the work of reconstructing and re-establishing the platform of the Party. The chief plank in that platform was "Responsible Government." The Tory party, to a man, professed to regard Responsible Government as wholly incompatible with loyalty to the British Crown, and endeavoured to cast ridicule upon its chief exponent, Mr. Baldwin, as "the man of one idea." Sir Francis Bond Head and his predecessors had all harped the same tune, and had lent the whole weight of their influence to crush out the "idea" which was so distasteful to them. But a new order of things was at hand. In the month of May, 1838, Lord Durham came over to Canada in the double capacity of Governor-

General and Her Majesty's High Commissioner "for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada." The "important affairs" involved an inquiry into our entire political system, and he had not been long in the country before he arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Baldwin's one idea was indeed the one and only efficient remedy for existing disorders. His arrival in this country was hailed by Reformers as a national blessing. The absence of an ably-conducted Reform newspaper was felt more keenly than ever, as such an opportunity for striking a blow for Liberal principles had never before presented itself in the history of Canada. And now the opportunity for which Francis Hincks had long been waiting had arrived. He was urged by some leading Reformers to establish and conduct a newspaper which should be the exponent of Responsible Government. As may readily be supposed, he was not slow to avail himself of these solicitations. He was a vigorous and versatile writer, and delighted in an atmosphere of controversy. The plant was purchased within a few days from the time when the project was first seriously mooted, and in due time the paper made its appearance as *The Toronto Examiner*, having for its motto, "Responsible Government and the Voluntary Principle." It may be as well to state here that, notwithstanding all that has been said and written to the contrary, the *Examiner* was strictly a personal enterprise of Mr. Hincks, and that he never received, either by loan or otherwise, the slightest pecuniary accommodation or assistance in carrying it on. It has been suggested by several writers that his chief motive in establishing this paper was to write himself into Parliament. If this be true, as to which there is of course no direct evidence, it was merely a legitimate step for the prosecution of an honourable ambition; but it is at any rate also

clear enough that in advocating Responsible Government he was giving utterance to his sincere convictions. The editorials in the *Examiner* were written with sharpness and vigour, and produced a marked effect upon the public mind. He proved by the most inexorable rules of logic—to us in these days it seems incomprehensible that there should have been any doubt on such a subject—that there was no inconsistency between sincere advocacy of Responsible Government and sincere loyalty to the British Crown. During Lord Durham's short stay in Canada he must have been aware of the keen controversy maintained by the *Examiner* against almost the entire press of both Upper and Lower Canada, and several clauses of the "Report" reflect very strongly the tone of some of the *Examiner's* articles. Immediately after Lord Durham's return to England at the close of 1838 that nobleman submitted his Report to the Imperial Government, and was subjected to a searching cross-examination as to its contents. After careful consideration, the Government resolved upon the union of the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and the concession of Responsible Government. Mr. Thomson—afterwards Lord Sydenham—himself a member of the Cabinet, was sent out to this country as Governor-General for the express purpose of carrying out the views of the Home Ministry. The mission was one which would have tasked the abilities even of the ablest statesman, and Mr. Thomson was not always over-scrupulous as to the means resorted to by him for obtaining support. The Upper Canadian Reformers were almost unanimous in their approval of Lord Durham's views. Indeed these views were precisely what Reformers had for years been strenuously advocating and fighting for. The Tories, on the other hand, held equally pronounced opinions on the other side, and declared, through their organ the *Toronto Patriot*, that "the Ministers have

made for themselves a pretty kettle of fish by employing Jacobins and loafers to regulate the affairs of a Conservative and loyal people." While Lord Durham was preparing his Report, Mr. Hincks, alone among Upper Canadian journalists, upheld the doctrines enunciated in it. The support accorded to Lord Durham was continued to his successor, Mr. Thomson. This advocacy soon began to bear fruit. When the various constituencies throughout the country began to prepare for the first election under the Union, the editor of the *Examiner* was invited to stand as the Reform candidate for the County of Oxford. He accepted the invitation, and entered upon the canvass with the energy which he was wont to bring to all pursuits in which he engaged. He was personally unknown to the people of Oxford. His opponent, Mr. Peter Carroll, was a popular resident candidate who had all the Tory support at his back. Mr. Hincks and his friends, however, worked indefatigably, and stumped the Riding from end to end. The election took place in the middle of March 1841, and the result was that Mr. Hincks was returned by a majority of thirty-one votes. When the Legislature assembled on the 14th of June, 1841, he for the first time took his seat in the House.

The first session under the Union was a memorable one. During its progress the foundation of our municipal system was laid, and various important educational and financial questions were discussed. Towards its close, Mr. Hincks and Mr. Baldwin, who, both in and out of the House, had theretofore steadily fought side by side, were arrayed against each other. It is worth while to detail the circumstances under which the separation took place.

Upon the assembling of the Legislature the Executive Council consisted of Messrs. Sullivan, Dunn, Daly, Draper, Baldwin, Harrison, Ogden, and Day. These gentlemen held all the high offices of state.



Mr. Baldwin had consented to hold office with the abovenamed members, upon certain conditions which were not fulfilled. The non-fulfilment of these conditions, in his opinion, and in the opinion of his party, fully exonerated him from obligation to continue in office. He had no confidence in the majority of his colleagues, and almost immediately resigned. For this resignation he was fiercely attacked, and accused of a factious disposition to embarrass the Government. This accusation called forth an explanation of his conduct; an explanation which, in the estimation of all who were not blinded by personal or party prejudices perfectly justified the course which he had adopted. He then became the acknowledged leader of the Opposition, and was for some time ably seconded by Mr. Hincks. During the month of August, however, there was a loud and prolonged debate on the Municipal Bill, the most important measure of the session. This Bill was strongly opposed by Mr. Baldwin, and by Reformers generally, on the ground that some of its provisions were not sufficiently liberal to meet the requirements of the country. Before the passing of the Union Act, Mr. Thomson, then Governor-General, had strongly recommended that municipal institutions should be established by the Imperial Union Act, and clauses prepared with his sanction had been introduced, but had been abandoned during the progress of the Bill through the Imperial House of Commons. Then the Governor-General had established municipal institutions in Lower Canada by an ordinance of the Special Council, and the Bill for Upper Canada was a transcript of that already in force in the Lower Province. The Lower Canadians had never been subjected to local taxation, while the Upper Canadians had been taxed by the magistrates in Quarter Sessions. The Lower Canada Bill was framed to prevent an anticipated obstruction to the system by the refusal to work

it, and the various officers—such as warden, treasurer, clerk, &c.—were appointed by the Crown. When the Upper Canada Municipal Bill came up there were two parties opposed to it—1st, the Tories, led by Sir Allan Macnab, who were opposed to municipal institutions; 2nd, the Reformers, led by Mr. Baldwin, who insisted on an extension of the elective principle to local affairs. It can readily be understood that the Government could not give to Upper Canada a more liberal system than that in force in Lower Canada, and accordingly it was almost compelled to declare that it must be the Bill or nothing. It could not consent to amendments. Some others of the Upper Canada Reformers, as well as Mr. Hincks, thought it best to secure the Bill on any terms, and to trust to future amendments. Mr. Hincks spoke strongly on behalf of the Bill on the Government side, and urged the opponents of the measure to abandon their opposition. This course he again adopted on the debate on the second and third readings of the Bill. The debate on the third reading took place on the 19th of the month, and lasted until near midnight, when the vote was taken. The measure was carried by forty-two votes to thirty-two. When the result had been declared, Mr. Hincks thought it due to himself to give an account of his conduct in voting against many of his former colleagues on this important measure. He expressed regret at feeling himself compelled to vote in opposition to Mr. Baldwin, with whom he had always been accustomed to act in common; but he expressed his conviction that the course which he had pursued was demanded of him by the best interests of the country. "I confess," said he, in the course of his remarks, "that it is a matter of some surprise to me to hear the very extraordinary differences of opinion that have been expressed on this subject. In another part of this building, only a few minutes ago, I heard it pronounced a mea-

sure 'liberal without precedent.' The honourable and gallant knight from Hamilton (Sir Allan Macnab) and the honourable and learned member for Lennox and Addington say that it is republican and democratic in principle, and that if it be adopted the people will have almost uncontrolled power. At the same time we are assured by the honourable and learned member for Hastings (Mr. Baldwin) that it is an abominable bill; 'a monstrous abortion,' which he views with detestation. It is certainly not a little surprising that two parties so very opposite in their views on this very question should unite, and I cannot help observing that charges of coalition are quite as applicable to one side of the House as to the other. . . . I know, Mr. Speaker, the deep responsibility I have taken on myself in adopting this course. I am well aware that already every species of slander and calumny has been resorted to, in order to destroy my public character. I have been held up in the public prints as having sold myself to Government. From political opponents I can expect nothing else but such attacks, but, Sir, I confess I have been pained at the insinuations which have proceeded from other quarters. The allusions to 'expectants of office,' to 'Government influence,' I cannot, I ought not to affect to misunderstand. I shall leave the Reformers of Upper Canada to judge whether I have deceived them, and I have, I think, some claims upon the sympathy of Reformers. My first connection with political life was at a very eventful period in the history of this colony, at a time, Sir, when hardly a journal in the Province dared to stand forth in defence of the great principle which is now recognized as the only one on which our Government should be administered. During a very dark period of our history, I defended that principle and the party who supported it, and it was a time when I had nothing to expect but incarceration in a dungeon as my re-

ward. The difficulties and embarrassments to which a public journalist is exposed cannot readily be imagined by those who have not encountered them, and not the least of them is the odium to which a faithful advocate of popular rights is necessarily exposed. He is the mark for all the animosity of the hostile party. I have, Sir, at least endeavoured to discharge my arduous duty faithfully and conscientiously. I have never asked a favour from any Governor since I took up my residence in this Province, and no one knows better than the honourable and learned member for Hastings (Baldwin), that when he was in place, and when there were prospects of our party having influence, I never stipulated for any personal reward. I was willing to give our party an independent support to the utmost of my ability. With regard to the people of Lower Canada, I feel that from them, I certainly deserve better than that they should ascribe to me improper motives. I have fought their battles through good report and through evil report, and, Sir, it is with deep regret that I ever gave a vote in opposition to them. I am not desirous, Mr. Speaker, of occupying the time of the House with remarks which must be in some degree of a personal character. I would not, however, have done justice to myself, had I not availed myself of the present opportunity to repel the insinuations which have been made against my political integrity, and to assert that my vote in favour of that Bill is as conscientious and independent as that of any honourable member on the floor of this House. It is dictated solely by a deep sense of the duty which I owe to my constituents and my country, and I know and feel that it will be appreciated by them." After some rather caustic remarks by Mr. J. Hervey Price, Mr. Baldwin himself rose to speak. He said, that with respect to the doubts which had insinuated themselves in some quarters as to Mr. Hincks's course, he had

neither originated them, repeated them, nor sanctioned them, and with the honourable member himself must necessarily rest the means of demonstrating their utter groundlessness. Again, the honourable member had referred to the support which he had afforded to the Reform cause. No one more highly appreciated his talents than he did, and no one was more ready to acknowledge the important benefits which, as a journalist and an orator, Mr. Hincks had conferred upon the country by his powerful advocacy of the great principle of Responsible Government. These most valuable services, of the honourable member he ever had, now did, and ever should acknowledge with cheerfulness and satisfaction, whatever the political relation in which that gentleman and himself might stand to each other; and he was equally ready, and should be on all occasions, to acknowledge the personal support which he had received from him. But if, what he could not and did not believe, the charge of ingratitude, which had escaped the lips of the honourable member, was meant to be applied to him, he would take leave to say, and no one knew it better than the honourable member himself, that support had not been all on one side; that on all occasions and in all places, wherever he thought he could be useful to him, as well in the highest society in the Province as in that of the honest yeomen who had done the honourable member the honour of returning him to that House, he had stood by his character, private and political, and not unfrequently with the discomfort of knowing that he was listened to with anything but satisfaction. He did this in those hours of storm to which the honourable gentleman had so feelingly alluded, as well as when, from altered circumstances, more cheering prospects opened upon the cause. For himself, all who knew him were aware that though slow to enter into connexions of any kind, he ever clung with tenacity

to such as he did once form; and he assured the honourable member for Oxford, that if the time should come when the political tie which bound them to each other was to be severed forever, it would be to him by far the most painful which had occurred in the course of his political life.

It is only just to Mr. Hincks to state that his vote on the Municipal Bill was approved by a great majority of his Oxford constituents. In June of the following year he joined the Government, and accepted office as Inspector-General, for which step he once more came in for a considerable amount of obloquy. In consequence of his accepting office it was necessary that he should vacate his seat and return to his constituency for re-election. The election was held on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of July. He was opposed by Mr. John Armstrong, a local candidate, at whose request the poll was closed at noon on the third day, when the votes stood 348 for Hincks and 130 for Armstrong. From this result it is evident that his course in Parliament had not caused him to lose caste in his constituency. His colleagues in the House during the session were Messrs. Ogden, Day, Draper, Sherwood, Sullivan, Harrison, Dunn, Daly, and Killaly. The session was a short one, and before its close Mr. Day was appointed to a seat on the Judicial Bench. In September, three members of the Government—Messrs. Draper, Ogden and Sherwood—retired from office, and were succeeded by Mr. Baldwin as Attorney-General West, and Mr. Lafontaine as Attorney-General East. The Government was materially strengthened by the change, for Mr. Lafontaine's influence was all-powerful with the French Canadian population of the Lower Province, and Mr. Baldwin had the confidence of the entire body of the Reformers in Upper Canada. The change in the composition of the Government brought Hincks and Baldwin together once more, for the former retained his post of

Inspector-General. There was no further breach between them, and Mr. Hincks continued to act with his old friend down to the time of the latter's retirement to private life in 1851.

Sir Charles Bagot, who had succeeded Lord Sydenham as Governor-General, held office less than a year, being compelled to solicit his recall on account of infirm health. He did not live to return home, however, and died at Kingston on the 19th of May, 1843. He was succeeded by Sir Charles—afterwards Baron—Metcalf. Everybody knows what followed. The new Governor's training and experience in India and Jamaica had unfitted him to fill the post of a constitutional ruler. He could not be brought to regard Responsible Government with complacency, and sneered, even in his official despatches, at the pretensions of his Council to call themselves "a Ministry," "a Cabinet," "an Administration," and "a Government." He reached this country in March, 1843. Parliament met at the end of September. During the session it soon became evident, even to outsiders, that matters were not working smoothly between the Governor and his ministry. The differences between them grew wider and wider. At last, towards the close of November, the Governor made some official appointments without consulting his ministers. The appointments were such as the ministry would not have sanctioned. Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine waited on the Governor, and quietly, but firmly, remonstrated against this invasion of ministerial rights. The Governor, however, declined either to cancel the appointments or to admit that he had over-stepped his duty in making them. All the members of the Government accordingly resigned except Mr. Dominick Daly. The Inspector-General sent in his resignation with the rest. The Governor formed a Provisional and irresponsible ministry, consisting of Messrs. Daly, Draper and Viger,

and thus, for a time, the Government of the country was carried on.

It may not be uninteresting to the reader to see a contemporary pen-and-ink sketch of Mr. Hincks in Parliament at this time. In the *Examiner* of the 25th of October, 1843, we find the following account of his appearance while discharging the functions of his office in the House, previous to the resignation just referred to: "He (Mr. Hincks) had a portable desk beside him, and a heap of papers. He was as busy as a nailer, writing, reading, marking down pages, whispering to the men on the front seat, sending a slip of paper to this one and that one, a hint to the member speaking; there was no mistaking that man. Presently he stood up and started off at full drive, half a dozen voices cry out 'Hear, hear!' 'No, no!' He picks up a slip of paper and the whole House is silent. The figures come tumbling out like potatoes from a basket. He snatches up a despatch, a journal, or some other document, and having established his position he goes ahead again. The Inspector-General, Mr. Hincks, is decidedly the man of that House. When one has observed with what attention he is listened to by every member, when we look up to the reporters, who are, during half the time in which other speakers are up, looking on wearily, now all hard at their tasks, catching every word they can lay hold of, it is not difficult to guess how it has happened that Francis Hincks has been one of the best abused men that ever lived in Canada. No wonder the old Compact hated him; they foresaw in him a sad enemy to vermin. He is a real terrier. He speaks much too rapidly; and in consequence runs into a very disagreeable sort of stammering. His manner of reading off statistical quotations is peculiarly censurable. It is impossible for reporters to take down the figures correctly, and the honourable gentleman should reflect of what

great importance it is to himself and the Ministry that all such matter be correctly reported."

A period of great political excitement followed the close of this session, and at the following elections measures were taken by the Governor to prevent the return of members hostile to his views. His efforts were tolerably successful, and among the members of the late Government who were defeated at the polls was the subject of this memoir. Mr. Robert Riddell was set up to oppose him, and such was the influence used against Mr. Hincks that the local candidate, a comparatively unknown man, was returned by a vote of 742 to 722. Mr. Hincks had about six months previously established another newspaper. There was at that time a good opening for a Reform journal in the Lower Province. All the Lower Canadian journals that were published in the English language were vehement supporters of Sir Charles Metcalfe and his policy. Yet there were many English-speaking people in Lower Canada whose views on the great question of Responsible Government were the same as those of Upper Canadian Reformers, and diametrically opposed to those of the Governor. To these persons, a local newspaper advocating their views was a thing greatly to be desired. This need Mr. Hincks undertook to supply. Montreal had been fixed upon as the seat of Government, and there Mr. Hincks determined to fix his own head-quarters. In due time the new paper—the *Montreal Pilot*—made its appearance, and was carried on with diligence and a fair amount of support for about four years. Towards the close of 1847, after an absence of fifteen years, Mr. Hincks paid a visit to his native land, where he found his father, who was then in the eightieth year of his age, in good mental and bodily health. The visit extended over several months, and upon his return, in December, 1847, he learned that the

Canadian Parliament had been dissolved in his absence; that writs had been issued for a new election, and that most of the elections had already taken place. Some of his friends had bestirred themselves briskly on his behalf during his absence, and had made due provision for his election by his old constituency of Oxford. Before his departure from Canada he had taken the precaution to leave a statutory declaration of qualification behind him, as a dissolution was regarded as imminent, and he did not wish to miss an opportunity of returning to active political life. This declaration was duly forwarded to Mr. T. S. Shenston, a trustworthy agent at Woodstock, to be used in case of necessity. Mr. Hincks did not return to Canada in time to enable him to be present at the election for Oxford, which was held on the 30th of December, 1847, and the 1st of January, 1848. The opposing candidate was Mr. Hincks's old opponent, Mr. Peter Carroll. The returning-officer, Mr. J. G. Vansittart, was a pronounced Tory, and acquired a somewhat unenviable notoriety by his conduct on this occasion. Before the voting began he demanded Mr. Hincks's declaration of qualification, which was at once tendered by Mr. Shenston. It was of course dated before Mr. Hincks's departure for Ireland, and was thus of a date prior to the writ under which the election was held. The election proceeded, and resulted in a majority of 335 for Mr. Hincks. The polling was, for Hincks 813; for Carroll, 478. The returning-officer—under the advice, as he claimed, of one of the law-officers of the Crown—determined to disregard this result. He made a return to the effect that Mr. Carroll had been duly elected. He treated Mr. Hincks's majority as a nullity upon the ground that his declaration was dated before the issue of the writ, and that Mr. Hincks did not personally appear to qualify. Upon the meeting

of Parliament steps were at once taken to remedy this unjust act. The House summarily amended the return, and reprimanded Mr. Vansittart at the Bar. Mr. Hincks took his seat in the House, and continued to occupy a conspicuous place there throughout the next seven years. Some hostile proceedings were taken against Mr. Vansittart by a committee appointed to investigate his conduct. In these proceedings, however—contrary to what has more than once been alleged—Mr. Hincks personally had no share, although, as will presently be seen, he was compelled to bear the brunt of the so-called "persecution" of Mr. Vansittart when he next presented himself to his constituents for reelection.

The result of the elections of 1847 was a decided triumph for the Reform party, which had been in Opposition for about four years. Parliament met in February of the following year. On the 10th of March the Lafontaine-Baldwin administration was formed, and Mr. Hincks accepted the office of Inspector-General. This rendered it necessary that he should once more return to Oxford for reelection. No opposition was offered, and he was accordingly elected by acclamation. This Parliament sat out its full period of four years, during all of which time Mr. Hincks continued to manage the finances as Inspector-General. As a finance-minister it must on all hands be conceded that he was a great success. A writer who does not, on the whole, evince much partiality for Mr. Hincks, says of this period of his career that "though he succeeded to an empty exchequer, and a very uncomfortable prospect in the matter of ways and means, he nevertheless, by the boldness as well as the simplicity of his tariff legislation, at once restored the public credit and avoided all resort to the peculiar system of financial readjustment which had discredited the projects of his predecessor, and rendered them unpopular. Thenceforward Mr.

Hincks took an honourable view of the public service, and a generous one of the public servants. Few Executive Councilors have attained greater popularity than he, and very few, if any, have been more loyally served."

During the session of 1851 Mr. Baldwin, partly from failing health and partly from other causes, resigned his office, and soon afterwards retired altogether from public life. A few months later witnessed the retirement of his colleague, Mr. Lafontaine. In consequence of the dissolution of the ministry consequent on these retirements, Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, entrusted Mr. Hincks with the formation of a new Government. There were some difficulties of a personal character to be surmounted, but these were speedily got over, and, in conjunction with Mr. Morin, Mr. Hincks formed the Government which, from the names of its leaders, is known in Canadian history as the Hincks-Morin Government. Upon returning to his constituency for reelection, Mr. Hincks found that Mr. Vansittart had made much capital out of the rancour with which he had been pursued for his false return after the previous election. He and his friends had ever since harped on the "persecution" to which he had been subjected, and had contrived to impress upon the public mind the idea that Mr. Hincks had promoted it. He now offered himself as a candidate in opposition to Mr. Hincks, and though many of his supporters must have known that he had no aptitude for public life, he succeeded in polling 1,220 votes to Mr. Hincks's 1,299. The rival candidates were afterwards reconciled to each other, and continued on good terms until Mr. Hincks's departure from Canada.

During this hotly-contested campaign Mr. Hincks was also elected by the town of Niagara, thus securing to him a double return. He elected to sit for his old constituency of Oxford, and devoted himself

vigorously to the work of carrying on his Government. The next few years form a most important era in the history of our country. Purely political questions, while they necessarily continued to engross a large share of public attention, gave place, to some extent, to questions directly affecting the social and physical progress of the country. An Act to facilitate the formation of joint-stock companies gave an impetus to commerce, and the Municipal Loan Fund Bill did much to promote the development of our industrial resources. The common-school law was extended and improved. Attention was directed to important railway projects, and to the promotion of commercial reciprocity with the United States. A Grand Trunk line of railway was projected to traverse the country all the way from Quebec to the western confines of this Province. An agreement was entered into between the Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to construct, with Imperial assistance, another line of railway connecting Quebec and Halifax, and thus connecting Western Canada with the seaboard. Mr. Hincks went over to England to forward these projects, and was absent several months. Serious difficulties arose as to the location of the line through the Maritime Provinces. The only basis upon which Mr. Hincks was authorized to negotiate was that the valley of the St. John River should be the line of the Intercolonial Railway, as it had already come to be called. To such a location Lord Derby and Sir John Pakington had insuperable objections. The differences between the representatives were irreconcilable, and after much discussion and delay the negotiation was for the time broken off. It was resumed more successfully some years later, and the construction of the road was proceeded with. The project of establishing reciprocity with the United States was another important event which took place during the existence of the

Hincks-Morin Government. In 1854 Mr. Hincks accompanied the Governor-General, Lord Elgin, to Washington, where, after much negotiation, a treaty of reciprocity was finally concluded. Another question which agitated the public mind was the standing grievance of the Clergy Reserves. Soon after the accession to power of the Hincks-Morin Ministry, the agitation for secularization of the Reserves—an agitation which had been kept up, almost without interruption, for a quarter of a century—was renewed with increased vehemence. The Ministry were accused by Mr. Brown and some of his adherents of manifesting a good deal of lukewarmness on the subject, and a large and influential section of the Reform party began to question Mr. Hincks's sincerity. For this there does not seem to have been the slightest justification. Mr. Hincks's Ministry were always ready and willing to deal with the question, but the repeal by the Imperial Parliament of the Act of 1840 was a condition precedent to any useful legislation by the Canadian Parliament. That Mr. Hincks did his utmost to bring about such a repeal is made sufficiently apparent by his published correspondence with British statesmen at this period,\* and by the general tenor of his conduct. No good purpose is to be served, however, by reviving the acrimonious discussions of those days, on subjects which to us, at this time, are dead issues. Neither is it desirable at this lapse of time to go into details about transactions in Toronto debentures and Pointe Levis lands—transactions which made a good deal of noise in their day, and which some of the persons concerned in them would doubtless have been glad to forget. Suffice it to say that towards the close of 1854 the Hincks-Morin Ministry resigned office without having dealt with

\* See "The Political History of Canada, between 1840 and 1855," by the Hon. Sir Francis Hincks. Montreal, 1877.

the great question of the Clergy Reserves, which was not finally disposed of until after the accession to power of the succeeding Administration. That the question would have been disposed of at precisely the same time, however, even if there had been no change in the Administration, is as certain as any undemonstrable proposition can very well be. The accounts given of this period in our Canadian histories are more than usually inadequate and misleading.

Mr. Hincks, during his Premiership, had been pretty constantly passing and re-passing between the Canadian and the British capital, on railway and other business of national importance. Soon after his resignation, feeling the need of a holiday, he crossed the Atlantic once more. He paid a long visit to his native land, and amused himself by renewing old associations of his boyhood. He also went over to London to confer with Messrs. Baring & Glyn with reference to certain financial projects, and while there agreed to accept the Presidency of the Grand Trunk Railway. But this position was not to be his. Better things were in store for him. During his stay in London, he was gratified by receiving, through the good offices of Sir William Molesworth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the appointment of Governor-in-Chief of Barbadoes and the Windward Islands. He at once returned to Canada, where he had left his family, and, accompanied by them, repaired to the seat of his Government. He assumed the functions of his office on the 6th of January, 1856, and continued to discharge them for the full term of six years. At the close of this term he was promoted by the Duke of Newcastle to the Government of British Guiana, where he stayed out his full term and a year over. In 1869, having, on the recommendation of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, been created a K.C.M.G., he handed over the insignia of his office and returned

to England. He had now reached the age of sixty-one years, and had passed the prescribed age which entitles a Colonial Governor to a retiring pension, which was upon application at once granted to him for life. His stay in England was of brief duration, and he returned to Canada in the summer of the same year. Soon after his return he accepted the position of Finance Minister in the Government of the day, and took up his abode at Ottawa. Sir John Rose, his predecessor in that office, being about to take up his residence in London as a partner in the banking firm of Messrs. Morton, Rose & Co., was compelled to resign his functions, and the Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, offered the vacancy to the veteran Inspector-General of former days. The latter was elected for one of the divisions of the county of Renfrew. Having entered upon the duties of his office, Sir Francis soon showed that his energy and administrative ability were unimpaired by his sixty and odd years. He found the currency of the country in a disturbed condition, owing to the great influx of United States silver which had taken place. Our own silver coinage was too limited to meet the public necessities, and as a consequence everybody in the country had been in the habit of receiving United States silver—the actual value of which was considerably below its nominal value—at par. American brokers of the lowest stamp began to send this depreciated silver over here, and to speculate in it as a means of livelihood. A few months more and the country was flooded with United States silver to such an extent that it was justly pronounced a “silver nuisance.” Sir Francis Hincks set himself to work to remedy this untoward state of things. American silver was demonetized, and its place temporarily supplied by a fractional paper currency, specimens of which are still occasionally met with. In this way the “silver nuisance” was soon



abated, and the currency of the country restored to a normal condition.

Sir Francis probably felt, however, that he had served the public long enough, and that he was entitled to repose under the shade of his laurels. After having held the portfolio of Finance Minister for about three years he announced his determination to retire to private life. At the earnest solicitation of the leader of the Government he consented to so far modify this determination as to defer his resignation until after the approaching elections. The elections came on, and, without his knowledge or consent, he was returned by the constituency of Vancouver, British Columbia, as its representative. He accordingly retained his seat during the ensuing session, but resigned his ministerial office in February, 1873. After the fall of Sir John Macdonald's Government consequent upon the Pacific Scandal disclosures, Sir Francis withdrew altogether from active participation in politics, and retired to private life. In the spring of 1873, upon resigning office, he accepted the Presidency of the City Bank of Montreal, which was afterwards amalgamated with the Royal Canadian, and was thenceforward known as the Consolidated Bank of Canada. Sir Francis continued to be President of the amalgamated institution down to the time of its collapse in 1879. The subsequent history of his connection with this unfortunate enterprise is too recent and too well known to require any further reference in these pages.

On the 8th of May, 1874, Sir Francis sustained a serious bereavement by the loss of his wife. She had been his companion for forty-two years, and had participated in his struggles, his rise, and his subsequent dignities. In June, 1875, he married a second wife, Emily Louisa, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Delatre, and relict of

the Honourable Judge Sullivan. This lady died at her home in Montreal on the 14th of May last, and the sympathy of the country went out warmly to the husband who was called upon to sustain this second bereavement at an advanced age.

Sir Francis Hincks's success in life has been fully commensurate with his merits. And yet those merits are considerable. Sir John Kaye, Lord Metcalfe's biographer, referring to the Executive Council of 1843, described Mr. Hincks as "by far the best man of business in the Council—clear-headed, methodical, persevering and industrious; but, as a partisan, vehement and unscrupulous, with a tongue that cut like a sword, and no discretion to keep it in order." Sir John probably never saw the subject of his remarks in the course of his life. His impressions respecting him were doubtless derived from Lord Metcalfe himself. How utterly incapable that nobleman was of judging his fellow-creatures we know from his estimate of Robert Baldwin, which will be found in the life of that statesman. In the case of Francis Hincks, however, it must be admitted that he has come much nearer the truth. The faults of his character have been a vehement impetuosity, and a congenital incapacity for looking at things from a purely disinterested point of view. His abilities are of a high order, his energy is still unceasing, and his disposition kindly. He has evinced his preference for Canada and Canadian institutions by spending the evening of his life among us. It is due to him that we should bear in mind his services to the cause of our national liberty, at a time when that liberty was menaced both from without and within. The only conclusion that can honestly be arrived at, after a dispassionate review of his long and active career, is that a large balance remains to his credit on the roll of Canadian history.

## THE HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

MR. MACKENZIE was born on the 28th of January, 1822, in a pleasantly situated little stone cottage in the parish of Logierait, near the confluence of the rivers Tay and Tummel, in the Highlands of Perthshire, Scotland, and only about five miles distant from the famous pass of Killiecrankie. His father, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, after whom he was called, was an architect and contractor. His mother was Mary, second daughter of Mr. Donald Fleming, of Logierait. His parents had a numerous progeny, of which he himself was the third son. The entire family connection, on both the paternal and maternal sides, were known for their Liberal proclivities in matters political. Mr. Malcolm Mackenzie, of Strathtummel, the paternal grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was a schoolmaster, and an accomplished Gaelic scholar, whose Whig tendencies were well known throughout Athol and its neighbourhood. The views of his son were equally pronounced, so that the present Mr. Alexander Mackenzie may fairly lay claim to have inherited, to some degree, the advanced political views which he has always advocated.

Mr. Mackenzie, when a boy, received such education as was within the reach of a fairly ambitious and enterprising youth in the middle walks of life in Scotland. He first attended for about two years at a private school at the old city of Perth, the

capital of the county, and one of the most interesting spots in the United Kingdom to persons familiar with Scottish history. For about two years more he attended the parish school of Moulin; after which he spent a few months at the Grammar School of the fine old cathedral town of Dunkeld. Even at this early date he manifested a taste for politics, and was an ardent devourer of newspapers. In the year 1836, when he was fourteen years of age, he had the misfortune to lose his father by death, and from that time forward he was compelled to make his own way in the world. He learned the trade of a stonemason, and worked at it in several parts of Scotland. Wherever he went he became known for a young man of good abilities, honourable ambition, and excellent character. While resident near Irvine, in Ayrshire, he became impressed with serious thoughts on religious matters, and espoused the doctrines of the Baptist Church, of which he has ever since been a member and consistent supporter. Though his daily occupations were not specially conducive to study, he was a diligent reader, and in process of time acquired a large fund of useful knowledge, more particularly in the departments of politics and constitutional history.

During the rebellion in Canada some of Mr. Mackenzie's acquaintances emigrated from Scotland to this country, and he was thus led to take an interest in Canadian



*A MacRae*



affairs. He received frequent supplies of newspapers, from a perusal of which he acquired a general knowledge of Canadian politics, and formed a favourable opinion of this Western Province as a field for emigration. By degrees he began to contemplate Upper Canada in the light of his future home. In the spring of 1842 he crossed the Atlantic, and took up his abode at Kingston, where he for a short time worked at his trade as a journeyman, and afterwards became a builder and contractor on his own account. In 1843, his brother, the late Mr. Hope F. Mackenzie, followed him to Canada. The career of both brothers was eminently successful, and they were not long in winning their way, not only to competence in pecuniary matters, but to a high place in public estimation. Mr. Hope Mackenzie possessed the same sterling qualities by which the subject of this sketch has always been characterized, and during his short political career gave evidence of great aptitude for public life.

While resident at Kingston Mr. Mackenzie married his first wife, who was a Miss Helen Neil, daughter of Mr. William Neil, a native and former resident of Irvine, in Scotland, in the neighbourhood whereof Mr. Mackenzie himself had once resided.

In 1847, five other brothers of Mr. Mackenzie emigrated to Canada from Scotland, bringing with them their mother. They all settled in what was then the county of Kent, in the immediate neighbourhood of Sarnia. Alexander and Hope Mackenzie also removed from Kingston to Sarnia at this time, and the entire family were thus reunited in Western Canada. Sarnia was then an insignificant village, but much of the farming land in the neighbourhood was of good quality, and that part of the country was rapidly filling up with a solid and substantial class of emigrants. Alexander Mackenzie, however, though he purchased land there, was not destined to become a

farmer. He was not long in discovering that there was ample scope for an enterprising builder and contractor, and was soon engaged in his former pursuits. During their residence at Kingston, both his brother and himself had taken a warm interest in political matters, and all through the long struggle of the Reform Party with Lord Metcalfe, had put forward such influence as they could command on the popular side. After their removal westward their zeal underwent no abatement. Although the question of Responsible Government had by that time been practically settled, the very serious question of religious equality had still to be dealt with. King's College and the public lands were still in possession of one denomination. Equal rights to all, the restoration of the well-endowed national University to the people, and the secularization of the Clergy Reserve lands, had still to be gained; and to the agitation for these objects the brothers devoted themselves. They were known as strenuous supporters of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration, after the accession to power of that Government, and their names were identified with every important local reform. When Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine retired to private life, and the Hincks-Morin Government came into being, they, in common with the great body of the Reform Party, opposed that Government's policy. By this time the Reformers in that neighbourhood began to feel the necessity for a local organ, to influence public opinion, and to counteract the efforts of their political opponents. The result was the establishment at Sarnia, in the early spring of the year 1852, of the *Lambton Shield*. This paper was managed by a practical printer, who, however, proved to be a printer only, and quite incapable of gauging public opinion, or of conducting the editorial department of a newspaper with advantage to its supporters. Mr. Mackenzie, who was

a ready and vigorous writer, and who had the success of the enterprise very much at heart, was thus compelled to take the editorial management of the paper into his own hands. Under his direction the *Shield* soon won its way to a high degree of public respect and influence. Its advocacy of Reform views and principles was powerful and discriminating. Its editorials were marked by a fairness and common sense which produced a steadily increasing effect upon public opinion, and made the name of its editor known far beyond the limits of his own county. For more than two years the *Lambton Shield* continued to exercise an influence altogether out of proportion to its circulation, which was necessarily almost entirely confined to the neighbourhood where it was published. In 1854, the *Observer*, a paper which had previously been published in the county of Lanark, was removed to Sarnia, and the *Shield* was no longer a necessity to the Reform Party. It accordingly went out of existence, and the *Observer* has ever since been the recognized organ of the Reformers of the county of Lambton.

In 1852 Mr. Mackenzie had the misfortune to lose his wife, who died on the 2nd of January in that year. On the 17th of June, 1853, he married his second wife—whose maiden name was Miss Jane Sym—a daughter of the late Mr. Robert Sym, of Perthshire, Scotland. This lady still survives.

For some years after this time the brothers Mackenzie, though they continued to take an active part in all local elections, and a keen interest in the public affairs of the country generally, devoted themselves chiefly to their business occupations. They were eminently successful in their undertakings, and were among the leading citizens of their county. In 1857 Mr. Hope Mackenzie contested Lambton with the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, when the latter attacked

the Liberal Government, but was defeated by a small majority. In 1859 he again contested the constituency, and was elected as Lambton's representative in Parliament. In 1861 he declined reelection, upon the ground that business matters imperatively demanded his attention. His brother Alexander was then solicited by the Reform Party to accept nomination at the hands of the local convention. He at first refused, and the convention, having no other strong local candidate at their disposal, were about to adjourn without making any nomination. This would probably have been to throw away the seat—a contingency which it was deemed very desirable to avoid. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie accordingly signified his willingness to accept the nomination, rather than see the constituency lost to his Party. When the elections came on he was returned by a considerable majority, and upon the opening of the session, in the spring of 1862, he took his seat in the House. He has ever since represented Lambton in Parliament.

He plunged into the debates of the day at a very early period of his Parliamentary career. He soon made his mark in the House as a ready and fluent speaker, who had the political history of the country at his fingers' ends, and who was thoroughly acquainted with the requirements of the times. His speeches, though they made no pretence to impassioned flights of oratory, or even to any consummate breadth of statesmanship, were marked by earnestness and practical common sense. He displayed a wonderful aptitude for dealing with matters involving a knowledge of minute and complicated details, and he was even then regarded by his fellow-members as a perambulating encyclopedia of Canadian statistics. The Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte Administration came into power at that time, and received from Mr. Mackenzie a general support. He earnestly

supported the Ministry which succeeded, under the leadership of Messrs. Macdonald and Dorian. When the dead-lock ensued he was one of the most earnest advocates of Confederation. As the leader of his own section, he opposed the policy of the Reform Party when they induced Mr. Brown to accept office in the Coalition Government of 1864; but as his views were entertained by a small minority only of the members of the Liberal side of the House, he reluctantly withdrew his opposition. Upon Mr. Brown's resignation, in December, 1865, Mr. Mackenzie was invited to enter the Cabinet himself, as President of the Council, but this he declined to do, as he was in perfect sympathy with Mr. Brown's retirement, and saw no good reason for the further continuance of the Coalition.

At the first general election held after the accomplishment of Confederation, Mr. Brown, who had theretofore been the leader of the Liberal Party, was defeated in South Ontario, and did not seek election elsewhere. He was consequently not in a position to continue the leadership, and Mr. Mackenzie was fixed upon as his successor. He was not formally elected to that position until some time afterwards, but he was practically the leader of the Liberal Party, from the time when the first Parliament met under Confederation down to the time of his resignation a few weeks ago.

At the Ontario elections held in March, 1871, Mr. Mackenzie, in response to urgent solicitations, consented to contest the West Riding of Middlesex with the local candidate, Mr. Currie. He came out of the contest successfully, and upon the assembling of the House in the following December he powerfully seconded Mr. Blake's assaults upon the existing Local Government. That Government fell, and gave place to a new one under Mr. Blake's leadership. Mr. Mackenzie took office in the new Ministry as Provincial Secretary. He soon after-

wards accepted the portfolio of Provincial Treasurer. In the discharge of the duties incidental to the last named office, his wide and comprehensive knowledge of the resources and fiscal condition of Ontario stood him in good stead, and his tenure of office was eminently beneficial to the Province. His Budget Speech, delivered during the session of 1872, was pronounced to be a clear and masterly exposition of the state of Provincial finance, even by those who had been accustomed to listen to, and pass judgment upon, the financial speeches of the Hon. E. B. Wood.

Mr. Mackenzie, however, did not long continue to hold office in the Local Government, nor did he long remain a member of the Ontario Legislature. He had entered that Body for the avowed purpose of assisting in the defeat of the Coalition Government, and this object being accomplished he left it. In the month of October, 1872, both he and Mr. Blake resigned their places and their seats, in order to devote themselves exclusively to Dominion politics in the House of Commons at Ottawa. It will be understood that those were the days when dual representation was permitted, and that Mr. Mackenzie had never ceased to represent the county of Lambton in the Dominion Parliament. There, as we have seen, he continued to lead the Liberal Party while it remained in Opposition. On the 5th of November, 1873, as everyone remembers, Sir John Macdonald's Government fell, in consequence of the Pacific Scandal disclosures. Lord Dufferin at once sent for Mr. Mackenzie, who, two days afterwards, announced that he had been successful in forming a new Ministry. This, the first Reform Ministry under Confederation was composed of the following members: Alexander Mackenzie, Minister of Public Works (Premier); Antoine A. Dorian, Q.C., Minister of Justice; Edward Blake, Q.C., without portfolio; Albert J. Smith, Q.C., Minister of Marine

and Fisheries; Luc Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture; Richard J. Cartwright, Minister of Finance; David Laird, Minister of the Interior; David Christie, Secretary of State; Isaac Burpee, Minister of Customs; Donald A. Macdonald, Postmaster-General; Thomas Coffin, Receiver-General; Telesphore Fournier, Q.C., Minister of Inland Revenue; William Ross, Minister of Militia and Defence; Richard W. Scott, Q.C., without portfolio. This Ministry from time to time underwent various modifications, but its policy remained unchanged throughout the whole term of its existence, which was of about five years' duration. Its "platform" was pretty clearly laid down by Mr. Mackenzie, in expounding his own views and opinions to the electors at Sarnia and elsewhere, when he returned to his constituents for reelection. They are still fresh in the public memory, and need not be quoted here. The best evidence of his sincerity was afforded by the legislation which marked his tenure of office, as well as by the administrative reforms which were accomplished during that period. The bitterest of Mr. Mackenzie's opponents will not deny that he was a conscientious and exceptionally hardworking official, and that his Government contrived to get through an amount of important legislation almost unique in our political annals. A mere enumeration of the titles of the more important measures which were placed on the statute-book during his tenure of office would occupy more space than can appropriately be spared for such a purpose in these pages. A few of them, however, stand out in such bold relief that they ought not to be passed over without mention. The General Election Law, passed during the first session, introduced vote by ballot, and abolished the property qualification for members. The Controverted Elections Act; the new Postal Act; the General Insurance Act; the Independence

of Parliament Act; the Public Accounts Audit Act, which places the Auditor beyond the control of the Ministers of the day; the Canada Temperance Act; the Homestead Exemption Act; the Petition of Right Act; the Acts relating to Criminal and Railway Statistics; the Act relating to Extradition of Criminals; the new Canadian Pacific Railway Act; the Tariff and Customs Revision Acts; the Militia Act; the Acts organizing the North-West Territory, and providing for the administration of justice therein; the Maritime Court Act for internal waters; the Supreme Court Act;—these are merely a few among many important measures for which Canada is indebted to the statesmanship of Mr. Mackenzie's Government. The Premier's own Department was managed like clock-work, and of course involved a great amount of toilsome and severe labour. His work, however, was not confined to his own Department, and his hand is discernible in nearly every important Act which was passed, and in nearly every important negotiation which took place, during his term of office. The Riel Amnesty, and the New Brunswick school question, both of which for a time threatened to produce grave consequences, were satisfactorily adjusted, mainly through the agency of Mr. Mackenzie himself. He also devoted a great deal of attention to the question of Immigration, and to the construction of the Intercolonial Railway.

Our sketch of the work of Mr. Mackenzie's Administration would be very incomplete if we failed to refer to two subjects of great importance on which decisive action was taken. The Royal Instructions and Commission under which Lord Dufferin and previous Governors-General acted were wholly inconsistent with some provisions of the Constitutional Act of 1867; and still more inconsistent with the spirit and principles of Responsible Government supposed to exist in full force in this country. Lord



Kimberly, in a formal despatch, laid down the principle that Lord Dufferin might, when he thought proper, act without the advice of his ministers. The Royal Instructions directed him "to extend or to withhold a pardon or reprieve according to (his) your own deliberate judgment, whether the members of our said Privy Council concur therein or otherwise." Such principles could not obtain the assent of a Liberal Government in Canada, however applicable they might be to a Crown Colony. Mr. Mackenzie's Government insisted upon the full application of the principles of constitutional freedom of action; that the Governor-General in Council and the Parliament of Canada should have the same duties and responsibilities to the people of Canada that the Queen, her Ministers and Parliament have to the people of England in all matters relating to internal administration; and that the powers of legislation given by the Constitutional Act could not and should not be fettered or impeded by any instructions from the Imperial Government to the Governor-General. The result of many personal and written communications was that the contentions of the Canadian Government were at last conceded. Anyone may, by contrasting the Royal Instructions issued to Lord Lorne with those issued to his predecessors, see how satisfactory to Canadian pride their present position is toward the Home Government, as compared to what formerly was tolerated. The other important subject to which we have alluded is the relations of Canada to negotiations with foreign countries in matters exclusively affecting Canadian interests. Mr. Mackenzie always held that such interests should be dealt with by Canadian diplomats. In pursuance of this view he procured the appointment of the Hon. George Brown in 1874 as joint plenipotentiary with Sir Edward Thornton, for negotiating a new commercial treaty with the United States. In

1877, when the Fishery Commission under the treaty of 1871 was about to be organized, the British Government desired to appoint an English Commissioner to represent Canada (nominally Britain), and named the intended Commissioner to the Canadian Government. Mr. Mackenzie promptly refused his assent, and insisted on the right of the Canadian Government to name the Commissioner to be appointed. The Imperial Government ultimately yielded, the result being that Sir A. T. Galt was appointed; that the Canadian Government controlled the negotiation; and that, for the first time, British (in this case purely Canadian) interests succeeded against the usual United States diplomacy.

During the summer of 1875, Mr. Mackenzie for the first time returned to his native land, which he had left thirty-three years before, and paid a visit to the home of his boyhood at Logierait. He had left it, full of hope and self-confidence, perhaps, but with little or no substantial wealth, with a limited education, and with no prospects in life except such as he might create for himself by virtue of his own ability and force of character. He returned with all the honour which attaches to a successful man: to a man whose success has been exceptionally great, but not more than commensurate with his deserts. He had left his home to seek employment as a stonemason, thankful if he could, by dint of steady, honest, patient manual labour, earn sufficient to maintain himself respectably in life. He returned as an eminent if not a wealthy man; as a man honoured and respected by thousands who had never seen his face; and as the first Minister of a vast Dominion embracing nearly half a continent. Upon reaching London he was welcomed in such fashion as might well have turned a weaker head, and was received with honour at Windsor Castle as the guest of Her Majesty. Mr. Mackenzie, however, while he doubtless ap-

preciated the honours which were showered upon him from every quarter, kept his soul above tinsel, and thought neither more nor less of himself than he had been accustomed to think when he was doing his duty in a much humbler sphere. After attending to the official business which called him to England, and making the acquaintance of many of the leading statesmen of Great Britain, he turned his steps northward, and in due time reached his native Highlands. His old school-fellows and fellow-countrymen in Perthshire welcomed him in true Highland style, and were unable to sufficiently express their delight at his visit. The demonstrations in his honour at Dunkeld and Logierait were such as to live for years in the memory of those who took part in them: and the presentation to him of the freedom of the city of Perth and of the towns of Dundee and Irvine by the local magistrates, the public receptions at Dundee, Greenock, Perth, Ayrshire, and elsewhere, were honours of which any subject of Her Majesty, however high his position or eminent his services, might well have been proud. In all the varied and somewhat trying positions in which he was placed, Mr. Mackenzie bore himself with modest dignity and self-respect, and his utterances were characterized by good sense and taste. His reply to an address presented to him by the workingmen of Dundee was especially noteworthy for its genuine manhood and the honourable independence of its tone. "I think," said Mr. Mackenzie, "that workingmen in Britain, as well as in the colonies, do not do themselves justice when they believe that the highest political positions are shut out from them by reason of social distinctions. For my own part, I never allude to the fact that I am or have been a workingman as a reason why I should be rejected or why I should be accepted. I base my entire claim for public confidence upon the expressions of opinion which I believe command public

confidence, and upon the result of those principles of which I have been a humble advocate for many years. . . . I have believed, and I now believe, in the extinction of all class legislation, and of all legislation which tends to promote any body of men, or any class of men, from the mere fact of their belonging to a class of a higher position non-politically than any other class in the community. But in our great colonies we take the ground simply and completely that every man stands equal in the eye of the law, and every man has the same opportunity, by the exercise of the talent with which God has blessed him, to rise in the world, and in the confidence of his fellow-citizens—the one quite as much as the other. Now, I am quite sure when I address so enlightened a body of men as the workingmen of Dundee . . . I can address them believing that I shall find a full response in their hearts to the opinions I utter when I press upon them the necessity that they shall assume an erect and proud position, that they shall respect their own manhood, and they shall soon compel other people to respect them." These are the very sentiments of Robert Burns, couched in less impassioned but equally unmistakable language. It is the old story of

"Rank is but the guinea-stamp;  
The man's the gold, for a' that."

Soon after making this speech, Mr. Mackenzie was received in the land of Burns itself—at Irvine, where he had once wrought at his trade, and where he had first made a public religious profession. He was presented with the freedom of the burgh, and attended a *soirée* in the little church in which he had been baptized.

Upon returning to Canada he was received with an enthusiasm not less pronounced than had attended him during his visit to his native land. He was received at the capital with a positive ovation, not by the

members of his own Party alone, but by many pronounced Conservatives.

During the summer of 1878 Mr. Mackenzie, in common with other prominent members of the Reform Party, made several progresses through various districts of the country, and addressed large audiences on the principal topics of the day. His addresses on these occasions were marked by the same qualities which have always characterized his speeches in Parliament—a firm grasp of the situation, and a most comprehensive knowledge of minute details. As the event proved, however, the people were desirous of a change. The trade of the country was in a very depressed state. The opponents of Mr. Mackenzie made the most of this depression, and held out promises of a more prosperous state of things in the event of the return of their Party to power. The result of the elections held on the 17th of September, 1878, was the return of a considerable majority hostile to Mr. Mackenzie's Ministry. The chief issue was the National Policy, the merits of which the public are better able to appreciate at the present day than they were two years ago. At any rate, the people pronounced strongly in its favour, and on the 10th of October following Mr. Mackenzie's Cabinet resigned. Mr. Mackenzie in thus resigning immediately after the elections, instead of waiting for the meeting of Parliament, adopted an unusual course; but he had two examples to follow—that of Mr. Disraeli in 1868, and that of Mr. Gladstone in 1874. This course seemed to him to be the bold and correct one, and has since been adopted by Lord Beaconsfield. Lord Dufferin at once sent for Sir John Macdonald, who soon formed a Government which still holds the reins of power at Ottawa. Upon retiring from office Mr.

Mackenzie resumed his old place as leader of the Opposition, which he continued to hold until the end of April last, when he resigned, and the Hon. Edward Blake succeeded to the position.

The immense amount of labour entailed upon Mr. Mackenzie during his tenure of office as head of a hard-worked Department, and as administrator during much of that time of one or more other Departments, added to the fatigue incidental to the hard-fought election campaign of 1878, were not without effect upon his physical health, though he never broke down under the great strain upon him, and he has since in great measure renewed his wonted vigour and elasticity. Though he is no longer saddled with the multifarious cares incidental to the position of leader of his Party, his zest for public life has undergone no abatement, and a long and useful Parliamentary career is still open to him. His resignation of the leadership has in no way lessened his importance to his Party, or his popularity among the members of the House. The high estimation in which he is held in his own constituency is sufficiently attested by the fact that on two occasions when he presented himself for re-election he was returned by acclamation.

Mr. Mackenzie has only one child, a daughter, by his first wife, who is married to the Rev. John Thompson, Presbyterian Minister, of Sarnia.

Since his retirement from the leadership of the Opposition Mr. Mackenzie has devoted the greater part of his time to conducting the affairs of the Sovereign—formerly called the Isolated Risk and Farmers'—Fire Insurance Company, of which he has for many years been the President and principal Director.

## THE HON. THOMAS MOSS.

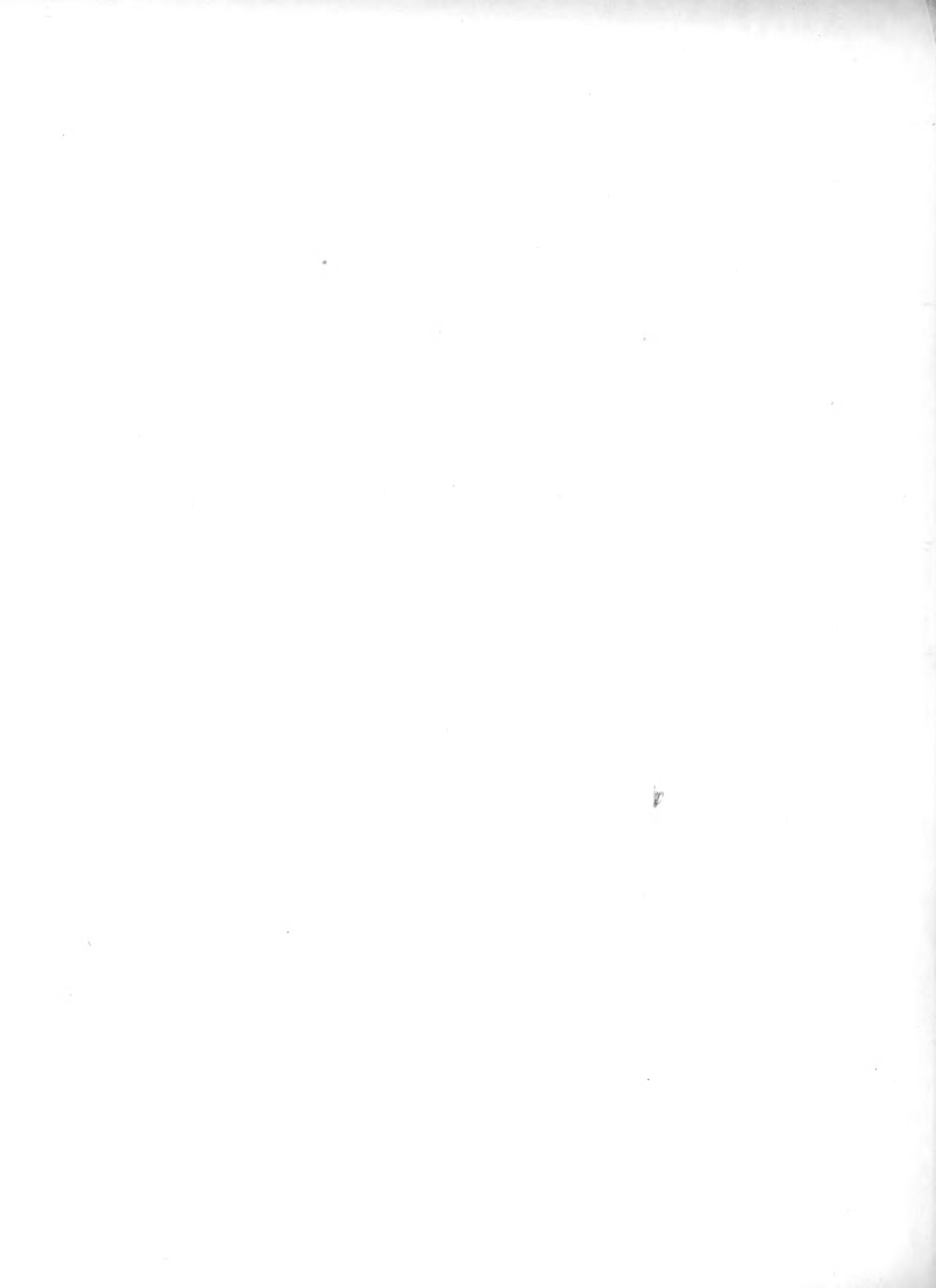
THOMAS MOSS, the present Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal of Ontario, was born at Cobourg, Upper Canada, on the 20th of August, 1836. His father, the late Mr. John Moss, at the time of his son's birth carried on business as a brewer at Cobourg, but subsequently removed to Toronto, where he continued to reside until his death. The latter was a staunch Conservative in politics in those days, and a supporter of the old Family Compact policy. Later in life he seems to have inclined to Liberalism. At any rate he was not so entirely eaten up by zeal for the Conservative party as to support by his vote so unconstitutional a proceeding as the Double Shuffle of 1858. He at that time resided in West Toronto, and for the first time in his life recorded a vote for the Reform candidate, the late Mr. George Brown. Mr. Moss was a successful man in business matters, had a large fund of shrewd, practical common sense, and enjoyed the confidence and respect of a wide circle of friends. He died at his home in Toronto, on the 26th of April, 1879.

His eldest son, the subject of this sketch, when a child attended the public schools in his native town, and was even then remarkable for his intellectual precocity and the extent of his knowledge. For the greater part of his early educational training, however, he was indebted to his paternal grandfather, who resided with the family, and

took great pains in directing his studies in English grammar, arithmetic, and the ordinary branches of a rudimentary education. Young Thomas Moss was a remarkably diligent student, as well as a persistent and omnivorous reader of miscellaneous literature. He was endowed with an unusually capacious and retentive memory, and by the circle of his acquaintances he was looked upon as a sort of youthful prodigy. His appetite for learning seemed to grow by what it fed upon, and when he was ten years of age he was intellectually as old as most well-educated boys of fifteen. His persistent studies, however, did not retard his physical vigour, and did not even prevent him from keenly enjoying the ordinary sports and amusements of boyhood. He was fond of athletics, and was known as an expert and enthusiastic cricketer. In the month of November, 1846, when he was ten years of age, his parents removed to Toronto, and he soon afterwards entered as a student at Gale's Institute, which subsequently developed into Knox College. After remaining as a student at that establishment nearly two years, he entered Upper Canada College in the fourth form. In the autumn of 1854 he matriculated at the University of Toronto, and continued his attendance there for four years. His educational career was marked by boundless industry, and by very unusual proficiency. In addition to his scholastic achievements



Thomas M. F.



he was a prominent member of the University Literary and Debating Society, and his speeches were marked by a maturity of thought and a chasteness of diction such as are not often found associated with a young man in his teens. When he graduated in 1858, he took triple first-class honours, and won the gold medal respectively in classics, mathematics, and modern languages. A year later, in 1859, he graduated as M.A., and wrote the prize thesis of the year. He was by this time known far and wide as one of the most brilliant young men in the country, and it was sufficiently apparent to all who knew him that he was destined to fill a high position in whatsoever calling he might adopt. In the month of September, 1860, during the visit of the Prince of Wales to Toronto, Mr. Moss was presented to His Royal Highness as the most distinguished Alumnus of his University. It is a circumstance worth noting, that neither then nor at any subsequent period have the high honours awarded to Mr. Moss excited any feeling of envy or jealousy on the part of his competitors in the race for distinction. All his advancements have been accepted as fitting tributes to precocious intellect, wide and various attainments, and a personal character of great amiability.

Immediately after obtaining his Bachelor's degree he began the study of the law, and served the first two years of the term of his articles in the office of Mr. Adam Crooks, the present Minister of Education for Ontario. Mr. Crooks was at that time in partnership with Mr. Hector Cameron, the style of the firm being Crooks & Cameron. Upon the dissolution of the firm, Mr. Moss's articles were assigned to Mr. Hector Cameron, with whom he remained until the completion of his term of study. In Michaelmas Term, 1861, he was called to the Bar of Upper Canada, and soon afterwards entered into partnership with his former principal,

Mr. Cameron. Several years later he formed a partnership with the Hon. James Patton and Mr. Featherston (now Mr. Justice) Osler. This firm, under the name of Patton, Osler & Moss, speedily became known as one of the most prominent legal firms in the country. At the Bar, Mr. Moss's career was as exceptionally brilliant as it had been at the University, and from the time of holding his first brief it was evident to the entire profession that the sanguine expectations formed of him would be fully realized. Pitted against the ablest members of the Upper Canadian Bar—men much older and more experienced than himself—Mr. Moss never failed to hold his own, and to extort the ungrudging admiration of both judges and juries. Early in his professional career he was appointed Equity Lecturer to the Law Society at Osgoode Hall, and Registrar to the University of Toronto.

In July, 1863, Mr. Moss married Amy, eldest daughter of the late Hon. Robert Baldwin Sullivan, who is still remembered by Canadians who have passed middle age as a bright ornament both of Bench and Bar in his day and generation. In 1871 Mr. Moss was elected as a Benchler of the Law Society, and during the following year was created a Queen's Counsel. Early in 1872 he was appointed a member of the Law Reform Commission to inquire into the expediency of amalgamating the Courts of Common Law and Equity in this Province. About the same time he was offered a seat on the Judicial Bench as one of the Vice-Chancellors, but did not think proper to accept the dignity. In the autumn of 1873, upon the fall of Sir John Macdonald's Government, Mr. Moss for the first time entered the field of politics. He had always had a leaning towards the Reform Party, but had up to this period found little leisure for political matters, having always a very large professional business, and having other

duties which engrossed much of his time. The crisis, however, was such that he considered it his duty to respond to the pressing solicitations of his friends, and to serve his country in a legislative capacity. He was elected to a seat in the House of Commons as member for the Western Division of Toronto, and upon first taking his seat made a speech which has been characterized as one of the most brilliant and masterly efforts ever heard within the walls of a Canadian Parliament. He continued to sit

for West Toronto until the month of October, 1875, when he was appointed a Justice of the Court of Appeal. In 1874 he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University of Toronto, a position which he still holds, having been twice reelected. Upon the death of Chief Justice Draper, in November, 1877, Mr. Moss succeeded him in his high office, and thus attained, at the early age of forty-one years, the most exalted position attainable in this Province by a member of the legal profession.



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*PORTRAIT GALLERY.*

BY

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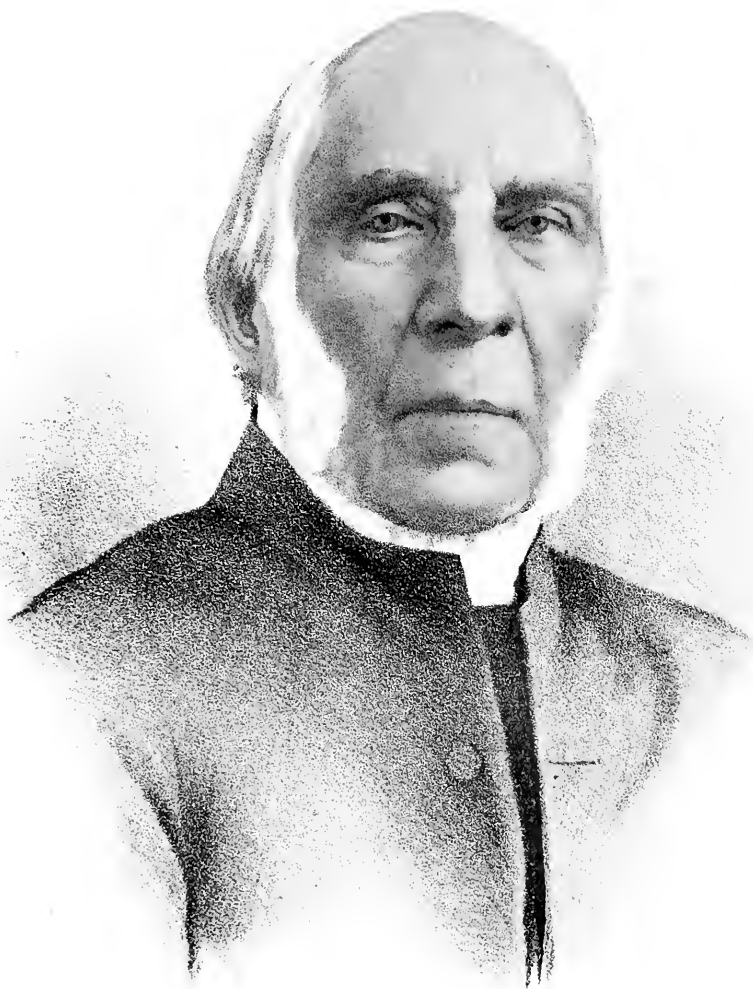
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*John Frederickton*

## THE MOST REV. JOHN MEDLEY, D.D.,

### *METROPOLITAN OF CANADA.*

THE METROPOLITAN OF CANADA is the oldest Bishop in British North America, and, with one exception, the oldest Colonial Bishop now living. He is an Englishman by birth and education, and was born on the 19th of December, 1804. He was educated principally at Wadham College, Oxford, where he early exhibited great fondness for classics and polite literature. He entered at Wadham in 1823, taking his degree in honours (second class) in 1826, and becoming an M.A. in 1830. In 1828 he was made a deacon, and in the following year he was ordained a priest. For three years he filled a curacy in a small town in Devonshire, and from 1831 to 1838 officiated as minister of St. John's Chapel, in Truro, Cornwall. In the last named year he became Vicar of St. Thomas, Exeter—a position which he held until 1845. Three years before this time he had been made Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral. In 1845 the Diocese of Fredericton, in New Brunswick, was formed, and on the nomination of the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Medley was appointed to that See, and consecrated its first Bishop, on the 4th of May. The consecration took place at Lambeth Palace. The new Bishop sailed immediately for the new world, and on the 11th of June was inducted in the parish church. The corner stone of Fredericton Cathedral was laid by the Bishop on the 15th of October following. In 1853 the edifice was

consecrated, Bishop Mountain of Quebec taking an important part in the ceremony.

At the Synod of 1879 the Bishops of Canada elected Bishop Medley as their Metropolitan. It was thought that this election would lead to some controversy, but contrary to general expectation there was none. In making the choice, the principle was admitted, at the outset, that the claim of seniority was to prevail. The election was, and in future will be, a mere formality. It is said that the title of Metropolitan, and the privileges which it confers, will no longer be attached to a See, but will be affixed to a personality.

Dr. Medley is incapable of the eloquence of a Punshon or a Chapin, but his preaching is higher in tone, and more polished in style. He never carries enthusiasm into the pulpit, but his discourses are rich in individuality, in learning, and in logic. His sentences are skilfully turned, and full of graceful imagery and fine culture; but his sermons, as a rule, are of too high a class to make a deep impression on an audience which has not, like his own parishioners, grown up with him, and learned to follow him throughout the peculiar avenues of his thought. Personally, Dr. Medley is highly esteemed and loved, while the elevated character of his life-work, and the great industry with which he has administered the affairs of his diocese—a see which includes the entire Province of New Brunswick—

for upwards of thirty-five years, has won the highest praise, alike from Churchmen and Christians of other denominations. He has a keen appreciation of humour. A good story is told of him, which illustrates this quality. Shortly after the St. John fire, in 1877, his Lordship preached a sermon on the calamitous event, in the commercial capital of the Province. Of course public expectation stood high, and a discourse of great power was naturally looked for. The audience was very large, and the sermon, which was most effective and suggestive, fully justified the popular expectation. The daily papers sent representatives to report the sermon in full. One of these called on his Lordship before the exercises in the church began, and obtained from him a half-reluctant promise that the manuscript of the sermon should be given to him immediately after the close of the service. The reporter, elated at his good fortune, seated himself in a pew, and watched with eager interest the efforts which his rivals were making during the delivery of the sermon. At the close, he stepped into the private room of the Bishop to claim fulfilment of the latter's promise. The worthy prelate, without a smile, handed a single

sheet of paper to the discomfited young man, on which were inscribed the notes of the discourse, in a system of shorthand invented by the Bishop himself. The reporter turned away, a sadder but a wiser man, and repairing to the sanctum, spent the greater part of the night and a portion of the next morning in trying, with the aid of his memory, to decipher the curious hieroglyphics. By dint of very hard work he managed to write out a report of about a third of a column in length.

The Metropolitan is an author of repute. His published writings embrace several volumes of sermons, tracts, etc., besides a small book of Episcopal Forms for Church Government, several lectures, an Address to Sunday School Teachers, numerous charges to the clergy, and (this year) a fine scholarly work on the Book of Job, with a new translation, notes, and an introduction. English and Canadian critics have spoken in high terms of this translation. The notes are said to exhibit wide scholarship and great research. The Bishop, now in his 76th year, continues to pursue his avocations with his usual spirit and vigour, his age apparently offering no perceptible barrier to the full play of his faculties.







Wm. Brown

## THE HON. GEORGE BROWN.

MR. BROWN'S name has long been one of the most conspicuous in our politics, and it is safe to say that no man now living has made a more distinct or abiding mark upon the Canadian history of his time. Although a good many years have elapsed since his retirement, in a sense, from active participation in public life, there is no man whose character and principles have been more frequently discussed down to the present hour; and there is certainly no man now living in Canada as to whom a wider divergence of sentiment has prevailed. It is proverbially difficult to do full justice to a biography during the lifetime of the subject of it, and the interval which has elapsed since Mr. Brown's lamented death is as yet too short to render the difficulty materially less. The time for reviewing his career with historic discrimination or comprehensiveness of detail is yet distant. The battles in which he took a foremost part were so fiercely contested, and the issues at stake were so momentous, that it is well nigh impossible, even for the most impartial-minded writer, to review them without taking either one side or the other. To persons familiar with the history of this country during the last thirty-five years, it will seem like a truism to say that Mr. Brown was a man of great energy, of indomitable will, of very distinctly pronounced opinions, and of very marked individuality of character generally. His opponents—

and even some of those who were not his opponents—have been wont to say of him that he was overbearing and dictatorial, that he was firmly wedded to his own way, and that he had scant toleration for the opinions of those who differed from him. To these accusations, whether well or ill-founded, it is only fair to reply that Mr. Brown's opinions on important public questions were generally held, not only conscientiously, but with a deep-rootedness and intensity such as few men ever know. To the consideration of every public question which engaged his attention he brought a fervour and enthusiasm which had no affinity with the half-formed and lightly-held predilections of more shallow minds. When he had once passed judgment on a question, doubt as to the soundness of his conclusions was never permitted to intrude itself upon him. He had no conception of "possibilities beyond his own horizon," and not much faculty for receiving discipline at the hands of others. His convictions, right or wrong, were to him demonstrated propositions. They always found forcible expression, and did not always conduce to his popularity. They were often at variance with the prevalent sentiments of the community, and not seldom with the views of his own political adherents. Neither opposition on the part of his antagonists, nor remonstrance on the part of his friends, was ever found of sufficient weight to silence him when he felt that

he had anything of importance to say. He was always accustomed to deliver his message after his own fashion, and the fashion was sometimes one which cannot be held up to unqualified admiration. No man ever more completely fulfilled in his own person all the essential conditions of "a good hater." His denunciations of men to whom he was opposed, and of measures whereof he disapproved, were sometimes sweeping and unsparing. His advocacy of cherished opinions was vigorous and uncompromising. Such a man is tolerably certain to make warm friends and bitter foes. Mr. Brown was able to number among the public men of Canada a goodly array of both. As has already been intimated, the time has not yet arrived for a just and satisfactory analysis of his life's work. When such an analysis shall have been made, the verdict of history will follow. The purport of that verdict is not doubtful, though the process whereby it will be arrived at cannot yet be fully known. Here, it will be said, was a man who was possessed of genuine convictions. His ambition was high, and perhaps not always without alloy; but his statesmanship was a reality and not a sham, and he had always at heart the best interests of his country. He came to Canada as a young man, without friends or worldly wealth. By his energy and ability he speedily acquired an influence and a position which were second to those of none of his competitors. He spoke, wrote and fought for the people's rights with unwearying industry, irrepressible vigour, and dauntless courage. He took a prominent part in public life during many years, and there was no great reform of his time with which he was not honourably connected. If he was tenacious of his opinions, his opinions on public questions generally turned out to be sound. Though a strong and even violent party man, he could rise above party considerations, and join hands with the most uncon-

promising of his foes to bring about a scheme of government which bade fair to secure the country's lasting good. Such a man, whatever his shortcomings, was both a patriot and a statesman, and must fill a high and honourable place in the history of Canada. This, or something like this, we believe, will be the purport of the verdict which posterity will pass upon the personal and public career of the Honourable George Brown.

He was, as most of our readers know, a native of Scotland, and a son of the late Mr. Peter Brown. His mother was Miss Mackenzie, the only daughter of Mr. George Mackenzie, of "The Cottage," Stornoway, in the Island of Lewis. At the time of his son's birth, and for many years previously, Peter Brown was a resident of Edinburgh, where he was engaged in various building and mercantile operations. He was a man of high native intelligence, great force of character, and good social standing. He possessed a sound education, had read much, and was especially well versed in the constitutional and political history of Great Britain. He was well known and highly respected in Edinburgh society, and though not addicted to letters at this period of his life, he had many friends among the literary men of the Modern Athens. He was on intimate terms with Cockburn and Jeffrey; and, notwithstanding his Liberal politics, was personally acquainted with Sir Walter Scott, Professor Wilson, and John Gibson Lockhart. In addition to the members of his own family there are many persons still living in Canada who knew him well during the last twenty years of his life, and who cherish his memory with respect and affection. Both by descent and by predilection he was an avowed Liberal in politics, according to the tenets of Liberalism in those days, but was a zealous upholder of monarchy, and a prominent member of the Presbyterian Church.

His eldest son, the subject of this memoir,

was born in Edinburgh on the 29th of November, 1818, and at the time of his death was sixty-one years and five months old. In his early boyhood he attended the High School of his native city, but as his educational progress at that seat of learning was not satisfactory to himself, he was transferred, at his own request, to the Southern Academy of Edinburgh. The latter institution was at that time presided over by Dr. William Gumm, a capable teacher and a very worthy man. Under the instruction of this gentleman young George Brown made rapid progress, and was particularly distinguished for his proficiency in mathematics. During his last session at the Academy he stood high in all his classes, and won flattering encomiums from his tutor. At the closing examination he was chosen to declaim an exercise, and Dr. Gumm, in introducing him to the audience, made a remark the appositeness of which must strike every one who is acquainted with the young scholar's subsequent career. "This young gentleman," said the Doctor, "is not only endowed with high enthusiasm, but he possesses the faculty of creating enthusiasm in others." Many of his school-fellows at this establishment have since risen to high dignities, both at home and abroad. He was also for a short time a pupil at a private school at Mussellburgh, where he had for a fellow-pupil the present Mr. Justice Galt. His father wished him to enter the University, but the project did not meet with the son's approval. His mind was practical, and he determined that his school should thereafter be the world at large. He began to take part in his father's business, and to interest himself to some extent in political and municipal affairs. The father early discerned the bent of his son's mind, and doubtless did much in those early days to mould his opinions. They were wont to hold long discussions on the topics of the day, sometimes seated by the

domestic fireside, and sometimes in the course of long walks through the devious ways and picturesque suburbs of the northern capital. In the course of one of these peregrinations they encountered an elderly, venerable, and most benevolent-looking gentleman who was saluted by the father with ceremonious respect. After they had passed on, the son was informed that the old gentleman was no less distinguished a personage than the author of "Waverley."

The family-circle at home was a singularly happy and harmonious one, and for some years nothing occurred to disturb its felicity. In process of time, however, through the misconduct of an agent, Mr. Brown the elder became involved in pecuniary difficulties. After a long and fruitless endeavour to extricate himself he determined to emigrate to America, and in 1838 he carried out his determination. Accompanied by his eldest son, and leaving the rest of his family behind, until he should be able to provide a new home for them beyond the Atlantic, he sailed for New York. The father, though by no means insensible to his reverse of fortune, was far from being dispirited by it; and the son was possessed of a boundless energy and fertility of resource which were not likely to fail him under such circumstances. Both father and son soon found congenial employment. Ere long the family were comfortably settled down in New York, and looking forward with hope and confidence to the future. Peter Brown's wide reading and his comprehensive knowledge of British politics stood him in good stead. He became a contributor to *The Albion*, a weekly newspaper published in New York in the interest of the English population. *The Albion* had then been in existence nearly twenty years, having been founded in 1822 by Dr. John S. Bartlett, British Consul at New York, who managed it successfully for more than a quarter of a century. It was the princi-

pal medium whereby English ideas were disseminated through the United States, and had a political and social influence more than commensurate with its circulation, which was necessarily somewhat restricted. The proprietor of *The Albion* was glad to avail himself of the services of so well-informed a contributor as the elder Brown, who, in addition to his intimate acquaintance with English politics, was a ready and forcible writer, and a man whose opinions were of value. His articles at once attracted attention, and were eagerly read wherever the paper circulated. His style was clear, earnest and logical, and his views were liberal and enlightened without being ultra-radical. It was during his connection with *The Albion* that a very foolish book made its appearance at New York under the title of "The Glory and Shame of England." The author was Mr. C. Edwards Lester, an American gentleman who for some time filled the post of United States Consul at Genoa. It professed to give an account of the writer's own experiences during a hurried visit to Great Britain, and was conceived in a style and spirit which would have been malevolent if they had not been feeble and childish. It abounded with errors and false logic, and contained not a few assertions which, to any one conversant with British institutions and social life, were palpable misstatements of fact. It appeared in 1841, and, chiefly in consequence of its rabid republicanism and its denunciations of everything British, it attracted an attention altogether out of proportion to its intrinsic merits. Mr. Peter Brown, in emigrating from his native land, had by no means left his loyalty behind him, and he conceived it to be his duty as a British subject not to allow such a farrago of absurdities to remain unanswered. He wrote and published a reply to Mr. Lester's book under the title of "The Fame and Glory of England Vindicated." It went

over the ground previously traversed by Mr. Lester chapter by chapter, and almost page by page. It embodied a formidable array of statistics, and pointed out numberless absurdities and inconsistencies. This work appeared in 1842 from the press of Messrs. Wiley & Putnam, of New York, and was at once eagerly read and discussed by a wide circle. The all but unanimous verdict was that Mr. Lester stood convicted of gross ignorance and unfairness, if not of wilful falsehood. Mr. Brown's *nom de plume* on the title-page was "Libertas," but the real authorship was no secret, and the effect of his book was to make his name widely known through the Northern States as a writer of much keenness and force. His contributions to *The Albion* were read with greater interest than before, and there can be no doubt that his writings did much to extend the circulation of that paper. His position, however, did not in all respects fulfil his aspirations. He was merely an employé on the editorial staff, and probably had to submit to a certain amount of editorial dictation. New York and the Northern States generally contained a large Scottish population, and Mr. Brown conceived the idea that a paper which should occupy the same position towards them that *The Albion* occupied with respect to the English would meet with a fair degree of support. This view was participated in by many of Mr. Brown's friends and acquaintances in and about New York, and ere long he took up the project in earnest. A canvass was set on foot, and a considerable subscription-list was obtained. In the month of December, 1842, the new venture made its appearance under the title of *The British Chronicle*, with Peter Brown as its editor, and with George Brown as the publisher and general business manager. As the organ of the Scottish population of the United States it was without a competitor, and even as a British organ it threatened serious

rivalry to *The Albion*. It discussed America and republican institutions with great freedom, and even with some severity, but it was always well written, and was regarded with respect even by the Americans themselves. As had been anticipated on its behalf, it obtained a fair share of support, but *The Albion*, which had been long established, had too firm a hold of the public to permit its young rival to achieve a remarkable success. The young publisher launched all his energy in the enterprise, and travelled over the greater part of New England and the neighbouring states, taking advertisements and subscribers, and making himself known to the class of persons to whom he chiefly looked for support. He had meanwhile begun to take an interest in the affairs of Canada, where the vigorous articles in his paper were already attracting some attention among the Scottish Presbyterians. In the spring of 1843 he determined to try what could be done in the way of extending the circulation of the *Chronicle* in this country, and came over with that end in view. Could he have foreseen the result of his visit; could he have foreseen that in less than ten years he would have become one of the best known and most influential of Canada's citizens, it is to be presumed that he would have come over with very high hopes. But he had not, and could not have, any such prescience. His ambition was of a much more modest character. He merely aspired to extend the circulation and influence of his father's paper. Upon his arrival in Toronto he presented himself to, and was well-received by, the Scottish Presbyterians. Young as he was—he was not yet twenty-five—his energy and force of character impressed all who came in contact with him. It was the period of the Disruption of the Scottish National Church. Both his father and himself had entered zealously into the dispute on the side of the Free Church. The adherents of that side in

Canada felt the want of an organ which should espouse their interests in opposition to those of the Established Church of Scotland. This young man was evidently made of the precise kind of stuff they needed. Overtures were made to him to convert his paper into the organ of the Free Church Party. At this time there was no idea of removing the office of publication from New York to Canada, but it was intended that the *Chronicle* should circulate freely through this country, and definite promises of support were given. The proposal was deemed worthy of consideration by Mr. Brown, and was by him forwarded to New York for his father's approval. Meanwhile he continued his tour through Canada, and having received the stamp of endorsement from the Free Church Party he was everywhere well received by their adherents. Upon reaching Kingston, which was then the seat of Government, he received overtures which promised better things still. Having come into contact with Samuel Bealey Harrison, who then held the office of Provincial Secretary for Upper Canada in the Lafontaine-Baldwin Administration, the political situation of the country was discussed between the two with considerable freedom. It has been intimated that Mr. Brown had for some time previously taken a good deal of interest in Canadian affairs, and he was thus able to take an intelligent part in such a discussion. It is almost unnecessary to say that both his sympathies and his training had made him an advanced Liberal in politics. The temper of his mind was such that political controversy was grateful to him, and he possessed a natural aptitude for dealing with constitutional questions. His ready and firm grasp of the situation astonished Mr. Harrison not a little. That a young man who had been only a few weeks in the country, and who was merely the business agent of a New York newspaper, should enter with such zest and appreciation

into the issues of Canadian politics, and should take in the main points with such ready intelligence, seemed to the easy-going Provincial Secretary almost phenomenal. He was introduced to Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Francis Hincks, and other members of the Administration. This, it must be borne in mind, was in the early summer of 1843. Sir Charles Bagot had just been laid in the grave, and Sir Charles Metcalfe had been only about two months in this country. What course the latter would pursue was as yet an open question, as he had been remarkably reticent ever since his arrival; but he had begun to coquet with Sir Allan Macnab and other prominent supporters of the ultra-Conservative Party, and several members of the Administration—Robert Baldwin, Francis Hincks and S. B. Harrison among them—had already begun to anticipate some measure of the trouble which subsequently ensued. It seemed not unlikely that the whole question of Responsible Government would be opened afresh, and that the battle would have to be fought over again. As may readily be supposed, the Government were very willing to secure the support of an additional newspaper. Young Mr. Brown had made a decided impression upon the various members of the Administration, and had given them the idea that he would be a potent ally of any political cause to which he might attach himself. It does not appear that any definite negotiations were entered into, but the feasibility of removing the *Chronicle* to Canada was discussed, and when Mr. Brown left Kingston he must have felt that in the event of his taking up his abode in this country he could count upon a pretty strong support from the Government. The Government, however, might not long remain in power, and if it were ousted there were several prominent members of it who would probably accept offices which would permanently remove them from political life.

Cogitating on these and a hundred other possibilities of the near future, Mr. Brown continued his tour through Canada, and made himself and his paper known to many influential people in Montreal and Quebec. In due course he reached his home in New York, whither various overtures from Toronto and Kingston had preceded him. The overtures had by this time become urgent, and had not been without effect on Mr. Brown the elder, who, however, saw a fair share of prosperity before him in the land of his adoption, and did not at first feel disposed to try the experiment of another removal. But George came home from Canada with strong representations. The country, he said, was young, and persons of ability and education were not numerous there. There was no position to which a man of energy and good character might not reasonably hope to attain, if his will were strong and his brain sound. New York, he said, offered a competence and nothing more; whereas Canada offered probable wealth and possible fame. The family, moreover, were all strongly British and anti-Republican in feeling, and as a mere matter of choice would much prefer to live under British laws, and among persons of British sympathies. The upshot was that the son got the best of the argument, and before the close of the summer the family had bidden adieu to the land of the stars and stripes, and were once more living under British dominion, at Toronto. The name of *The British Chronicle* was changed to that of *The Banner*, the first number of which made its appearance on the 18th of August, 1843. It was a weekly paper, as the *Chronicle* had been, and it was above all things the organ of the Free Church Party; but it was also strongly political, and supported the Administration, which in the course of the ensuing autumn entered on its memorable struggle with the Governor-General as to



the true meaning of Responsible Government. The nature of that struggle has already been sufficiently referred to in the sketch of the life of Robert Baldwin. Sir Charles made appointments without consulting his Council, and when remonstrated with by the members for so doing he declined either to confess that he was in the wrong or to promise that he would not repeat the offence in future. The Ministry resigned, and formed themselves into a powerful Opposition under the leadership of Mr. Baldwin in Upper Canada and Mr. Lafontaine in the Lower Province. To keep pace with this Opposition, and with Mr. Brown's own strong political views, *The Banner* was soon found to be an inadequate medium. The theological element in it was developed at the expense of all other matters whatever, and its arguments were chiefly addressed to the adherents of the Free Church. It was felt that there must be a paper which should be above all things political, and the recognized organ of the Reform Party. This truth, as the struggle with Sir Charles Metcalfe waxed fiercer and fiercer, became more and more apparent. A well-conducted organ of Reform had become a political necessity of the time. Mr. George Brown was applied to by the leading Reformers of the country, and the result of the application was the establishment of *The Globe*.

The first number of the *Globe*—a weekly, like its predecessor, the *Banner*—was issued on the 5th of March, 1844. As compared with the *Daily Globe* of to-day, it was a very insignificant-looking sheet, both in size and typographical appearance. The subscription price was four dollars per annum, and the edition printed was ludicrously small as compared with the present issue. Upon its first appearance it had five competitors in Toronto as a political journal. It went on gaining steadily in circulation and influence for many years. It is a great

power in the land at the present day, but its rivals have all long since ceased to exist. For these results there is a perfectly good reason. It would be impossible to conceive of a more apposite illustration of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. It was a foregone conclusion that Mr. Brown must be a successful man. He had now chosen a field where his tremendous energy could have full play; where every exercise of it could be made to conduce to a practical result, and where, as a consequence, his success was doubly assured. At its commencement, the *Globe* was the joint property of Peter and George Brown, but the latter was the directing spirit, and the one upon whom its supporters chiefly relied. It soon became apparent that the sheet would be no despicable factor in the struggle with Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the efforts of his supporters were put strenuously forward to crush it. But the man at the helm was not one to be crushed. He assailed the members of the once formidable but now practically moribund Family Compact, as they had never been assailed before, even by Robert Gourlay or William Lyon Mackenzie. The time when an obnoxious newspaper proprietor's type and presses could be battered and thrown into the bay with impunity was long since past; and as for bandying words with him, not even the most voluble member of the oligarchy would have dared to try such an experiment with George Brown in those days. He could always contrive to say three savage words where any of his opponents could find one. His vigorous articles began to produce an effect on all classes of society, and to stir up a feeling throughout the country that it was time to awaken out of sleep.

The ink was scarcely dry on the first number of the *Globe* ere Mr. George Brown was importuned to allow himself to be put in nomination for a seat in Parliament. Strange as it may seem, the proposal had no

charms for him at that date. His resolve, however, was the result of careful consideration, and his own innate good sense. He was poor, and had a way to make in the world for others besides himself. He had entered on his career as a journalist with high hopes, and believed that he had found his true vocation in life. To that career he determined to devote all his energy, until it should have produced him an abundant crop of fruit. He determined that the *Globe* should have an individuality. We think it will be admitted on all hands that he acted up to his determination and fully realized his expectations. The tone of the articles in the *Globe* during the first few years of its existence is not the tone of the *Pall Mall Gazette* or the *Saturday Review*. Its style is not one which we would advise any young journalist to take for his model, for it is a style which in most hands would be inefficacious as well as offensive. But it realized the ideal of its proprietor, who both in and out of print was very much given to calling a spade a spade, as the saying is. Without laying any claim to eloquence or splendour of composition, the articles in the *Globe* were full of a lusty uncouth vigour which found a road to the understandings of readers from one end of this land to the other. The writer generally had justice on his side, and knew it, and it must be confessed that he was very little given to tempering justice with mercy in those days. A man who made a statement, on any public matter, which was not strictly borne out by the facts, was tolerably certain to be told in the next number of the *Globe* that he lied. And he was told this, not by implication or innuendo, but plainly, straightforwardly, and in so many words; and he was fortunate if the words were not printed in capitals. The article, however, was pretty sure to be backed by unimpeachable evidence, and even by the bitterest of its opponents the *Globe* soon came to be recognized as a

paper which generally told the truth, even if it had its own ungainly fashion of telling it. The paper, in the public mind, was identified with Mr. George Brown—and justly, for the *Globe* was Mr. George Brown. No paper, from the time of Roger L'Estrange's *Observer* downwards, ever more completely reflected the individuality of its editor. Mr. Peter Brown took a certain share in the business management, and also contributed occasional articles to its columns; but the bone and sinew, the body and soul, the heart's blood and nerves of the enterprise were evolved from the son. The latter made himself acquainted with the wants and sentiments of the people throughout this Upper Province as no man had ever done before. He circulated among them, rich and poor, gentle and simple; went to their houses, visited their schools, inspected their crops and farm improvements, and placed himself fully in accord with their inner lives. In an incredibly short space of time he knew every Reformer in the Province who was worth knowing—as well as a good many who were perhaps hardly worth the trouble. From Amherstburgh to Cornwall, from Goderich to Niagara, he hurried hither and thither, making acquaintances and increasing his influence and his knowledge of the country every day. In this way he was able to gauge, and not unfrequently to mould public opinion. The *Globe* was soon a household word everywhere in Upper Canada, and had a considerable circulation in the Lower Province. It was the recognized organ of the Reform Party, but was conducted with an independence and sometimes with an insubordination that knew no master, and would submit to no dictation. Its circulation and influence grew apace, and it soon (1846) became necessary to issue it twice a-week, though the subscription price remained unchanged. Three years later it began to be issued both tri-weekly and weekly, the price

of the tri-weekly edition being four dollars a year, and that of the weekly edition two dollars. Satisfactory as this success must have been, there was as yet no room for a daily, and even the tri-weekly was considered as being in advance of the times.

Long before this time Sir Charles Metcalfe had succumbed to the terrible disease which had so long held him in its grasp. He had resigned his post, returned to England, and died. The policy which he had striven to maintain, and which had found so redoubtable an opponent in Mr. Brown, did not totally disappear from the scene with the Governor-General. It cannot be said to have been effectually done away with until the elections of 1847, when it received its death-blow at the polls. To this result the *Globe* contributed more perhaps than any other factor whatever. Mr. Brown worked with an energy which, even for him, was tremendous, to secure a great triumph for the Liberal Party. He had established a western branch office of the *Globe* in London, and had taken personal charge of it during the busiest four months of the campaign. He had visited various constituencies in the interest of Reform candidates, and always with satisfactory results. His speeches from the hustings and on the stump were generally addressed to audiences where the Scottish element was predominant, and were always received with enthusiasm and tumultuous applause. His style of speaking was something altogether different from that to which Canadian electors had been accustomed. It possessed precisely the same qualities as his editorial articles. It was sinewy, tumultuous, impetuous, like the utterances of a man who must have his say out or perish in the attempt. It seldom failed to carry all before it, and he was often sent out as a forlorn hope. Dr. Gurn's characterization of his boyish effort at declamation at the Edinburgh Southern Academy would have applied with tenfold

felicity to the speeches of his manhood. Any one who is old enough to have heard him deliver one of his election speeches does not need to be told that he was endowed with high enthusiasm, or that he possessed the faculty of begetting enthusiasm in his hearers. By the time this election campaign was at an end George Brown was better known throughout the Province than any man in public life in Upper Canada. He was pressed again and again by various constituencies to enter Parliament, but he was not yet ready to do so, and continued to devote himself to his paper. Upon the formation of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration, in 1848, after the arrival of Lord Elgin, the *Globe* became the mouth-piece of the Government.

In 1849 Mr. Brown's residence in Toronto was attacked by the mob, in consequence of the agitation arising out of the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill—a Bill which of course had received the support of the *Globe*. Mr. Baldwin was subjected to a similar indignity in Montreal, as also were most of the prominent members of the Administration, as well as the Governor-General himself. During the same year Mr. Brown took a prominent part as one of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the abuses connected with the Provincial Penitentiary at Kingston. The inquiry lasted several months, and resulted in important reforms in the management of that institution.

Upon the opening of the Parliamentary session in May of the following year it soon began to be apparent that there was not perfect unanimity of sentiment among the supporters of the Government. The sources of discord were various, and the dissatisfaction of the members from the Lower Province did not arise from the same causes as those which produced the discontent in Upper Canada. Mr. Papineau's principal grievance arose from his desire to see the Legislative Council made elective. The

Separate School question was another bone of contention. In the Upper Province a large section of the Reform Party began to clamour vehemently for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. The agitation on these subjects was largely fomented by Mr. Brown, who advocated them in the columns of the *Globe* with the vigour and determination which he had always been wont to display with respect to matters on which he had fully made up his mind. The feelings of the Government on the question of the Clergy Reserves have been sufficiently indicated in the sketch of Robert Baldwin. The members were not unanimous on the matter, and some of them were even disposed to abide by the settlement made under Lord Sydenham. Not one of them was in any unseemly haste to see secularization accomplished. Mr. Brown, notwithstanding his strong desire for secularization, continued to give the Government a general support in the *Globe*. Not so the *Examiner*, a paper which had been founded twelve years before in Toronto by Mr. Hincks as an exponent of Reform principles, and which was at this time under the editorial control of Mr. Charles Lindsey, and the business control of Mr. James Lesslie. The *Examiner* now advocated many sweeping measures of reform with which the Administration was not disposed to deal, and ere long arrayed itself in Opposition. It supported the policy of Dr. Rolph, Peter Perry, Malcolm Cameron—who had held office in the Administration, but had resigned—and the extreme wing of the Reform Party. The adherents of this Party were distinguished by the name of "Clear Grits," and in addition to the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, advocated universal suffrage, vote by ballot, free trade and direct taxation, the abolition of the Court of Chancery, and many other root-and-branch reforms. Some of these measures—notably that of secularization—received support from the *Globe*,

but the root-and-branch policy as a whole was regarded by Mr. Brown as in advance of the times, and its supporters were denounced as "a little miserable clique of office-seeking, buncombe-talking cormorants, who met in a certain lawyer's office on King Street, and announced their intention to form a new Party on 'Clear Grit' principles." The Clear Grits were stigmatized by the *Globe* as republicans, and the war between the two Reform journals was fierce and bitter. The influence of the *Examiner* tended to weaken the hands of the Administration, which, however, was strong enough to retain a majority in the House until the close of the session. This division in the Reform camp soon became so wide that a reconstruction of the Cabinet became necessary. In 1851 both Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine retired from public life, and Mr. Hincks became Premier. Other changes took place in the composition of the Ministry, and its policy underwent such modification that the support of the *Globe* was entirely withdrawn from it. Two of the most prominent "Clear Grits"—Dr. Rolph and Malcolm Cameron—accepted seats in the reconstructed Administration. From this time it not only received no further support from the *Globe*, but became the object of that journal's determined opposition.

At the general election which followed the reconstruction of the Cabinet, Mr. Brown for the first time offered himself as a candidate for a seat in Parliament. The constituency chosen by him was the county of Haldimand. His principal opponent was Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie, who had returned to Canada in 1850. There was a third candidate in the field in the person of the late Mr. Ranald McKinnon, who was a resident of the county; but his opposition alone would not have presented any formidable obstacle to Mr. Brown's success. There were reasons which, at that time, made Mr. Brown an unpopular candidate in a constitu-

uency which contained a large Roman Catholic vote. His unpopularity was due to his having taken up what was in those days known as "the Broad Protestant Cry." In 1850 the Pope had put forth a bull creating, or professing to create, a Papal hierarchy in Great Britain, and had sent over Cardinal Wiseman to England from Rome, with the title of Archbishop of Westminster. The English Protestants resented the Pope's action with a vehemence and *odium theologicum* altogether out of proportion to the insignificance of the occasion. The resentment extended from the highest class of society to the lowest, and was not confined to any sect or creed. Addresses to Her Majesty poured in from all parts of the country, and never, perhaps, has the peace of mind of a large and intelligent community been so seriously disturbed about so trivial a matter. Lord John Russell put forth an indignant protest in the form of a letter addressed to the Bishop of Durham, which was copied and commented on throughout the Christian world. Lord Chancellor Campbell, at a public dinner given in London, called upon the Protestants of England to rouse themselves before it was too late, and to nip the insidious aggression of Rome in the bud. He quoted the line from the Duke of Gloster's speech to the Bishop of Winchester, in the First Part of King Henry VI.:

"Under my feet I'll stamp thy Cardinal's hat,"

and was cheered to the echo, both by Cabinet Ministers and city merchants. In the lower strata of society the talk was just as loud, but was not confined to talk alone, and took a more practical shape. At Stockport, in Lancashire, a number of Protestants got together and created almost a riot by belabouring a squad of Irish Catholics who were employed in public works there. The Irish Catholics of Birkenhead retaliated by attacking and burning the houses of Protestants. The Government of the day took up

the matter, and introduced a Bill prohibiting the assumption of English territorial titles by Catholic prelates in England. The Bill was opposed with splendid eloquence and sound argument by Gladstone, Bright and Cobden, who took the broad ground that the prohibition aimed at would involve an undue interference with religious liberty. The feeling of the House, however, was such that even these giants of debate did not inspire respect on this question, and for once their speeches were listened to with ill-suppressed impatience. The Bill was passed by a tremendous majority, and at once received the royal assent. It stands unrepealed to this day; but, though both Cardinal Wiseman, Cardinal Manning, and others have repeatedly and fearlessly violated its provisions, no attempt has ever been made to enforce them.

The sentiment of ultra-Protestantism which rose to such a height of fervour in England was reflected with, if possible, increased fervour in Upper Canada. Mr. Brown caught the infection early, but for some time refrained from giving special prominence to the subject in the *Globe*. It was decreed, however, that if he continued to refrain, it should not be for want of an excellent opportunity for speaking out. Cardinal Wiseman, shortly after his arrival in England from Rome, and pending the debate on the Prohibition Bill, had put forth a pronunciamento in which the argument on the Roman Catholic side of the question was presented with much clearness and force. A copy of this document was handed to Mr. Brown by Colonel—afterwards the Honourable Sir—Etienne P. Taché, who held the office of Receiver-General in the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration. Colonel Taché challenged Mr. Brown to publish it in the *Globe*, and jocularly expressed a doubt as to his having the courage and fairness to do so. Mr. Brown expressed his perfect willingness to publish

the pronunciamiento, but not unreasonably stipulated that, in case of his doing so he should also publish a reply, to be written by himself. To this Sir Etienne assented, and accordingly both pronunciamiento and reply appeared at full length in the columns of the *Globe*. Mr. Brown, in replying to the Cardinal's specious arguments, was necessarily compelled to present the matter from a Protestant point of view, and in a light which was far from being acceptable to Roman Catholics. The question was taken up by the entire press of the country, and was argued with great bitterness on both sides. Mr. Brown thus came to be regarded as the Canadian champion of Protestantism, and the avowed opponent of Roman Catholic doctrines. The stand so taken by him, as might have been expected, was made the most of by his opponents in Haldimand. He was represented to the Roman Catholic electors there as a man whose dominant passion was to circumscribe the power of the Pope, and who, if he could have his own way, would make it a criminal offence to perform or attend mass. These tactics answered their purpose, and Mr. Brown sustained a defeat. There were other constituencies open to him, however, and in the following December he was returned for the county of Kent, which then included the present county of Lambton.

Upon the opening of the session at Quebec in August, 1852, he took his seat in the House, and was thenceforward one of the most conspicuous figures in it. He had no sympathy with the Government, and criticised its measures with much asperity. It was alleged by the members of the Government that his hostility arose from the fact that he had not been asked to join them. It was also said that he was angry because the *Globe* had ceased to be the organ of the Administration, which proclaimed its policy through the medium of the *North American*, edited by Mr. William Macdougall.

There can be no manner of doubt that the action of the Government towards Mr. Brown at this juncture, whatever may have been the motive of it, was a political blunder. His personal qualities, and the great vigour and ability by which the editorials of the *Globe* were marked, had made him in many important respects the most influential man in the country. No Government to which he was opposed could expect to run with perfect smoothness. It is simple matter of fact that some of the most prominent members of the Government were jealous of Mr. Brown. His rapid rise, and his steadily increasing influence, were viewed by them with ill-concealed apprehension, and this feeling was doubtless increased by Mr. Brown's own impetuosity and unconciliation of spirit. He could not brook contradiction, and never admitted distrust of himself. His opposition was severe and merciless, and was constantly breaking out in unexpected places. His "broad Protestantism" was specially distasteful to the French Roman Catholic members in the Government, between whom and himself there was scarcely anything in common.

In the month of October, 1853, the *Globe* first made its appearance as a daily paper, and it thenceforward became a more important factor than ever in the moulding of public opinion. It was clamorous in its demands for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, the abolition of Separate Schools, and Representation by Population. It inveighed strongly against monopolies of every kind, and availed itself of every occasion to embarrass the Government. Opportunities for creating such embarrassment were neither few nor far between. The Ministry were accused by the *Globe* of being altogether too dilatory in dealing with the Clergy Reserves, and other important questions on which the public felt strongly. As matter of fact the Ministry were willing enough to pass a measure of

secularization, but were unable to do so, owing to the delay of the Imperial Parliament in repealing the Act of 1840 (3 and 4 Vic., c. 78). Mr. Brown was by this time the recognized head of the most advanced wing of the Reform Party, the "Clear Grits" whom he had previously denounced. Advanced as were his views, however, he and his followers had one sentiment in common with the Conservatives, namely, hostility to the reigning Administration. This bond of union, slight as it was, was destined to bring about a change of Government. At the general election which followed the dissolution in 1854, Mr. Hincks, the Premier, was honoured by a double return. A great majority of the members returned for the new Parliament, however, were opposed to the policy of Mr. Hincks's Government. Mr. Malcolm Cameron, the Postmaster-General, was defeated by Mr. Brown in Lambton by a large majority, and other staunch supporters of the Government shared a similar fate. Upon the meeting of Parliament Mr. Hincks was compelled to resign, and he shortly afterwards retired from public life in this country, only to resume it many years after. He was succeeded by Sir Allan Macnab, who formed a Coalition Government, including himself as President of the Council and Minister of Agriculture, John A. Macdonald as Attorney-General West, and Commissioner of Crown Lands, William Cayley as Minister of Finance, Robert Spence as Postmaster-General, Etienne P. Taché as Receiver-General, and P. J. O. Chauveau as Provincial Secretary. Upon such a consummation as this Mr. Brown had not counted, and he opposed the new Government as vigorously as he had opposed the late one. The Opposition from the Lower Province was led by Mr. A. A. Dorian, and Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald arrayed himself on the same side, as the leader of part of the old Ministerial Party.

The Imperial Parliament had meanwhile

paved the way to secularization of the Clergy Reserves by repealing the Act of 1840. The new Canadian Ministry were worldly wise, and bowed to the popular demand. They promptly passed a measure handing over the Clergy Reserve lands to the various municipal corporations, to be devoted to secular purposes. The Seigniorial tenure—the last vestige of the feudal *régime* of New France—was abolished, and various other important reforms were enacted. Later on, after Mr. John A. Macdonald had supplanted Sir Allan Macnab, an Act was passed making the Legislative Council elective. The *Globe*, however, found abundant matter for criticism, both in the conduct of the Administration and in the personal character of some of its members. Though its criticisms may have sometimes been unduly harsh and wanting in discrimination, they seldom failed to tell upon the country. The *Globe*, merely as a newspaper, had now become a recognized necessity in the land, even by those who had no sympathy with the principles which it advocated. It was a daily, and on important occasions several editions of it were issued in the twenty-four hours. Its circulation was many thousands. The enterprise of its proprietor had placed it far in advance of any of its competitors as a medium of disseminating news. Its news was as trustworthy as current intelligence can possibly be; and however bitterly it might assail hostile ministries, it was always on the side of law and order and good morals. This latter qualification, which at the present day would be assumed as a matter of course, was at that date a real distinction, as anyone who thinks proper to examine the Canadian newspapers of the period will readily perceive. The *Globe*, in a word, was the only paper which was read everywhere in Canada, and its influence on public opinion was incalculable. It will not be supposed that this splendid success had been achieved without effort. It is no slight task for a young man

of limited experience and capital to establish a newspaper which shall affect the rise and fall of governments, the market price of stocks, the political, and even the religious faith of a large and heterogeneous community. Its proprietor possessed a boundless capacity for hard work. When any task of importance was to be performed, no one ever heard him complain of fatigue. He believed in himself. There is a not uncommon delusion in the public mind that a man, in order to be a successful journalist, should have no opinions of his own. He should be ready to take up any question, and any side of it, with equal zest. Never was there a greater fallacy. No man yet ever possessed genuine power without genuine convictions. A man who writes what he does not believe will never write well. He may write elegantly, and may cut capers and flourishes in philology with much alertness; but he will never write what will stir the public blood and hold the public ear. No amount of rhetorical training will ever enable a man who has no beliefs to write a telling paragraph. As Macaulay puts it, "The art of saying things well is of no use to the man who has got nothing to say." When Dr. Johnson wrote Tory pamphlets like "Taxation no Tyranny," he was Samson shorn of his hair. George Brown had pretty nearly all his life had something to say; and when the case was otherwise—a rare contingency—he had been accustomed to hold his tongue. His editorial articles in the *Globe* had always been conspicuous for what is known among journalists as *point*. They were not unfrequently very personal and in very questionable taste, but they were always on subjects in which the public felt a real interest. Their pungency always made itself felt. It may be doubted whether the acridity of the editorials had not as much to do with building up a reputation for the paper as its enterprise in collecting and distributing news. To carry on such an undertaking as this

would in itself have been sufficient for the energy of most men. It was merely one iron—the principal one, however—that Mr. Brown had in the fire. He was the leader of an exacting Party in Parliament, and its mouthpiece outside. He was busy with church matters, social matters, municipal matters. It was to be expected that there would at times be pecuniary embarrassments. Agents sometimes proved dishonest, and the outlay was sometimes—for those days—enormous. Nothing furnishes a more signal proof of Mr. Brown's dogged, unconquerable power of will and readiness of resource, than the fact that he was always able to extricate himself from the manifold inconveniences of a narrow income and a prodigious outlay, and this while he had a score of other matters on his hands imperatively demanding attention. These difficulties, however, had been in a great measure surmounted at the time to which we have brought the narrative down. He was now comparatively well-to-do in money matters, and able to depute a good many of his former duties to subordinates. His speeches in the House during this period were marked by all the vigour and impetuosity of his early youth, and by a ripeness of judgment to which his earlier efforts could lay no claim. Notwithstanding the multitude and variety of his ordinary pursuits, he had found time to make himself thoroughly acquainted with constitutional questions, and looked at things from a broader point of view. Some of his speeches at this date produce a powerful effect on the mind, even when read in the solitude of the study, and must have been particularly effective when accompanied by his own forcible delivery. One or two of the best of them must have been made with very little preparation. Their spirit is liberal, and their statesmanship broad. His success as a Parliamentary speaker no longer admitted of dispute.

At the general election which took place



in the autumn of 1857 he achieved the triumph of being elected for two constituencies—the City of Toronto and the North Riding of Oxford. The crucial question on which he offered himself to the electors was that of Representation by Population—currently known as Rep. by Pop. He elected to sit for Toronto. Parliament met in Toronto at the end of February, 1858. On the question of Rep. by Pop. the Government was sustained by a majority of twelve. On another matter they were less successful. The question as to the location of the seat of Government had recently been submitted to Her Majesty, and it was now proclaimed that she had given her decision in favour of Ottawa. The Opposition, with Mr. Brown at its head, disapproved of this selection, and brought forward a resolution expressive of its views. This resolution was carried by a majority of fourteen, and the Ministry promptly resigned. Sir Edmund Head, the Governor-General, in order that the business of the country might not be impeded, requested Mr. Brown to form a Ministry. Mr. Brown assented, and formed what is known as the Brown-Dorion Administration, which was made up as follows:—For Upper Canada: George Brown, Premier and Inspector-General; James Morris, Speaker of the Legislative Council; Michael Hamilton Foley, Postmaster-General; John Sandfield Macdonald, Attorney-General West; Oliver Mowat, Provincial Secretary; and Dr. Skeffington Connor, Solicitor-General West. For Lower Canada: A. A. Dorion, Commissioner of Crown Lands; L. T. Drummond, Attorney-General East; M. Thibault, Minister of Agriculture; Luther H. Holton, Minister of Public Works; and Charles Joseph Laberge, Solicitor-General East. This, the shortest Administration known to Canadian history, was fated to last only four days. Persons familiar with the past records of these gentlemen will readily understand that such a Ministry was

composed of very incongruous materials, and could hardly have been expected to be of long duration. A vote of want of confidence was passed, and Mr. Brown requested the Governor-General to dissolve Parliament, upon the ground that it did not represent the feelings of the country. The Governor-General declined a dissolution, alleging that a general election had just taken place, and that the House sufficiently represented the popular will. The Government adopted the only alternative left—to resign office.

It was at this juncture that the episode known by the undignified name of the "Double Shuffle" took place. Mr.—now Sir Alexander—Galt was applied to by Sir Edmund Head to form a Government. Mr. Galt doubted his ability to form a Government which would command public confidence, and had no ambition to form one which, like its predecessor, would be compelled to resign in a few days. Upon his signifying his refusal to the Governor-General, the latter applied to Mr. George Etienne Cartier, the leader of the French-Canadian party in the House; whereupon Mr. Cartier, with the assistance of Mr. John A. Macdonald, formed the Cartier-Macdonald Cabinet. The composition of this Ministry was very much the same as that of the last Conservative Ministry, which had resigned just before the formation of the Brown-Dorion Administration, had been. The former had been known as the Macdonald-Cartier Administration. In the present one the names were simply reversed, and it became the Cartier-Macdonald Administration. It was composed of Messrs. John A. Macdonald, Attorney-General West; John Ross, President of the Council; P. M. M. S. Van-koughnet, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Alexander T. Galt, Minister of Finance; Sydney Smith, Postmaster-General; George Sherwood, Receiver-General; Charles Alley, Provincial Secretary; George Etienne Cartier, Attorney-General East; Louis

Victor Sicotte, Commissioner of Public Works; John Rose, Solicitor-General; and Narcisse F. Belleau, Speaker of the Legislative Council. The whole arrangement, indeed, was little more than a simple exchange of offices on the part of the members of the former Government. This would have been free from objection had the members of the new Cabinet returned to their constituencies for reelection, but they did nothing of the kind. By a clause in the Act to ensure the Independence of Parliament it was declared that a minister resigning one office and accepting another within a month after such resignation might continue to retain his new office without reelection. This is precisely what was done by the members of the Ministry at this juncture who had held office in the Macdonald-Cartier Administration. In doing so they kept within the strict letter of the law, but transgressed against the spirit of the Constitution, and the prevalent usage in Great Britain. Mr. Brown and the Reform Party generally denounced this conduct in unmeasured terms, and succeeded in creating a wide-spread feeling throughout the country on the subject. The matter was subsequently tested in the Courts, and the action of the ministers was upheld, as it could not be said that they had broken the law. The impropriety of such a proceeding, however, and the monstrous injustice to which it might give rise if allowed to be repeated, were so apparent that the Act was amended, and the obnoxious clause repealed. Mr. Brown after accepting office, had returned to his constituents in Toronto for reelection. He was opposed by the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, and the contest that ensued was one of almost unexampled keenness. Mr. Brown, however, was successful, and continued to represent Toronto until the then existing Parliament expired by effluxion of time in the month of June, 1861.

The Cartier-Macdonald Government continued to hold the reins of power, though its membership underwent one or two modifications, until the close of the Parliament in 1861. In the fall of the year 1859 a Reform Convention was held in Toronto which was destined to have important results, not only with respect to the existing Administration, but with respect to the Canadian Constitution. Two resolutions were passed, the first of which declared that the existing Legislative Union of Upper and Lower Canada had failed to realize the anticipations of its promoters; that it had resulted in a heavy debt, grave political abuses, and universal dissatisfaction; and that from the antagonism developed through difference of origin, local interest and other causes, the union in its present form could no longer be continued with advantage to the people. The second declared that the true remedy for those evils would be found in the formation of two or more local Governments, to which should be committed all matters of a sectional character, and in the erection of some joint authority to dispose of the affairs common to all. During the following session of Parliament, which opened at Quebec on the 28th of February, 1860, Mr. Brown moved these resolutions on the floor of the House. He supported them in a speech of great power. On the 8th of May a vote was taken on them, and they were both defeated by large majorities. As we all know, however, the country had not heard the last of them. The principles they enunciated came, in process of time, to be recognized as the only ones whereby the Government could be carried on, and they were subsequently embodied in the British North America Act of Confederation. Upon presenting himself as a candidate for Toronto East, at the general election of 1861, Mr. Brown was defeated by Mr. John Crawford, and did not offer himself to any other constituency. He was soon afterwards pros-

trated by a serious illness—the first and only constitutional ailment which, in the course of a long and amazingly active life, he was ever called upon to endure. Upon his recovery he went abroad with a view to the thorough reëstablishment of his health, and was absent from Canada for nearly a year. During his absence he married, at Edinburgh, on the 27th of November, 1862, Miss Annie Nelson, a daughter of the eminent publisher Mr. Thomas Nelson. Immediately after his return he resumed his management of the *Globe* with all his old vigour. The Cartier-Macdonald Administration had meanwhile been defeated on the Bill respecting military defences, and had given place to the Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte Government. The latter was now vehemently assailed by the *Globe* on various grounds, but chiefly for its non-adoption of Representation by Population, and its devices for securing the support of the French Canadian members. In 1863 Dr. Connor, the member for South Oxford, was elevated to a seat on the Judicial Bench, and thus left a vacancy in the House of which Mr. Brown determined to avail himself. His election for that constituency was a foregone conclusion, and he continued to represent it in Parliament until the Union. During the same year (1863) he delivered a speech in Toronto on the subject of "The American War and Slavery," which was subsequently published at Manchester under the auspices of the Union and Emancipation Society. It attracted much attention, not only in Canada and the United States, but in Great Britain, and received a warm eulogium from John Stuart Mill. This year was further rendered memorable to Mr. Brown by the death of his father, who died at his residence in Toronto on the 30th of June. The *Globe* contained an eloquent and touching tribute to his memory.

By this time the views which Mr. Brown had persistently advocated ever since his

first entry into public life—more especially on the vexed question of Representation by Population and the "joint authority" scheme—had begun to commend themselves to the intelligence of his opponents. The Ministry from time to time underwent various modifications, but parties were so evenly divided that no Ministry could feel itself strong. Its majorities on every important measure were insignificant, and it was compelled to adopt a vacillating policy which satisfied nobody. There had been a considerable increase in taxation, accompanied by a steadily-increasing deficit in the public exchequer, and there was an uneasy feeling from one end of the country to the other. After the prorogation on the 12th of May, another reconstruction of the Cabinet took place, and the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Administration was formed. Parliament met in August. The debate on the address lasted fourteen days, and the motion was finally carried by a majority of only three—the vote standing sixty-three for the Ministry to sixty against. With this harassing majority the Government contrived to drag through the session, which came to an end on the 15th of October. The following spring ushered in a new Cabinet with Sir E. P. Taché as Premier. It was no stronger than the late one had been, and only existed a few weeks, when a vote of non-confidence was passed. Public feeling was more disturbed than ever. It was evident that if the Government of the country was to be carried on at all there must be a change, not of the Cabinet merely, but of the constitution itself. There was literally a "dead-lock" in public affairs. Even the strongest advocates of party began to stand aghast, and to seriously ask themselves whither this untoward state of things was leading them. The Government could no longer be carried on by either party. Neither dissolutions nor readjustments of the Ministry could effect any

lasting good. Those devices had been repeatedly resorted to, and had accomplished nothing beyond prolonging an unseemly and useless struggle.

Mr. Brown's day of triumph was at hand. The "joint authority" scheme which he had so often brought forward; which had been made the subject of continued ridicule; which had been voted down time and time again by overwhelming majorities; which had been jeered at as the chimera of an unpractical theorist with a bee in his bonnet — this scheme at last began to be seriously entertained. It soon came to be recognized as the one and only remedy for the existing dead-lock. Mr. John A. Macdonald, after taking counsel with his colleagues, made advances to Mr. Brown, and proposed that a Coalition Government should be formed for the purpose of carrying the project into effect. Mr. Brown consented to temporarily sink all past hostilities, and to join hands with his opponents for the public good. Three seats in the Cabinet were placed at his disposal, and were filled by himself, as President of the Council, William Macdougall, as Provincial Secretary, and Oliver Mowat, as Postmaster-General. "Thus," says Mr. Macnullen,\* "a strong Coalition Government was formed to carry out the newly-accepted policy of Confederation, and although extreme parties here and there grumbled at these arrangements, the great body of the people, of all shades of opinion, thankful that the dangerous crisis had been safely passed, gladly accepted the situation, and calmly and confidently waited the progress of events. Never before had a coalition been more opportune. It rendered the government of the country again respectable, elevated it above the accidents of faction, and enabled it to wield the administrative power with that firmness and decision so requisite during the trying and critical period which speedily ensued."

\* See "Macnullen's History of Canada," chap. xxvi.

A similar agitation had meanwhile sprung up in the Maritime Provinces, and during the following September a Conference of Delegates was held at Charlottetown, Prince Edward's Island, with a view to the Confederation of those Provinces. At this Conference Messrs. George Brown, John A. Macdonald, George E. Cartier, A. T. Galt, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, H. L. Langevin, William Macdougall and Alexander Campbell were present, having attended for the purpose of urging a confederation not merely of the Maritime Provinces, but of all the Provinces of British America. This larger scheme met with favour, and the project of a mere Maritime Confederation was abandoned. After several days' discussion the Conference adjourned till the 10th of October, when the delegates agreed to meet at Quebec. Mr. Brown and his colleagues from Canada West spent a great part of the interval in making a progress through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, where they addressed numerous public meetings, and unfolded the merits of the great project which they had in view. The adjourned Conference met at Quebec on the 10th of October, and was attended by thirty-three delegates, representing all shades of opinion, from the different Provinces. The session was held with closed doors, and lasted seventeen days. During those seventeen days all the principal points of Confederation were agreed upon, and resolutions embodying them were adopted by the Conference. Mr. Brown's speeches during these seventeen days have been pronounced by persons who heard them, and who are capable of forming a disinterested opinion, to have been the most noteworthy utterances of his life. They were entirely devoid of party-feeling, and were marked by a lofty and disinterested patriotism in which his own personal politics and aspirations seemed to have no part. It is said that more than one of the delegates were for the first time awakened

by those utterances to a true sense of the importance of the great task in which they had been called to take part.

The details of the scheme were soon afterwards published to the world. On the opening of Parliament in February of the following year, the resolutions which had been passed by the Conference were fully discussed. There were some malecontents, but the country at large recognized the merits of the scheme, and it was finally adopted. A deputation, consisting of Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier and Galt, and Mr. Brown himself, went over to England to confer with the Imperial Government, and the chief provisions of the Act of Confederation were there and then finally settled.

The question of Reciprocity between Canada and the United States began to come prominently forward at this time. The treaty negotiated in 1854 had been conditioned to continue in force for ten years from March, 1855, after which it might be put an end to by either party upon giving twelve months' notice. That notice had already been given by the United States, and the treaty would expire on the 17th of March, 1866. The people of Canada were all but unanimous in desiring a renewal of reciprocity, and a deputation was sent to Washington for that purpose. Before the departure of the deputation, however, Mr. Brown had withdrawn from the Administration. He was not in accord with the other members as to the terms upon which it would be desirable to negotiate for reciprocity. His colleagues were disposed to yield more to the demands of the United States than he believed to be for the interests of the country. This was his ostensible reason for withdrawing from the Government; but the probability is that he felt as though he had been in it long enough. As matter of fact, there was no good purpose to be served by his continuing to hold office with persons in whom he had no con-

fidence, and to whom he had always been opposed. It was not without reluctance that he had amalgamated with them, and he had only consented to do so for a specific purpose—to bring about Confederation. That purpose had already been practically accomplished; as, although the Act had not been passed, its terms had been settled, and there was nothing further to be done which could not be accomplished as well without his assistance as with it. His withdrawal, however, was much regretted by several members of the Cabinet. It may here be mentioned that the United States finally declined to entertain the project for a renewal of the treaty, except upon terms to which the Canadian deputation could not be expected to assent, and the negotiations came to nothing.

From the time of resigning his place in the Coalition Government Mr. Brown did not take an active part in Parliamentary life. At the first general election which took place after Confederation, in 1867, he contested the South Riding of Ontario with Mr. T. N. Gibbs, for the House of Commons. It was an act of great temerity on his part, for Mr. Gibbs was a local candidate of great influence. Mr. Brown was defeated, and did not afterwards make any similar attempt. On the 16th of December, 1873, he was called to the Senate, and subsequently attended from time to time the deliberations of that body, but did not take any specially prominent part in its proceedings. In the summer of 1874 he went to Washington on behalf of the Dominion and the Empire, as Joint Plenipotentiary with Sir Edward Thornton, to negotiate a new Reciprocity Treaty with Mr. Secretary Fish, on behalf of the United States. He took with him Mr. J. Saurin McMurray, barrister, of Toronto, in the capacity of Secretary, and during their stay in Washington, which extended over a period of several weeks, they were both busily employed in endeavouring to carry out

the object of their mission. A draft treaty was prepared and approved of by the Governments of the Dominion and Great Britain; but upon being submitted by President Grant to the United States Senate, that Body thought proper to reject it; and no attempt to obtain reciprocity between the two nations has since been made.

During the last few years of his life Mr. Brown's energies were principally directed to the conduct of the *Globe* and of the Model Farm called Bow Park, near Brantford. The latter establishment, which is owned by a Joint Stock Company called "The Canada West Farm Stock Association"—of which Mr. Brown was himself the manager, and in which he was the principal stockholder—is one of the principal attractions of Canada for all foreign visitors who take an interest in agricultural matters. It embraces a tract of nine hundred and thirteen acres of land, and is said to be in many respects the finest stock farm on this continent. It is resorted to every year by admiring visitors from Great Britain and the United States, and its establishment has done much to improve the quality of farm stock throughout the Dominion. Mr. Brown was undoubtedly moved to enter upon this enterprise by a belief that he would aid in the development of Ontario agriculture by the introduction of the best breeds of cattle in large numbers; but he loved farming for its own sake, and was never so happy as when walking through the cattle sheds, or roaming through the fields and copses of Bow Park with his children. Although city born and bred, he is said by those capable of forming an opinion to have been an excellent judge of the points of cattle, and he was eminently successful as a breeder. It is cause for congratulation that his work will be continued under the auspices of the company which he formed some years ago.

The circumstances under which Mr. Brown received the wound which produced

his death are fresh in the public memory, and are well known to every reader of these pages. Some account of them, however, is necessary to give completeness to the present sketch. For some years prior to the month of February last the *Globe* Printing Company had in their service a man named George Bennett, a native of Cobourg, Ontario. He was employed in the capacity of an assistant engineer, and was a man of dissipated habits and loose character. On the 5th of February last he was discharged, by Mr. Brown's orders, for neglect of duty. From Mr. Brown's own account of the subsequent course of events, and from the evidence adduced at the trial on the 22nd of June last, it appears that Bennett, on the day after his dismissal, called upon Mr. Brown personally, and urged the latter to give him another trial. With this request Mr. Brown refused to comply. A day or two later Bennett again called upon Mr. Brown, at his private office in the *Globe* building, and urged his restoration in the strongest terms, but with the same result as before. On both of these occasions Bennett was quite reasonable in his language and respectful in his demeanour. He showed no sign of vindictiveness or excitement, either in manner or word. Seven weeks passed away, and Bennett, on the afternoon of the 25th of March, again presented himself in Mr. Brown's office. When Bennett entered, Mr. Brown was writing at his desk, and on seeing who his visitor was he immediately rose from his seat and walked up to him. Bennett began to plead for reinstatement, when he was told that it was needless to urge the matter further. Bennett then drew a paper from his pocket, which he said contained a certificate to the effect that he had been five years in the *Globe* office, which he wished Mr. Brown to sign. This Mr. Brown refused to do, suggesting to him to go to the head of his department, who knew the length of time he

had been employed, and the manner in which he had discharged his duty. Mr. Brown also suggested that he should go to the Treasurer of the Company, who knew from the books how long he had been in the office. Bennett was not content with this, but still persisted, saying, "Sign, sign"—at the same time stretching the paper over towards the desk at which Mr. Brown had been sitting. Mr. Brown thereupon told Bennett that he could have no more discussion, as he was very busy. Mr. Brown then walked towards the door, facing Bennett, when he observed the latter slowly put his right arm around his back, and then his left hand, the purpose of which was suggested when a click was heard. Swiftly a revolver was produced, and was on the point of being raised to fire, within a few inches of Mr. Brown's body, when Mr. Brown instantly grasped the assassin's pistol-arm with his left hand, and forced the muzzle down, while he clutched the man closely with his right arm. The pistol went off before Mr. Brown had time to turn it away from his person, and he received a bullet through his thigh, which entered at the front, and came out behind. A scuffle then ensued, Bennett trying to get the pistol turned towards Mr. Brown's body, and to get away from Mr. Brown's grasp. This struggle carried the parties through the doorway and across the hall, when Mr. Brown forced Bennett's head through a pane of glass, which threatened serious consequences to him. Bennett struggled desperately to get his pistol free from Mr. Brown's grasp, which held pistol and hand together. Mr. Brown met this effort by an equally earnest one to wrest the pistol from his hand, and at the same time raised the cry of "Murder." Assistance speedily came, but by this time Mr. Brown was master of the situation. The police were speedily on the spot, and took Bennett into custody. It was not until Mr. Brown had walked back into his room, and was surrounded by numbers of anxious

friends asking particulars of the affair, that he became fully aware that he had been shot. Meantime one of the gentlemen of the establishment had started off to bring his family physician, Dr. Thorburn, who in a few minutes made his appearance. The necessary examinations having been made, Dr. Thorburn was enabled to state that no serious injury had been inflicted, and that a few days' rest and quiet were probably all that would be required to restore Mr. Brown to full health and vigour. Shortly after, Mr. Brown left the office in a carriage, to which he walked without assistance, amid the hearty congratulations of his friends at his escape from sudden death.

For some days afterwards, no serious apprehensions were felt as to the result. Mr. Brown was not a man given to magnifying his personal ailments, and it will surprise no one who knew him well to learn that he treated his wound as trifling. When he was borne home from his office on the day of the catastrophe, he laughed at the solicitude of those near and dear to him, and for some time afterwards devoted a portion of every day to business matters. He continued thus hopeful so long as the full measure of his intelligence remained to him. The members of his family, however, were more keenly alive to the shock to which his system had been subjected, and from the first took a less sanguine view of his situation. As time passed by, his condition became critical. Large abscesses formed around the wound, which continued to discharge after being opened by the surgeons. Fever and delirium ensued, and for six weeks the contest continued, until his natural strength gave way. Modern appliances for relieving long confinement, for administering food, and for dressing wounds were used with skill and assiduity. All that professional skill could do was done, but all was of no avail. Mr. Brown possessed great energy, and had all the appear-

ance of health, but long years of earnest labour had made him older than his years, and the assassin's bullet did its work. About two o'clock in the morning of the 9th of May the end came. He sank quietly to rest, without a struggle, in the presence of several members of his family. The news of his death spread rapidly over the country, and created a deep and general feeling of sorrow. Messages expressive of sympathy and regret were received by the family from all quarters of the Dominion. The funeral took place on Wednesday, the 12th, and was the most numerously attended that has ever been seen in Toronto. The place of sepulture was the family burial-plot in the Necropolis.

Mr. Brown was a member and regular attendant of the Presbyterian Church. Whether or not his religious convictions were strong, the writer is unable to say. They were at all events not unduly paraded. According to the testimony of those who attended him in his last hours, he lived and died in the faith of his fathers. He left a wife and three children, a brother and three sisters, to mourn his loss, and the unhappy catastrophe which led to it.

Mr. Brown was a man of large views in business, in works of benevolence, and in public enterprises. He had little time to act on committees or boards, but no good enterprise was presented to him without securing his influence and his contribution. His friendships were strong and enduring, and he never forgot a kindness.

The foregoing pages embody such particulars in Mr. Brown's life as may reasonably be supposed to possess an interest for the general reading public of the present day. The facts with reference to his Parliamentary career have necessarily been given

in the merest outline. To go fully into details would not only occupy a space much greater than the scheme of this work will admit of, but would render it necessary to adopt an attitude inconsistent with perfect historic impartiality. Such an attitude the writer does not conceive it to be his duty to assume. It is believed, however, that enough has been said to enable the impartial reader to form something like a correct estimate as to what manner of man this was who occupied so large a space on the political canvas of our country for the last thirty years. The writer's own estimate has been sufficiently indicated in the opening paragraphs; and that estimate—though it may not commend itself to every reader—will, it is believed, be sanctioned by the verdict of posterity. Fortunately, political prejudices are for an age, and not for all time. When the asperities of the present shall have become merged in the recollections of the past, it can hardly fail to be conceded that George Brown's influence upon his chosen country was on the whole exerted for that country's good. His enemies have often unjustly stigmatized him as a tyrant. Unjustly; because it is the quality of a tyrant to attack the weak, and his attacks were always directed against the strong. His imperious will, his occasional wrong-headedness and infirmities of temper raised up for him bitter and formidable enemies. They even prevented many of his friends who judged him only from the outside from recognizing the great and genuine manliness—and even kindness—of his character. But when all deductions have been made: when the debtor and creditor side of his account shall have been fully made out: the balance will be found to be a large one, and on the right side.







*H. Mitchell*

## THE HON. WILLIAM JOHNSTON RITCHIE,

*CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE DOMINION.*

CHIEF JUSTICE RITCHIE is a son of the late Mr. Thomas Ritchie, one of the Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas of the Province of Nova Scotia, a tribunal which has long since been abolished. His mother was a daughter of the late Hon. James W. Johnston, who was for many years one of the most prominent lawyers and politicians of Nova Scotia, and who for some time prior to his death, in 1873, occupied a seat on the Judicial Bench.

He was born at the town of Annapolis, the oldest settlement in Acadia, on the 28th of October, 1813. He received his education at Pictou Academy under the tutelage of the late Dr. Thomas McCulloch. After leaving school he studied law at Halifax, in the office of his brother the Hon. John William Ritchie, the present Judge in Equity for Nova Scotia. In 1838, having made up his mind to practise at the Bar of New Brunswick, and having already practised as an attorney at St. John for about two years, he was called to the Bar of that Province. His professional career was highly creditable, but, during its early stages, was not marked by any incident of special importance for biographical purposes. His rise was not rapid, but steady, and was built upon a sure and solid foundation. He soon established himself in practice, and won a creditable reputation, alike for forensic learning and manliness of character. He continued in the active practice of his profession about

nineteen years, during a part of which time he was also engaged in political life. It was impossible, indeed, for any rising professional man in New Brunswick to avoid mingling to some extent with politics in those stirring times. At the general elections of 1842, Mr. Ritchie was an unsuccessful candidate in the Liberal interest for the representation of the city and county of St. John in the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick. In 1843 he married Miss Martha Strang, of St. Andrew's, N.B., who survived her marriage about four years. In 1847 he again entered the lists as a candidate for the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, on behalf of the city and county of St. John. In this second attempt he was successful, and continued to sit in the Assembly until 1851, when he retired in order to devote himself exclusively to his profession. In 1854, he married Miss Grace Vernon Nicholson, a daughter of the late Mr. Thomas L. Nicholson, of St. John, N.B., and a step-daughter of the late Admiral Owen, R.N., of Campobello.

In the autumn of 1853 he was offered a silk gown, which he declined to accept, unless upon the condition that the appointment should be made on professional grounds, and that his acceptance should not be considered as an endorsement by him of the politics of the party then in the ascendant. The conditions were made known by the Governor, Sir Edmund Head,

to the Secretary of State in the Home Government. The appointment was notwithstanding made, and in the month of January, 1854, Mr. Ritchie became a Queen's Counsel, in which capacity he frequently represented the Crown in cases of public importance.

In the month of October following he became a member of the Executive Council of New Brunswick. On the 17th of August, 1855, he was appointed a Puisné Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, and continued to sit on the Bench in that capacity until the end of November, 1865, when he succeeded the late Hon. Robert Parker as Chief Justice of the Province. He occupied the position of Chief Justice about ten years, when, upon the creation of the Supreme Court of the Dominion, he was nominated as one of the Puisné Judges conjointly with Messieurs S. H. Strong, J. T. Taschereau, T. Fournier, and W. A.

Henry. His appointment bears date the 8th of October, in that year. He removed from his native Province to New Edinburgh, a suburb of Ottawa, and has ever since resided there. On the 25th of November, 1878, during the absence in Europe of Chief Justice W. B. Richards, Judge Ritchie administered the oath of office to the Marquis of Lorne upon his landing at Halifax as Governor-General of Canada. Upon the subsequent resignation of Chief Justice Richards, Judge Ritchie succeeded to the vacancy thereby created, and was sworn in by the Marquis of Lorne on the 20th of February, 1879.

Chief Justice Ritchie enjoys the reputation of being a sound and thoroughly-read lawyer, an accomplished scholar, and a man of great force of character. His judgments are held in high respect by his brother-jurists, as well as by the legal profession at large.





*Durham*

## THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DURHAM.

IT is a circumstance worth noting that the shortest administrative term known to Canadian history was likewise in many respects, the most important. Its duration was less than six months. Lord Durham arrived in Canada on the 27th of May, 1838, and set sail from Quebec on the 3rd of November in the same year. His stay in this country therefore embraced a period of little more than five months; but in that brief interval he acquired a more thorough knowledge of Canadian affairs than had been possessed by any of his predecessors. The knowledge so acquired was ere-long turned to account, and it is not going too far to say that Lord Durham accomplished more of lasting good to Canada than was effected by any other Governor who has represented the Majesty of Great Britain in these colonies. His elaborate and carefully considered report paved the way to the union of the Provinces, to the fusion of antagonistic races, and to the establishment of Responsible Government. The man who brought about these desirable reforms thereby established an especial claim upon the lasting regard of the Canadian people. It may be said, indeed, that he was the founder of good government in this country, and of the principle which ultimately developed into Confederation. Men like Francis Gore and Sir Peregrine Maitland come and go, leaving no beneficial trace of their presence behind them. Men

like the Earl of Durham leave their mark upon their country, and, to some extent, upon their age.

He was for some years one of the most conspicuous personages in Great Britain. Half a century ago he was the rising hope of Liberalism in British politics, and the expectations which were formed as to his future career were almost extravagantly sanguine. It may be doubted whether these anticipations would have been fully realized, even if his life had been spared; for, notwithstanding his rare talents, he lacked some of the essential elements of statesmanship. He was endowed with an almost boundless capacity for hard work, but could not bear to wait for results. He had an imperious will, which made him singularly impatient under opposition—even the opposition of his best friends. He was deficient in tact, and his impulsiveness and want of self-control frequently placed him in a false position before the nation, even when he unquestionably had right on his side. Conscious of the rectitude of his intentions, and convinced of the soundness of his judgments, he was keenly intolerant of contradiction, and was by no means slow to express his contempt for the opinions of those who differed from him. He made many powerful enemies, and seemed to take an almost morbid delight in intensifying the bitterness of their enmity. In this way he materially hindered the development of his career, and

prevented his great talents from being appreciated according to their merits. He did not live long enough to outgrow his impetuosity, and to set himself right in public esteem. His life, we believe, has never been written in his native land, and his name has almost passed out of public memory there. In this country, however, there are doubtless many persons who would be glad to know something more of Lord Durham than is to be found in the various histories of Canada, and it is due to his memory that we should occasionally call to mind how much we owe to his exertions on our behalf.

The subject of this memoir—born plain John George Lambton—was the representative of an old English family which traces its descent in an uninterrupted course for a period of seven hundred years, and which to this day owns and occupies the ancestral estate from which the family name was originally derived. This estate is situated in the Northern Division of the County of Durham, only a few miles from the Scottish border. With antique genealogies, however, we have no present concern, and for the purposes of this sketch it will be unnecessary to refer to any ancestor more remote than William Henry Lambton, the father of the statesman who subsequently became first Earl of Durham and Governor-General of Canada. William Henry Lambton was a prominent member of the most advanced section of the Whig party, and represented the City of Durham in the British House of Commons for many years. He was a personal friend and ally of Charles James Fox, and held a high place in the esteem of that great statesman. He married Lady Anne Barbara Frances Villiers, a daughter of the fourth Earl of Jersey, by whom he had a daughter and four sons. The eldest son, John George, is the subject of this sketch. He was born at Lambton Castle, the county seat of the family, on

the 12th of April, 1792. He received his early education at Eton and Cambridge, and after leaving college held for a short time a commission in a regiment of hussars. Three months before attaining his twentieth birthday, on the 12th of January, 1812, he made a romantic Gretna Green marriage with Miss Harriett Cholmondeley, who survived the marriage only a little more than three years. Immediately upon attaining his majority and succeeding to the family estates he offered himself as a candidate for the representation of his native county of Durham in the House of Commons, and notwithstanding the Toryism of that constituency he was returned at the head of the poll. His career as a speaker in the Commons was not a specially brilliant one, but he was true to the traditions of his house, and made himself known as an energetic and advanced reformer. He was a Liberal from profound conviction, as well as by right of his paternity, and never swerved from his allegiance to his Party from the time he first entered politics down to the end of his career. He made himself cordially hated by the Tories of that day, from his uncompromising opposition to the retrogressive legislation of the Government. His interest with the Liberal party was strengthened by his second marriage, which was contracted on the 9th of December, 1816, with Louisa Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Earl Grey; and his eldest son by this lady, George Frederick D'Arey, second Earl of Durham, is the present representative of the title. In 1819 he came conspicuously before the public as the champion of popular rights by his scathing denunciations, both in the House of Commons and at numerous public meetings, of the measures proposed by the Castlereagh-Sidmouth Government for the coercion and repression of the Chartists. In the month of April, 1821, he moved for a Committee of the Whole House to consider the state of the representation, and made a



stirring speech in favour of Parliamentary Reform. He at this time, which was eleven years prior to the passing of the Reform Bill, advocated the establishment of equal electoral districts, the abolition of the Septennial Act, and the restoration of triennial Parliaments—changes much more sweeping than were sanctioned by the Act of 1832. His health had never been robust, and in 1826 its condition was such as to render a continental tour necessary. He travelled for several months through Southern Europe, and spent more than half a year at Naples. Upon his return to England in 1827 he supported Canning's Ministry, and after the dissolution of Lord Goderich's Administration in January, 1828, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Durham. On the formation of Earl Grey's Reform Ministry in November, 1830, Lord Durham accepted office as Lord Privy Seal, and was one of four persons appointed to prepare a new Reform Bill. Mr. Justin McCarthy, in his recently published "History of Our Own Times," draws a picture of Lord Durham during his tenure of office in Earl Grey's Ministry which puts him before posterity in a tolerably clear light. "He" (Lord Durham), says Mr. McCarthy, "is said to have had an almost complete control over Lord Grey. He had an impassioned and energetic nature, which sometimes drove him into outbreaks of feeling which most of his colleagues dreaded. Lord Durham, his enemies and some of his friends said, bullied and browbeat his opponents in the Cabinet, and would sometimes hardly allow his father-in-law and official chief a chance of putting in a word on the other side, or in mitigation of his tempestuous mood. He was thorough in his reforming purposes, and had very little reverence for what Carlyle calls the majesty of custom. He had no idea of reticence, and cared not much for the decorum of office." His well-known passage at arms with the Bishop of Exeter, during the debate

on the Reform Bill, is a not inapt example of his manner of dealing with his opponents. The Bishop, in the course of a long and not ineffectual speech, had quoted numerous historical examples in support of his prediction that the passage of the Reform Bill would bring sudden and certain disaster to Great Britain. He of course did his best to make light of the arguments of the advocates of the Bill, and indulged in some badinage which stung Lord Durham to frenzy. The latter had no opportunity for reply until the next night, but his fury underwent no diminution, and the sun was permitted not only to go down, but to rise upon his wrath. When he began his reply on the following night he seemed to have perfect command over himself, and for some time went on to criticise certain unimportant details of the Bill. After a few minutes of this he quietly glided into the subject of the reverend prelate's speech of the previous night. Then he let loose the flood-gates of his indignation. He referred to the speech as an exhibition of "coarse and virulent invective, malignant and false insinuation, the grossest perversions of historical facts, decked out with all the choicest flowers of pamphleteering slang." The speaker was called to order, and it was moved that the language should be taken down. Lord Durham, in response to this motion, declared that he did not mean to defend his language as elegant or graceful, but he asserted that it exactly conveyed what he had meant to say; that he believed the Bishop's speech to contain false and scandalous insinuations; that he had said so; that he now begged leave to repeat the words; and that he paused to give any noble lord who thought fit an opportunity of taking them down. There was, however, no taking down; and when his Lordship saw from the demeanour of the House, that he had gone too far, he made a quasi-apology, not to the Bishop of Exeter but to the House at large. He

begged that some allowance might be made if he had spoken too warmly; for he had lately suffered much domestic grief. The grief had arisen from the recent death of his eldest son.\* The House respected his great sorrow, and made allowance for the petulance and ill temper he had displayed.

He was subject to continual attacks of ill health, and on the 23rd of March, 1833, he resigned his Ministerial office. He was at the same time advanced in the peerage to the viscounty of Lambton, and was created Earl of Durham. In the summer of the same year he consented to go to St. Petersburg on a special mission to the Czar of Russia, on which mission he was absent until the following spring. Soon after his return a banquet was given to Lord Grey by the Reformers of Edinburgh. Lord Grey's Administration, which had accomplished the great work of carrying through the Reform Bill, and which had passed through a notable session under the first Reformed Parliament, had long been torn by internal dissensions, and needed reconstruction. The Premier had completed his seventieth year, and the state of his health was too feeble to admit of his discharging the duties of his position with satisfaction to himself. Lord Brougham whose eccentricities and fierce ebullitions of temper had already made him the dread of most of his colleagues, was continually sneering at his Chief, and arrogating to himself governmental functions which properly belonged to Lord Grey. The latter's position had become insupportable to himself, and he had repeatedly threatened to resign. He had at last fulfilled his threat, and a new Ministry had been formed under Lord Melbourne. Lord Grey's official career having

thus come to an end, the Liberals had determined to give a banquet in his honour, at which the leaders of the Party might have an opportunity of giving expression to their unabated esteem for that nobleman's character and statesmanship. The banquet, which was held at Edinburgh on the 15th of September, 1834, was of unusual splendour, and to this day is sometimes spoken of as almost an event in the city's history. Lord Brougham, in spite of his relations towards the ex-minister, was present on the occasion, and made an extraordinary speech in which he lauded his own services and public virtues to such an extent as to disgust every one present. He descanted on the differences that existed between the two classes of Reformers. There were, he said, hasty spirits who were bound to steer the ship of state into harbour by the nearest channel, unmindful whether or not they cast the vessel on the rocks. The other class, among which the speaker included himself, he described as being endowed with prudence and moderation, and as making due provision for the vessel's safety. "I wholly respect the good intentions of these men," said his Lordship; "but when they ask me to sail in their vessel I must insist on staying on shore." These remarks Lord Durham conceived to have been levelled at himself—as, indeed, there is no manner of doubt they had been—and he was not the man to tamely submit to castigation, even from so scorching a tongue as was that of the fiery Chancellor. He replied in a scathing speech, parts of which were almost as fierce as anything that had ever come from Brougham's own lips. Other parts of it were free from objectionable matter, in the abstract; but, owing to Brougham's position at the time, even those parts were keenly felt and treasured up by him. The extraordinary courtly leanings which Brougham had recently been displaying were touched upon with withering

\* This son and heir was painted by the celebrated Sir Thomas Lawrence, and the portrait is one of the greatest of that artist's successes. It has often been engraved. Canadian readers who feel an interest in the matter will find a very faithful reproduction of it in Cassell's "Magazine of Art," for 1879.

sareasm, as were also his growing lukewarmness in the cause of Reform. "My noble and learned friend," said Lord Durham, "has been pleased to give some advice, which I have no doubt he deems very sound, to some classes of persons—I know none such—who evince too strong a desire to get rid of ancient abuses, and fretful impatience in awaiting the remedies of them. Now I frankly confess that I am one of those persons who see with regret every hour which passes over the existence of recognized and unreformed abuses." The effect of this passage of arms was such as seriously to impair the harmony of the banquet. A few days after, Lord Brougham, at a meeting at Salisbury, reflected upon Lord Durham by name, and hinted that they would one day meet in the House of Lords, where the discussion might be resumed. "I fear him not," said Lord Durham; "I accept his challenge, and will meet him in the House of Lords." "It is not unfair," says the writer already quoted from, "to the memory of so fierce and unsparing a political gladiator as Lord Brougham to assume that when he felt called upon to attack the Canadian policy of Lord Durham, the recollection of the scene at the Edinburgh dinner inspired with additional force his criticism of the Quebec ordinances."

In the summer of 1835 Lord Durham consented to return to St. Petersburg in the capacity of Ambassador, and remained there about two years. He had not been at home many months before he was asked to go to Canada to quell the rebellion. The numerous difficulties in this country called imperatively for adjustment. The nature of those difficulties is well known to all readers of these pages. To Lord Durham's friends it seemed that a time had arrived when he would have an opportunity of showing the world how much there was in him. He was appointed Governor-General and Her Majesty's High Commissioner "for the ad-

justment of certain important affairs affecting the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada." Immediately after accepting the appointment he announced in the House of Lords that in discharging the duties of his position he would endeavour to make British supremacy respected in Canada, but that he would act with perfect impartiality. He would patronize no section of the population, he said, but would administer equal justice, and afford equal protection, to all the inhabitants of the colony, whether English, French, or Canadian. Nothing could have more certainly proved his fitness for the post than such a disposition. He believed himself to be, and doubtless it was intended that he should be, armed with the fullest powers.

He prepared to carry out his mission in a manner befitting his exalted rank, and the extraordinary powers wherewith he believed himself to be invested. The vessel which conveyed him to these shores was fitted up with unusual splendour. His suite was very large, and created a marked impression upon reaching this country. This was perfectly in unison with Lord Durham's intentions, for, though an advanced Liberal in politics, he was unusually fond of pomp and luxurious display. He brought over with him several gentlemen as secretaries and assistants, among whom were Charles Buller, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and Thomas E. M. Turton. All of these were men of unusual ability, but two of them were somewhat under a cloud in English society on the score of morality. Mr. Buller's career, both before and subsequent to his Canadian experiences, was in the highest degree creditable to him. He had in his youth been a pupil of Thomas Carlyle. Later on he had sat in the British House of Commons, and had voted for the Reform Bill. His subsequent career was one of unusual brilliancy, but was cut short by his death in 1848, ten years after his visit to Canada.

His old tutor wrote a touching obituary notice of him in the *Examiner*, which is included in Mr. Carlyle's collected works. It is to Mr. Buller's pen that we are chiefly indebted for the famous "Report" which is inseparably associated with Lord Durham's name. So far, then, as Mr. Buller was concerned, there was nothing to be urged against him. With Mr. Wakefield and Mr. Turton the case was different, and, as will presently be seen, their shortcomings, as well as Lord Durham's fondness for display, were subsequently taken advantage of by Lord Brougham and others to influence public opinion. Mr. Wakefield's principal delinquency consisted in his having been concerned in the abduction of a young lady from a boarding-school. The young lady, who was a Miss Turner, had been clandestinely married, and the marriage had been subsequently annulled by Act of Parliament. The discussion to which the passage of the Act gave rise rendered it impossible that the abduction—which was then, and is still, a very serious offence—could be allowed to go unpunished. Mr. Wakefield was arrested, tried, and convicted of the offence, and was sentenced to a term of two years' imprisonment. This, of course, had left a stain upon his name, and he was not the most reputable ally that a distinguished statesman and a peer of the realm could have chosen. Mr. Turton, who was a barrister, had been the defendant in an action for criminal conversation, and had been mulcted in heavy damages. Both these gentlemen, however, were, as has already been remarked, men of singular ability, and it is simply just to say that their advice and assistance were of inestimable value to Lord Durham and to Canada.

His Lordship landed at Quebec, with true vice-regal pomp, on the 29th of May, 1838. He found that the rebellion had nearly calmed down. The constitution of the Lower Province had been suspended by an

Act of the Imperial Parliament, and the administration of affairs had been entrusted to a Special Council, whose decrees were to have the same effect as Legislative enactments have under a constitutional government. The suspension was a sore point with many of the French Canadians, and Lord Durham had a difficult task before him. He however managed things wisely and well. He adopted a policy of combined firmness and conciliation, and put forth a proclamation declaring that the honest, conscientious advocates of Reform would receive from him that assistance and encouragement which their patriotism had a right to command, without distinction of party, races or politics. He at the same time declared that all disturbers of the public peace, all violators of the law, would find in him a firm and uncompromising opponent. "I beg you," said his Lordship, "to consider me as a friend, and an arbitrator ready at all times to listen to your wishes, complaints and grievances; for I am fully determined to act with the utmost impartiality." A few days later he suspended the Special Council, and called into existence a new one, nominated by himself, and chiefly composed of members of his own staff. He issued divers ordinances with a view to the pacification of the country, and travelled about to make himself acquainted with the actual state of affairs. Everything was going more smoothly than could have been expected, and he gradually began to see his way to a successful issue to his mission. The great stumbling-block in his path was the disposition of the rebels. The public of the Lower Province, as he well knew, would not sympathize with harsh measures, nor had he himself any leaning towards harshness. In case of the rebels being brought to trial, unless the device of packing a jury were resorted to, it would be impossible to secure convictions. Lord Durham was an honest man, and did not

believe in packing juries, even to convict the most odious of criminals. He moreover knew that the rebels might justly plead a good deal in extenuation of their offence. He was disposed to look upon their struggles for liberty with a pitying eye, and he had certainly no desire that they should expiate their crime on the gallows. At the same time it would never do to entirely condone the offence, so far, at any rate, as the ring-leaders were concerned. Some of these had already fled beyond his jurisdiction, but there were a few still remaining in the country who could not be allowed to go altogether unpunished. There was no constitutional way out of this difficulty; or rather, the constitutional way out of it would have brought further disaster on the country, and would have given satisfaction to no one. Lord Durham cut the Gordian knot by proclaiming a general amnesty, making an exception in the case of certain individuals named, as to whom it was declared that after undergoing an exile, the length of which was not specified, they might hope to be permitted to return to their country and their homes when such return could be allowed with due regard to the public safety. Eight of the rebel leaders who were then in gaol at Montreal were directed to be transported to Bermuda. Sixteen others had fled from the Province; and it was declared that if any of either class should return to Canada without permission they should suffer death as traitors.

Now, in so ordaining, there can be no sort of doubt that Lord Durham was exceeding his legal authority. Neither can there be any doubt that he knew perfectly well what he was doing. But the emergency was one without precedent, and he conceived himself to have been empowered, as we have seen, to do whatever he should deem best calculated to restore peace and good order. He cared little for rules of law, if he could do justice, and at the same time

restore tranquillity to the colony. At the present day, no sensible man will be found to deny that if his policy had met with universal support at home it would have been efficacious. But he had exceeded his authority, and Lord Brougham, who had been steadfastly waiting his opportunity ever since the Edinburgh banquet, saw that it had come. On the 7th of August he made a ferocious attack upon Lord Durham in the House of Lords. He animadverted upon what he called "the appalling fact" that Mr. Louis Joseph Papineau and fifteen of his compatriots, not one of whom had been brought to trial, had been adjudged to suffer death if they dared to show their heads in Canada. Such a proceeding, he said, was contrary to every principle of justice, and was opposed to the genius and spirit of English law, which humanely supposed every accused person to be innocent until he had been found guilty. Lord Lyndhurst declared that no such act of despotism as that perpetrated by Lord Durham had ever been seen in any country at all regardless of legal forms. Brougham, Ellenborough and Lyndhurst contrived to stir up a very strong feeling against Lord Durham. They attacked him on every hand. They enlarged upon the extravagance which had marked his Commissionership, and referred to the expense the country had been at in fitting up the vessel in which he had made his voyage across the Atlantic. The cost of his vice-regal journeys in Canada was also freely commented upon. The personal characters of Messieurs Wakefield and Turtton were once more torn to pieces for the benefit of the nation, and it was alleged that Lord Durham, by employing and allying himself with these men, had participated in the discredit which attached to their names. The battle, in a word, was waged, not only without gloves, but with a ferocity that has had few parallels in English Parliamentary debate. As a matter of strict law, of

course Brougham was correct in the matter of the banishment of the rebels, and the Ministry, after mature deliberation, concluded that Lord Durham's ordinance must be disallowed.

The news of this disallowance, which first became known to Lord Durham through the medium of a New York newspaper, almost drove him frantic. He announced his determination to wash his hands of the Imperial Ministry at once and forever. His feeling was not unnatural, but he was imprudent enough to give expression to it by means of a proclamation addressed to the Canadian people resident in Quebec. This, of course, was to discredit the authority under which he had all along been professing to act. "The proceedings in the House of Lords"—so ran the words of the proclamation—"acquiesced in by the Ministry, have deprived the Government in this Province of all moral power and consideration. They have reduced it to a state of executive nullity, and rendered it dependent on one branch of the Imperial Legislature for the immediate sanction of each separate measure. In truth and in effect, the Government here is now administered by two or three Peers from their seats in Parliament. In this novel and anomalous state of things, it would neither be for your advantage nor mine that I should remain here. My post is where your interests are really decided upon. In Parliament, I can defend your rights, declare your wants and wishes, and expose the impolicy and cruelty of proceedings which, whilst they are too liable to the imputation of having originated in personal animosity and party feeling, are also fraught with imminent danger to the welfare of these important colonies, and to the permanence of their connection with the British Empire." The sympathies of the British in Canada were of course with Lord Durham throughout. Addresses from the Canadian people to the

Imperial Ministry were sent across the Atlantic, in which His Excellency's policy was highly commended as the true and only one by which Canada could be made a desirable place of habitation. Less law-abiding citizens sent over addresses couched in threatening and abusive language, and Lord Brougham, Lord Glenelg and Lord Melbourne were burned in effigy in the streets of Montreal and Quebec. Intelligence of these things in due course reached England, where the press came out strongly in condemnation of Lord Durham's proclamation. The *Times* denounced his Excellency's policy from first to last, and referred to him in a leading article as the "Lord High Seditious." Meanwhile His Lordship, without waiting to be recalled, or to obtain leave to return, embarked for Europe, along with his family, on the first day of November; leaving the direction of the affairs of the colony in the hands of Sir John Colborne. This, of course, was another grave error on his part. A Colonial Governor must be subordinate to his superiors, or there would soon be an end of Colonial Government altogether. His proud and sensitive nature had been irritated to such a degree as seriously to affect his health, which had never been robust. He well knew, however, that a hard battle was before him, and strung himself up to the task. During the voyage home the greater part of the famous "Report" was drafted by Mr. Buller. It was carefully perused and amended here and there by His Lordship, and his amendments show clearly how thoroughly he understood the Canadian situation. Upon landing at Plymouth he found that, by order of the Government, he was not to receive the customary salute accorded to returned Governors of British Colonies. The public, however, had got it into their heads that Lord Durham had been sacrificed for fighting the battles of the people against the aristocracy, and both at Plymouth and

elsewhere throughout the country they received him with loud acclamations. John Stuart Mill had taken up his cause in the *Westminster Review*, and the example had been followed by the lesser lights of the Reform press all over the kingdom, so that the public were pretty well informed as to the nature of the quarrel between him and the Ministry. Let Lord Brougham and his courtly friends roar as loud as they pleased; let the Ministry treat Lord Durham as a disgraced man. The English people knew that no graver charge than rashness and petulance could be brought against him, and for such slight offences they were not disposed to criticise him with harshness. They knew that he, and he alone among the English statesmen of that day, saw to the bottom of the Canadian difficulties. They remembered his services in the cause of Reform, and they were readily disposed to pardon the insubordination of a peer who fought against his brother peers for the rights of the people. In an inconceivably short time, considering its great length, the "Report" was completed, revised, put in type, and published. From the time of its publication Lord Durham can hardly be said to have needed any apologist. It is scarcely an exaggeration to pronounce that Report one of the most masterly State papers in the English language. No one who is unfamiliar with its contents can seriously pretend to anything like an accurate or comprehensive knowledge of Canadian history and politics. Its great length, and the exhaustive manner in which it deals with every aspect of the colonial position, precludes the possibility of giving even a summary of its contents in these pages. It may be said, however, that it paved the way for Responsible Government and the Union of the Provinces. One of the first to read it and grasp its main points was John Stuart Mill, who reviewed it at length in the *Westminster*, and thus made it known to many

persons who are not given to the study of State papers. Mr. Mill spoke of it as laying the foundation of the political and social prosperity, not of Canada alone, but of all the other colonies of Great Britain. How it subsequently came to be acted upon by the Imperial Ministry, and how Lord Sydenham was sent over to see it carried into effect, is told elsewhere in this work. Well might Lord Elgin say, a few years later, that the real and effectual vindication of Lord Durham's memory and proceedings would be the success of a Governor-General of Canada who would work out his views of Government fairly.

Lord Durham lived long enough to learn that time would vindicate the justness of his policy, but not long enough to see that policy established. He attended public meetings in various towns in England, and made eloquent speeches in which he used many hard words, and sought to justify even the undoubted errors by which his Canadian mission had been marred. He had tried to prepare himself for a prolonged and bitter struggle, and not altogether without success. But the constant tension upon his nerves soon completely broke down his health. He retired to his seat at Lambton Castle, and there for a few months waited the end which he saw could not be long delayed. There is an old legend connected with his family to which he used often to refer—probably only half in jest—during these closing months of his life. The legend, which up to comparatively recent times was devoutly believed by the peasantry on and around the family estate, predicts the early death of the chief representative of the race of Lambton. As it is interesting, and not very generally known, it may not be amiss to give some account of it. It must be premised that the Castle, which is near the site of the former family mansion, stands upon an eminence on the northern bank of the River Wear, a beautiful wind-

ing stream meandering through miles of what Tennyson calls "brambly wildernesses." The remarkable story of the Worm of Lambton is as old as the days of the Crusades. We abridge it from an old chronicler. The heir of Lambton, fishing, as was his profane custom, in the Wear of a Sunday, hooked a small worm, or eel, which he carelessly threw into a well, and thought no more of the matter. The worm, at first neglected, grew till it was too large for its first habitation, and issuing forth from the Worm Well, betook itself to the Wear, where it usually lay a part of the day coiled round a crag in the middle of the water. It also frequented a green mound near the well, called thence "The Worm Hill," where it lapped itself nine times round, leaving vermicular traces, of which grave living witnesses depose that they have seen the vestiges. It now became the terror of the country; and, amongst other enormities, levied a daily contribution of nine cows' milk, which was always placed for it at the green hill, and in default of which, it devoured man and beast. Young Lambton had, it seems, meanwhile, totally repented him of his former life and conversation; had bathed himself in a bath of holy water, taken the sign of the Cross, and joined the Crusaders. On his return home he was extremely shocked at witnessing the effects of his youthful imprudence. He saw that the Worm must be at once destroyed, and immediately undertook the adventure. After several fierce combats, in which the crusader was foiled by his enemy's *power of self-union*, he found it expedient to add policy to courage, and not, perhaps, possessing much of the former quality, he went to consult a witch, or wise woman. By her judicious advice, he armed himself in a coat of mail, studded with razor-blades, and thus prepared, placed himself on the crag in the river, and awaited the monster's arrival. At the usual time, the Worm came to the rock, and wound

himself with great fury round the armed knight, who had the satisfaction to see his enemy cut in pieces by his own efforts, while the stream, by washing away the several parts, prevented the possibility of reunion. There is still a sequel to the story. The witch had promised Lambton success only on one condition—that he would slay the first living thing which met his sight after the victory. To avoid the possibility of human slaughter, Lambton had directed his father that as soon as he heard him sound three blasts on his bugle, in token of the achievement performed, he should release his favourite greyhound, which would immediately fly to the sound of the horn, and which was destined to be the sacrifice. On hearing his son's bugle, however, the old chief was so overjoyed that he forgot the injunctions, and ran himself with open arms to meet his son. Instead of committing a parricide, the conqueror again repaired to his adviser, who pronounced, as the alternative of disobeying the original instructions, that no chief of the Lambtons should die in his bed for seven, or, as some accounts say, for nine generations—a consummation which, to a martial spirit, had nothing very terrible about it.—"Johan Lambeton, that slewe ye Worme," says an old pedigree, "was Knight of Rhodes, and Lord of Lambeton and Wod Apilton, after the dethe of fower brothers, sans esshewe masle. His son Robert Lambton was drowned at Newelbrigg." Thus the spell began speedily to operate, according to tradition, and probably in his own lifetime, as no descendant of his ever appears to have succeeded him in the estate. Whatever authentic records may prove to the contrary, tradition stoutly asserts that the wise woman's sentence on the race for the sin of disobedience was regularly fulfilled down to General Lambton, the ninth in succession, who, it is said, fearing that the prophecy might possibly be fulfilled by his servants, under the idea that he could



not die in his bed, kept a horsewhip beside him in his last illness, and thus eluded the prediction by keeping all his attendants at a respectful distance from his couch. General Lambton was the grandfather of the subject of this memoir, and after his death the peasantry began to modify the legend somewhat. It was said that though the spell had been wrought out, so far as the prediction about the heir dying in bed was concerned, yet that it would continue to operate for several generations longer so far as to curtail the reigning representative's life. This saying was verified in the case of Lord Durham's father, who died early. Lord Durham, when he felt how completely his own constitution was shattered, used jocularly to express a hope that the worm's manes would accept his own death in full satisfaction of its injuries, and would not demand the early demise of his descendants.

It was his wish to die at home; but in the early summer of 1840 his physicians advised him to try the effects of the air in the south of France. In compliance with this prescription he started for the conti-

nent, but upon reaching Southampton he found himself so utterly prostrated that he did not think it advisable to make the experiment of crossing the channel, the vexed waters whereof make a very uncomfortable cradle for an invalid. He passed over to Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, where his life rapidly ebbed away, and on the 28th of July he breathed his last.

Mr. McCarthy's summing up of his character cannot well be improved upon, and with it we conclude our sketch. "He wanted to the success of his political career that proud patience which the gods are said to love, and by virtue of which great men live down misappreciation, and hold out until they see themselves justified and hear the reproaches turned into cheers. But if Lord Durham's personal career was in any way a failure, his policy for the Canadas was a splendid success. It established the principles of colonial government. One may say, with little help from the merely fanciful, that the rejoicings of emancipated colonies might have been in his dying ears as he sank into his early grave."

## SIR HUGH ALLAN.

SIR HUGH ALLAN was born at Saltcoats, a seaport on the Firth of Clyde, in Ayrshire, Scotland, on the 29th of September, 1810. His father, the late Captain Alexander Allan, was a shipmaster who had all his life been employed on vessels trading between the Clyde and the St. Lawrence, and was very popular with emigrants and other trans-Atlantic passengers. Hugh was the second son of his parents, by whom he was early intended for a seafaring life, like that of his father. As is often the case with persons who have been very successful in life, he enjoyed comparatively few educational advantages. At the age of thirteen he entered into the counting-house of Messrs. Allan, Kerr & Co., at Greenock, in the shipping trade, where he remained for about a year, when his father advised him to emigrate to Canada. He acted upon the advice, and sailed from Greenock in the ship *Farouite*, on the 12th of April, 1826. His father was the captain of the vessel, and his elder brother was the second officer. He landed at Montreal on the 21st of May. There was then only one steam tug on the river, and it was not able to tow the *Farouite* through the St. Mary's current. A message was then sent ashore to a butcher to send some oxen, but the united efforts of the tug and the oxen were not enough. The *Farouite* had been built at Hochelaga, and the builder sent fifty to a hundred men to assist, and so they got

her in. Such, as described by Sir Hugh Allan himself, were the difficulties encountered in navigating the St. Lawrence in a sailing vessel half a century ago. In a paper read at a church festival in Montreal, in the course of last winter, Sir Hugh gave some interesting personal reminiscences of his early career in Canada, and to that paper we are indebted for many particulars included in the present sketch. Speaking of the river-front of Montreal in the year 1826, Sir Hugh informs us that there were no wharves; that the bank shelved down from Commissioners Street to the river; that in coming into the river the ships had to let go an anchor, and the work of unloading could only go on slowly, over a gangway, the horses and carts standing in the water. The habits of the people were as primitive as the aspect of the city itself. They generally lived over their stores, and it was quite usual for them to sit on chairs on the sidewalk in the open air, enjoying a chat. There was a large open sewer all the way down Craig Street as far as Dow's brewery. From there it took a sharp curve, passing where St. Ann's Market now is, and emptied into the harbour where the Custom House stands. It was the receptacle for dead animals and all sorts of filth, and was very offensive. There were but few houses on the west side of Craig Street. So much for the commercial metropolis of Canada, in the Year of Grace 1826.



•  $\mathbb{R}^n$  is a vector space.



Hugh Allan soon obtained a situation in the commercial establishment of Messrs. William Kerr & Co. The business was dry-goods and small wares. He was thus engaged three years, during which he also acquired some knowledge of keeping books and accounts, a pursuit of which he was very fond, and to which he devoted a large portion of his spare time. The business as a whole, however, did not suit his taste, and the pecuniary results were not satisfactory to his ambition. He threw up his situation, and, after a brief visit to the principal towns in the Upper Province, he returned with his father to Greenock, where he remained for the winter, and then visited Manchester and London. He again sailed from Greenock for Montreal on the 5th of April following, in a new vessel belonging to his father—the *Canada*—and they arrived at Montreal on the 4th of May. When he landed from the *Canada* he had no special object in view. He met on the street the late Mr. James Miller, who then carried on an extensive shipping business in Montreal. Mr. Miller had a vacancy in his office, and told him he had better go there for the present. He was glad of the opportunity to learn the business, and gratefully acted upon the suggestion. Mr. Miller always treated him with great kindness, and even partiality. He was occupied for some time buying wheat for Mr. Miller's export trade, and spent his business hours in a storehouse in the village of Laprairie. The *habitants* paid their rents to the seigneurs in wheat, and the priests collected their tithes in wheat. Mr. Miller purchased largely from these sources. In 1832 young Allan shipped for Mr. Miller 150,000 bushels of wheat; 100,000 from between St. John's and Laprairie, and 50,000 from along the north shore.

After spending five years in the employ of the firm of Miller & Co., Mr. Allan was admitted as a junior partner. He devoted

himself to the business with great energy, and steadily rose to a high place in the estimation of his partners and the customers of the firm. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in 1837, he joined the Fifth Battalion as a volunteer, and rose to the rank of a Captain. In 1838 Mr. Miller, the senior partner in the firm, died, and Mr. Allan's services became more important to the success of the business than before. The style of the firm thenceforward became Edmonston & Allan, which subsequently became Edmonston, Allan & Co. Under various changes of style, the firm has steadily increased in prosperity, and its business has grown to momentous proportions. Its present style is Hugh & Andrew Allan—Andrew being a younger brother of Sir Hugh. In 1851 the firm first began to build iron screw steamships. The *Canadian*, the first vessel of that description constructed by them, made her first trip in 1853, and in the following summer the service of mails was commenced which continues to this day. The history of the firm from that time down to the present is the history of Canadian maritime commerce. In addition to their line plying between Canada and Liverpool they have long had an independent line plying between the St. Lawrence and the Clyde. Their firm was the first to adapt the spar or flush deck to their steamers, an innovation which was strenuously opposed by the Board of Trade, which for a long time persisted in refusing to allow them any concession in the way of measurement, for harbour dues, until the *City of London* went down in the Bay of Biscay. Then, and not till then, did the Board of Trade recognize the efficacy of the improvement, and grant the proper concessions. Nearly all their Atlantic steamers now have the spar deck, whereby the safety and comfort of passengers is very greatly promoted. Their fleet has long ranked among the principal fleets of the world, and is managed with

remarkable prudence and efficiency. Most of the captains have risen from the ranks in their own service, and the mariners are from time to time promoted according to a system as strict and impartial as that which prevails in the army.

During the progress of the Crimean War the *Ladian* and the *Canadian*, two of the company's steamers, were employed by the Governments of Great Britain and France to transport the troops from Portsmouth and Marseilles to the Levant. They continued to be employed in the Government service until the close of the Russian War. Again, in 1874, the *Sarmatian* and the *Manitoba* were employed on a similar service, to convey troops to the west coast of Africa, to take part in the Ashantee campaign.

Mr. Allan's great energy, perseverance, close attention, and general business capacity have met with their just reward, and have placed him among the first, if not absolutely first among the merchant princes of the Dominion. He is a Director in many important commercial, banking, and other enterprises, of some of which he was the

original promoter. Principal among these may be mentioned the Montreal Telegraph Company, the Merchants' Bank of Canada, the Montreal Warehousing Company, and the Mulgrave Gold Mining Company. During the visit of Prince Arthur to this country in 1869, he was the guest of Mr. Allan at his princely residence of Ravensaraig, in Montreal, and at Belmere, his summer villa on the shores of Lake Memphremagog. For his courtesies to His Royal Highness, and in recognition of his great services to Canadian and British commerce, Mr. Allan was in 1871 knighted by Her Majesty as Sir Hugh Allan of Ravensaraig. A less pleasing episode in his career is his connection with the purchase of the Pacific Railway charter, upon which we have no desire to enlarge.

On the 13th of September, 1844, he married Matilda, second daughter of Mr. John Smith, of Montreal, by whom he has a numerous family. Though nearly seventy years of age he is still of active habits, and exercises a personal supervision over many important departments of the business of the firm.

## THE REV. ALEXANDER BURNS, D.D., LL.D.,

*PRINCIPAL OF THE WESLEYAN FEMALE COLLEGE, HAMILTON.*

**D**R. BURNS has been eminently successful in life, and enjoys the great merit of having been in every sense of the term the architect of his own fortunes. His father was the late Mr. James Burns, a carpenter and joiner, who resided near the village of Castletwellan, County Down, Ireland. There Alexander Burns was born, on the 12th of August, 1834. He began to attend school at a very early age, and continued his attendance until 1847, when he had reached his thirteenth year. He had by that time acquired a good rudimentary education, the further progress whereof was interrupted by the emigration of his parents from Ireland to Canada, whither he and the other members of the family accompanied them. The family settled in Quebec, where Mr. Burns the elder carried on his trade. The son was for a short time employed as an assistant in an apothecary's shop, but did not find that pursuit to his liking, and soon abandoned it. After remaining in Quebec about three years his parents removed to Toronto, where they continued to reside during the remainder of their lives. Mr. James Burns, the father, was a strict Presbyterian, and upon his arrival in Toronto became a member of Knox's Church, on Queen Street. When the division arose in the congregation of that church, about twenty-eight years ago, Mr. Burns and most of his compatriots from Ireland who enjoyed the privileges of membership withdrew, and formed them-

selves into a separate congregation, which finally developed into the congregation of Cooke's Church. Mr. Burns was a man of very moderate views on theological matters, although he had been taught the Calvinistic doctrines in all their rigour. The members of his family, who at this time all resided at home, were of course reared in the Presbyterian faith—the subject of this sketch among the rest. It cannot be said that the latter held any distinct theological views until he had nearly arrived at manhood, though of course his father's teachings had not been altogether without result, and he was a regular attendant at church. A time soon arrived when he was called upon to fight the battle which most honest men of any real depth of character have to fight at some period of their lives. The famous Methodist revival preacher, the Rev. James Caughey, visited Toronto, and held a series of religious meetings with a view to calling sinners to repentance. The effect of his mission was prodigious. Many persons who had theretofore been indifferent concerning spiritual matters underwent "conviction of sin," and entered upon a new phase of life, with views and aims which they had never previously entertained. Young Alexander Burns attended the meetings, and was drawn under the powerful spell of the preacher. He awoke to new purposes, embraced the doctrines of the Wesleyan body, and was enrolled as a member of the Methodist

Church. He was honourably ambitious of acquiring knowledge, and resolved to devote himself to the ministry. His father's means were limited, and he himself was largely dependent upon his own resources. In order to obtain the means of acquiring a thorough educational training, he learned the trade of wood-turning, and in course of time earned sufficient to enable him to enter upon a collegiate course. In 1855 he entered Victoria College, Colourg, where he studied with great diligence and made rapid progress. In the capacities of student and teacher he remained at the College about seven years. When he graduated in 1861, he was honoured with the Prince of Wales's gold medal, the highest prize in the gift of the institution. Of this prize he was the first recipient. He officiated as a tutor in the College for four years. In 1862 he first entered upon active work in connection with the ministry, and was stationed at Drayton, in the county of Wellington, where he remained until 1865. In that year Dr. Elliott, President of the Iowa Wesleyan University, visited the London Conference as delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, and persuaded Mr. Burns to accompany him to Iowa. He was appointed to the Chair of Mathematics and Astronomy, a position which he filled for three years, acting at the same time as Vice-President of the University. In 1868 he was elected President of the Simpson Centenary College of Iowa, which position he filled for ten years—that is to say, until his return to Canada about two years ago. After leaving the Iowa Wesleyan University, he was elected to its Presidency, but declined to accept that position. During his residence in Iowa he got through with a great deal of public work, outside of his own special department, such as annual addresses before colleges, lectures before teachers' institutes, addresses at church dedications, and similar

labours; and this work often extended to other States. On several occasions he lectured before the North-Western University at Cranston, in Chicago, and in several other cities of the North-Western States. In the Centennial year (1876) he was one of the three delegates from the local Conference to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which met in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1878 he accepted the position of Governor and Principal of the Wesleyan Female College at Hamilton, Ontario, and returned to Canada. His own department in the College includes Mental and Moral Science, Logic, Evidences, and Higher English Literature.

In 1870 he received the degree of S.T.D. (*Sanctæ Theologiæ Doctor*) from the State University of Indiana, one of the wealthiest in the United States. In 1878 his *alma mater*, Victoria College, conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. He is the first and only alumnus that has received that degree from Victoria College. When her Charter was amended so as to give the alumni the right to representation on the Senate, he was one of the first elected, and at the last meeting of the alumni he was re-elected to the Senate for four years. He is one of the associate examiners of the University in Metaphysics. He has been elected to deliver the Annual Lecture before the "Theological Union" next year (1881).

Dr. Burns's reading has been wide and various, not only in theology, but in history, philosophy and general science. He is a man of very liberal and advanced views, alike in political, theological and social matters. For dogma, considered merely as dogma, he entertains but a very limited degree of respect. While thoroughly in sympathy with the teachings of his creed, he interprets that creed by the light of modern scientific research and the teachings of the times in which his lot has been cast. He asserts the supremacy of reason in



matters theological, as well as in the ordinary affairs of life, and believes that whatever is repugnant to reason should be eliminated from modern theology. He is a foe to infidelity, but believes in combating infidelity by arguments drawn from human knowledge and experience, rather than by the suppression of free and honest inquiry. He claims that both Government and the Church are for the people, and that neither the one nor the other should countenance a class by whose privileges others are injured or subordinated, whether the class be called an aristocracy, a democracy, or a State Church. In a word, Dr. Burns is a scholar, who has both read and thought much and

deeply on the problems which for centuries past have been agitating the human mind, and which have risen into special prominence within the last few years. Both as a man and a theologian he is highly esteemed by his brother professors, and his liberal and enlightened policy have won for him many warm friends, both within the pale of the Church and outside of it.

On the 15th of January, 1863, he married Miss Sarah Andrews, of Devonshire, England, whose grace of person and character, excellent judgment, and womanly devotion have been a constant inspiration in her home, and have aided her husband very materially in all his upward struggles.

## WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE.

ONE morning in the early autumn of the year 1859 two persons were walking eastward together along the north side of King Street, Toronto. One of these was a youth of sixteen; the other was a staid Canadian lawyer of mature age. They had passed the corner where the two main thoroughfares of the city intersect each other, and had arrived nearly in front of the site at present occupied by the *Globe* office, when the lawyer was addressed by a gentleman walking in the opposite direction, with whom he stopped to converse. The youth stepped aside to wait for his companion, who was soon engaged in an animated discussion with the personage thus encountered. The latter was a gentleman of somewhat noticeable appearance. He was very short in stature, plainly—almost shabbily—dressed, and carried in his hand a stout cane. He had a broad and rather massive brow; thin, mobile lips, which, except while he was speaking, were kept tightly compressed; and a countenance upon which Time had written innumerable deep wrinkles. His hair, beard and whiskers were grizzled, and his somewhat feeble gait betokened that he was past his prime, and had begun to feel the infirmities of age. The general expression of his face was suggestive of a long, bitter and unsuccessful fight with the world. The conversation could not have lasted much more than a minute before the short gentleman became

violently excited. His eyes flashed red lightning at his interlocutor, and he began to gesticulate so wildly as to arrest the attention of passers-by. Perceiving this, and controlling himself by an evident effort, he moderated his tone and gestures; but he ever and anon brought his cane down upon the pavement with a ringing emphasis that told a story of inward excitement and pent-up wrath. The conference was of brief duration, and apparently was not productive of entire satisfaction to either of the gentlemen concerned. They separated, and pursued their respective ways, the lawyer being rejoined by the youth who had been waiting close by. The latter did not learn the particular topic of conversation which had aroused the old gentleman's ire, and is ignorant of it to this day; but he had no sooner resumed his walk than the lawyer asked:—"Do you know who that was? No! well, he is a man who ought to have been hanged twenty years ago. That old firebrand is the editor of the *Weekly Message*, and is no less a personage than William Lyon Mackenzie." The man who uttered these words died by his own hand within a few months of that morning. The youth to whom he addressed them was the writer of these lines.

During the next few months it was no unfrequent occurrence for the writer to meet the old man on his way to and from the post-office in the early forenoon. The lawyer's dictum as to what ought to have



*W. L. Marbury*



taken place twenty years before was rated at what it was worth—which was very little. Mr. Mackenzie, in those days, was the mere wreck of his former self. He was much bowed by years, by poverty, and by mental affliction, and with a broken constitution and a brain enfeebled by the fatal disease which had fixed its grasp upon him, he was slowly but steadily going down to the grave in which he was not long afterwards laid. He was poor; poor to a degree of which none of his friends, nor, indeed, anyone beyond the immediate circle of his own family, had any conception. It was known to all that he was not in affluent circumstances, but it was not known, or even suspected, that he was frequently in straits to procure the wherewithal to purchase to-morrow's meal. Had the extent of his poverty been known, many a helping hand would have been generously stretched forth to render more tolerable the declining years of the man who, notwithstanding many fatal errors of judgment, was an honest and sincere-minded patriot, who had struck many hard and effective blows on behalf of civil liberty in Canada.

His life, almost from his cradle, was one of ceaseless toil and struggle, and we do not covet the mental equilibrium of the man who can contemplate it without being stirred to his inmost soul. The sad story of his tempestuous life, wrecked in contending—unwisely, perhaps, but with an honesty which cannot be questioned—for a just principle, and finally brought to a premature close amid the darkness of despair, may well bring tears to the eyes of any one who is not dead to all human emotion. True, he himself was by no means free from blame. He was the most active mover in an ill-advised project, which brought disaster to many a Canadian household, and which involved a needless sacrifice of human life. But he, almost alone among his fellows, had the courage of his opinions: opinions which

were honestly entertained, which were just in themselves, and most of which have since been approved by the general voice of the Canadian people. At a time when a selfish, grasping oligarchy, who had long ruled the land and had arrogated to themselves everything in it that was worth the having, were putting forth their utmost endeavours to perpetuate political evils, and to keep in a subjection which was but a modified form of slavery, a people who were entitled to be free: at such a time, and under such circumstances the voice of William Lyon Mackenzie was lifted up in the cause of the weak and oppressed. If, later on, he went farther than a cooler and wiser judgment would have gone, the censure must not fall upon him alone. And if he erred greatly he also suffered greatly. Many persons not yet past middle age can remember when he was a banished man with a price set upon his head; when he was hunted from place to place like a wild beast; when his name was execrated and blazoned abroad as that of a seditious rebel and traitor; when he was sick and imprisoned in a strange land; when he was compelled to resort to stratagem in order to be permitted to stand by the bedside of his dying mother. The mollifying influences of time have ameliorated much of the rancour which once attached to his name. The cause for which he fought and suffered has come to be regarded as in the main a righteous one, and even his most indefensible acts have been recognized as errors of judgment rather than deliberate treason. A Canadian historian who is by no means disposed to take a too partial view of his conduct thus rapidly reviews his career:—"As one traces his checkered existence, which presents such a strange admixture of upright intentions and dangerous errors, a doubt of his perfect sanity cannot fail to be evoked, to receive additional colour from the softening of the brain that finally re-

sulted in death. Ever unstable as water, he flits changefully before the eye as the Dundee shop-boy, the uneasy clerk, the bankrupt shopman, the newspaper editor, the bookseller, the druggist, the member of Parliament, the agitator, the political agent to England, the fomenter of rebellion, and the rebel general. As a refugee in the United States he shifted his occupation with the same chameleon rapidity as in Scotland and Canada; his peculiar faculty of getting into difficulties of one kind or another being in no way diminished, until at length, fully as tired of the (American) people as they were of him, he was glad to shelter his fortunes once more under the British flag which he had so impotently essayed to trample in the dust." The quasi-imputation of insanity contained in the foregoing extract, though it doubtless seemed to the historian the most plausible explanation of some passages in Mr. Mackenzie's career, will meet with no confirmation from those who knew him well. Mr. Mackenzie was no madman. He was a man of strong but erratic will, whose physical temperament was not in keeping with his mental adjustments. His eccentricity was the result of a nervous and hyper-sensitive disposition, smarting under a sense of wrong. The problem of life was to him, even more than to most thinking men, a very serious and utterly insoluble affair. His circumstances were almost always unpropitious, and little calculated to induce him to paint men and things in roseate tints. In other respects the quotation is a not inept kaleidoscopic picture of the ever-shifting phases of his strangely chequered career.

He was born on the 12th of March, 1795, at Springfield, a suburb of Dundee, in Forfarshire, Scotland. On the 9th of April following, when he himself was less than a month old, his father died, leaving a widow and an only child wholly unprovided for. They were for many years dependent upon

the bounty of relatives, and frequently suffered the bitter pangs of want. The trials endured in his early childhood were frequently alluded to by Mr. Mackenzie in after years. In the autobiography published soon after his death we find the following touching little bit of domestic history:—"It is among the earliest of my recollections that I lay in bed one morning during the grievous famine in Britain in 1800-1, while my poor mother took from our large kist the handsome plaid of the tartan of our clan, which in early life her own hands had spun, and went and sold it for a trifle, to obtain for us a little coarse barley meal whereof to make our scanty breakfast; and of another time during the same famine when she left me at home crying from want and hunger, and for (I think) eight shillings sold a handsome, and hitherto carefully preserved, priest-gray coat of my father's to get us a little food. . . . Well may I love the poor, greatly may I esteem the humble and the lowly, for poverty and adversity were my nurses, and in youth, want and misery were my familiar friends."

The little boy seems to have been all in all to his mother, who was, upon the whole, an indulgent parent, though this did not deter her from imposing upon him, at times, certain most unwelcome tasks in the shape of long readings from the catechism and dry theological treatises. She had been reared in a strict and hard school, and regarded a knowledge of the Westminster Confession as the most important of all acquirements for a young man beginning life. This training produced a marked effect upon her son, who manifested a fondness for theological controversy throughout the whole of his career. Both in physical and mental characteristics he bore a striking resemblance to his mother, and inherited from her, among other qualities, a strong unyielding will, and an energy of purpose

which attended him through life. In after years this energy was chiefly expended upon politics, but was more or less conspicuous in all his actions. The space at our disposal does not admit of our following him very minutely through the various phases of his early years. After receiving an irregular and very incomplete school education, we find him at nineteen years of age going into business on his own account, at Alyth, a village about twenty miles distant from his native town. Having prosecuted this business for about three years he failed, and removed to England, leaving behind him certain creditors who, to his honour, were subsequently paid in full when prosperity attended his efforts. In the month of April, 1820, we find him a passenger on board the ship *Psyche*, bound for Canada, where in due course he arrived. His first employment on this side the Atlantic was in connection with the survey of the Lachine Canal, but this employment lasted only a few weeks. Before the close of the summer we find him embarked in a small mercantile business at York, the capital of Upper Canada; and not long afterwards in a more general business at Dundas, under the style of "Mackenzie & Lesslie." Here, on the 1st of July, 1822, he married; his bride being a Miss Isabel Baxter, who was likewise a native of Dundee. The business at Dundas was carried on with a fair measure of success until the spring of 1823, when the partnership was dissolved, and Mr. Mackenzie removed to Queenston, where he opened another general store. Here he remained only a year, but that year marks an important era in his life, for it was during its progress that he first began to take a prominent part in the colonial politics of the day. He abandoned commercial pursuits and became a journalist. He established a newspaper at Queenston, called the *Colonial Advocate*, the first number of which, containing thirty-two

pages, made its appearance on the 18th of May, 1824. Many years afterwards, in a letter written to a friend, he gave the following reasons for embarking on the troubled sea of politics. He says:—"I never interfered in the public concerns of the colony, in the most remote degree, until the day in which I issued twelve hundred copies of a newspaper, without having asked or received a single subscriber. In that number I stated my sentiments, and the objects I had in view fully and frankly. I had long seen the country in the hands of a few shrewd, crafty, covetous men, under whose management one of the most lovely and desirable sections of America remained a comparative desert. The most obvious public improvements were stayed; dissension was created among classes; citizens were banished and imprisoned in defiance of all law; the people had been long forbidden, under severe pains and penalties, from meeting anywhere to petition for justice; large estates were wrested from their owners in utter contempt of even the forms of the courts; the Church of England, the adherents of which were few, monopolized as much of the lands of the colony as all the religious houses and dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church had had the control of in Scotland at the era of the Reformation; other sects were treated with contempt and scarcely tolerated; a sordid band of land jobbers grasped the soil as their patrimony, and with a few leading officials, who divided the public revenue among themselves, formed 'the Family Compact,' and were the avowed enemies of common schools, of civil and religious liberty, of all legislative or other checks to their own will. Other men had opposed, and been converted by them. At nine-and-twenty I might have united with them, but chose rather to join the oppressed, nor have I ever regretted that choice, or wavered from the object of my early pursuit."

When it is borne in mind that the foregoing is not an exaggerated account of the state of affairs in Upper Canada in those days, it is not surprising that the *Colonial Advocate* and its editor were at once placed under the ban by the dominant faction in the country. That faction had not been accustomed to have its policy criticised. The only man who had ever dared to assail it with anything like vigour was Robert Gourlay, and his experience had not been such as to encourage further efforts in that direction. The members of the Compact once more found themselves dragged before the bar of public opinion, and, figuratively speaking, placed on their defence. They determined to get rid of Mackenzie as they had previously got rid of Gourlay. Mr. Mackenzie and his paper lashed them without mercy, and after a fashion which convinced them either that this inveterate foe must be silenced or that the end of their reign was not far off. After publishing twenty numbers of his paper Mr. Mackenzie determined to remove to York, the Provincial capital. The removal took place in November, 1824, and on the 11th of January following the Legislature met. Scarcely had the House opened ere it became apparent that Liberal principles were making rapid advances in the country. The Government found itself in a minority, and there could be no doubt that Mr. Mackenzie and his *Advocate* had largely contributed to bring about this result. The paper continued to appear, not with perfect regularity, but often enough to cause serious alarm to the objects of its attacks, who made strenuous efforts for its suppression. Mr. Mackenzie, discouraged by the opposition he had to encounter, and by the want of pecuniary support accorded to him, resolved to discontinue the publication of the *Advocate*. This resolution, however, was not made known to the public, and ere long an act of ruffianism was perpetrated which

gave the paper a new lease of life. On the evening of the 8th of June, 1826, during Mr. Mackenzie's temporary absence from home, his printing office was broken into by a genteel mob, chiefly composed of persons closely connected with the "gentlemen's party." The office was completely wrecked, part of the type was destroyed, and the rest thrown into the Bay. This dastardly act was committed in broad daylight, in the presence of two magistrates, neither of whom made any attempt to prevent it. Damages were subsequently recovered against some of the snobocracy who took part in this performance. Criminal proceedings were likewise instituted, and seven of the rioters were found guilty, but escaped with nominal punishment. Before the close of the year the *Advocate* was again in full swing, and continued to be published for seven years afterwards.

In consequence of this "press riot," as it was termed, Mr. Mackenzie's name came more prominently before the public than ever. He was regarded as a martyr, and many enthusiastic persons rallied to his support. At the election of 1828 he was returned to the Provincial Parliament as member for York. Then began a series of persecutions which lasted without interruption for several years. In the columns of the *Advocate* he had used many strong expressions against the ruling party in the House, and these expressions were made the pretext for proceeding against him for a breach of privilege. The matter came up for discussion, and Mr. Mackenzie was expelled from the House. His constituency showed their disapproval of this proceeding by forthwith re-electing him. He was again expelled, and again re-elected. This expulsion and re-election were repeated five times in succession. It was not even pretended that Mr. Mackenzie had done anything censurable in his capacity of a member of Parliament. The pretext for his expul-



sion was that, as a newspaper proprietor, he had printed the proceedings of the House at his own expense, and without official authority. An obsolete rule of the House—not yet rescinded—forbade such publication, and the motions for expulsion proceeded upon that ground alone. In this manner the cause of Mr. Mackenzie became identified in the minds of the public with that of the liberty of the press, and each expulsion added to his popularity. Finding, after repeated trials, that no one could oppose Mr. Mackenzie with any hope of success, it was finally determined to punish his constituency by refusing to issue a writ for a new election, and for three years the county of York remained with only one representative in the Assembly. This arbitrary proceeding drew down upon the House the severe condemnation of the Imperial Government. Meanwhile Mr. Mackenzie, in May, 1832, proceeded to England with a petition of grievances, signed by many thousands of the Canadian people. He was well received at the Colonial Office, and his stay in England was protracted to eighteen months, during which time he was successful in bringing about some much-needed reforms. Certain persons holding high offices in the Provincial Government were removed, and the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne, was instructed to appoint at least one member of the popular party to governmental office. Soon after Mr. Mackenzie's return to Canada the limits of the town of York were extended, and the town itself became an incorporated city under the name of Toronto. This was in March, 1834. A municipal election was at once held, and Mr. Mackenzie was elected the first mayor of the new city.

At the general election in October, 1834, Mr. Mackenzie was returned by the Second Riding of the county of York as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada. He immediately afterwards dis-

continued the publication of the *Colonial Advocate*, the last number of which made its appearance on the 4th of November in that year. The new House met early in the following January, and Mr. Mackenzie took his seat without opposition. The election had been an exciting one all through the Province, and its result showed that Reform principles were gaining further ground. The strength of the respective parties in the House was effectually tested by the vote on the Speakership. Marshall Spring Bidwell, a staunch Reformer, was elected to that office by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-seven.

An antagonism had long been growing up between the Assembly and the Home Government, and it began to be apparent that a crisis in public affairs was not far distant. Early in the session, on the motion of Mr. Mackenzie, a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into certain matters in dispute between the two Governments, and in due time the Committee drew up and transmitted across the Atlantic the document subsequently known as the Seventh Grievance Report. This report was temperate and truthful in its tone, and was chiefly devoted to the subject of Executive Responsibility to the Assembly. The necessity for such responsibility had long been apparent, and had often been put forward by Mr. Mackenzie and those who acted with him. The Lieutenant-Governor and the Home Government controlled the entire patronage of Upper Canada, and, in the words of the report, "left the representative branch of the Legislature powerless and dependent." The Lieutenant-Governor made such appointments as he thought proper, without conferring with his Councillors, and sometimes contrary to their express advice. He observed a similar policy in assenting to or rejecting Bills passed by the Legislature. The public mind was by this time fully aroused to the injustice of these proceedings, and Sir John Colborne, finding his

position a most uncomfortable one, finally sent in his resignation. Before doing so, however, he resolved to make ample provision for the maintenance of the Church of England. Fifty-seven rectories were created and set apart from the Clergy Reserves. These were forthwith put into the hands of the ministry of the Episcopal Church, with a view to preventing future secularization. This arbitrary proceeding aroused a storm of feeling in the popular mind. Its legality was impugned, but without success, as the Constitutional Act of 1791 authorized the establishment of rectories. The lands reserved by that Act for the support of a Protestant clergy in Upper Canada amounted to nearly 2,500,000 acres. The appropriation of these lands—which were known as Clergy Reserves—to the exclusive use of the Church of England had long been a source of just dissatisfaction to dissenters, and the subject continued to agitate the public mind down to the year 1854, when the reserves were abolished and appropriated to secular purposes. The effect of the establishment of the above-named fifty-seven rectories can easily be imagined. Having signalized the close of his administration in this manner, Sir John Colborne surrendered the reins of government to his successor, who was Sir Francis Bond Head, formerly a Major in the British army. This gentleman was intellectually incapable of directing the affairs of the colony in troublous times. His appointment was one of the most extraordinary events connected with Canadian history, and was fraught with disaster to the country. His own account—too long for quotation here—of the manner of receiving the appointment is as interesting as a romance, and gives us an insight into the method—or want of method—pursued by the Home authorities in dealing with grave questions pertaining to this country. Suffice it to say that no selection could well have been more unwise.

Soon after his arrival he appointed several members of the Family Compact to lucrative offices. Three places being vacant in the Council he filled them by appointing three prominent Reformers—Messieurs Robert Baldwin, John Rolph, and John Henry Dunn—to the vacancies. This was apparently done to conciliate the Reformers, by whom these three gentlemen were very highly esteemed; but Sir Francis nullified the appointment by never consulting the new members upon any public measure, and they soon resigned. It was evident that on the important question of Responsible Government there was to be no change for the better. The Governor's conduct was such as to render him unpopular with people of every shade of politics, and he had not been three months in the country before he had raised a storm of public excitement which was destined to produce grave results. Upon his shoulders, and not upon Mr. Mackenzie's, must rest the lion's share of responsibility for the rebellion which soon afterwards broke out. The Assembly framed an address to His Majesty in which Sir Francis was charged with imprudence, double dealing, and actual deviations from candour and truth. Then, in 1836, for the first time in Canadian history, came the stoppage of the supplies. In this extremity the Governor resolved upon a new election, and dissolved the House. He controlled the elections to such an extent that the leading Reformers of the country—including Baldwin, Bidwell, and Mackenzie—were beaten at the polls; and when the new House met it was a mere echo of his own voice.

The effect of all these things was to sting the Reformers of the Province into a righteous fury. As a rule, they were wise enough to bide their time, knowing that such high-handed tyranny would eventually work its own cure. The effect upon some of the less discreet, however, was to persuade them that the privilege of colonial connection

with the mother country was dearly purchased at such a price as they were called upon to pay, and some of the more discontented began to clamour for a republic. Among these latter Mr. Mackenzie, who at the commencement of his political career was as loyal a subject of the British Crown as any man living, occupied the foremost place. He had long despaired of any peaceful solution of the difficulty, and had at last become embittered to such a degree that he could see no remedy for the existing state of things but armed resistance. An insurrectionary movement had for some time been on foot in the Lower Province, which at this time burst forth into open rebellion. It became necessary to withdraw the troops from Upper Canada, in order to uphold the authority of the Crown in the sister Province, and Mr. Mackenzie seized the opportunity thus afforded for raising the standard of revolt nearer home.

To tell aright the history of the Canadian rebellion would require a large volume, and only the briefest outline can be given here. For a fuller account the reader is referred to "The Life and Times of W. L. Mackenzie" by his son-in-law, Mr. Charles Lindsey—a work indispensable to the student of Canadian history. The spirit of resistance which had been aroused began to take an active shape. An enrolment of the disaffected took place. Inflammatory appeals were made by Mr. Mackenzie and his coadjutors to the people of the Province, who were incited to strike for the freedom which, in the words of one of the appeals, could only be won at the point of the sword. A Central Vigilance Committee was formed at Toronto, and an attempt was made at organization throughout the settled parts of the Province. The organization, however, was not fully matured, and there was never any chance of the rebellion being permanently successful. Early in December, 1837, a few of the malcontents assembled on

Gallow's Hill, Yonge Street, within a few miles of Toronto, for the purpose of making a descent upon the city. Intelligence of the rising soon came to the ears of the Lieutenant-Governor, who was panic-stricken by the serious aspect of affairs. If Mr. Mackenzie and his followers had acted with promptitude it is tolerably certain that they would soon have been in possession of the city, in which case insurgents would have raised the standard of revolt all over the Province, and the rebellion—though it must sooner or later have been put down—would have proved a serious matter. But their advance was delayed, and, meanwhile, loyalists began to pour in from all quarters. Sir Francis regained his courage, and assumed the offensive. A considerable force was despatched against the insurgents, who made a very weak defence, and were soon routed, with a loss of thirty-six men killed and fourteen wounded. Mackenzie made his escape to the Niagara frontier, and thence across the river to Buffalo. Here, aided by republican sympathizers from both sides of the boundary line, he began a series of operations as unjustifiable as useless. The insurgents and their allies, under an American General called Van Rensselaer, took up their quarters on Navy Island, in the Niagara River, about two miles above the Falls, where they continued to disturb the peace of Canada for about six weeks. An American steamer called the *Caroline* was employed to transport supplies for the insurgents. The Canadian forces organized to suppress the rebellion, were under the command of Colonel (afterwards Sir Allan) Macnab, who determined to capture the *Caroline*, and detailed Lieutenant Drew on the service. On the night of the 29th of December, Drew and a detachment of about sixty men boarded the steamer at Fort Schlosser, where she was moored, and in a few minutes she was captured. The resistance offered was very slight, and only six

men were killed. The moorings were cut, the steamer was towed out into the stream, set on fire, and then abandoned. The current soon swept her into the rapids, and in a very short time what little of her was left unconsumed by the flames was hurled over the mighty abyss of Niagara. Mr. Mackenzie himself was an eye-witness of this spectacle from his retreat on Navy Island, and has left the following account of it:—

“We observed, about one o'clock in the morning, a fire burning on the American side of the river, in the direction of the small tavern and old storehouse commonly called Schlosser. Its volume gradually enlarged, and many were our conjectures concerning it. At length the mass of flame was distinctly perceived to move upon the waters and approach the rapids and the middle of the river above the Falls. Swiftly and beautifully it glided along, yet more rapid in its onward course as it neared the fathomless gulf, into which it vanished in a moment amid the surrounding darkness. This was the ill-fated steamboat *Caroline*.” Serious complications arose between the Governments of Canada and the United States in consequence of this affair, and for a time threatened to produce war; but through the intervention of General Scott the matter was amicably adjusted. After several ineffectual attempts at invading Canada, Mr. Mackenzie was arrested at the instance of the United States Government for a breach of the neutrality laws. He was indicted and tried at Rochester, where he was found guilty and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. After remaining in confinement twelve months he was pardoned by the President, and once more became a free man. It was during this imprisonment that he was compelled to resort to stratagem in order to visit his dying mother, as mentioned in the early part of this sketch. His mother, ninety years of age, lay dying at the house occupied by his

family in Rochester. All his entreaties to be permitted to visit her were refused, and he wrote her a most pathetic letter bidding her a last farewell. A hotelkeeper named John Montgomery then conceived a device whereby the unhappy prisoner's object was accomplished. Montgomery sued one of his debtors, and issued a *habeas corpus* directing the sheriff to bring up Mr. Mackenzie to give evidence of the debt. The State-Attorney was prevailed upon to permit the court to be held in the house where the dying woman lay; and under these circumstances the last interview took place between mother and son. A few days afterwards the invalid breathed her last, and her son, from the windows of his cell, witnessed the funeral which he was not permitted to attend.

After two or three unsuccessful attempts to establish a newspaper at Rochester he went to New York, where, after suffering extreme poverty for several years, he obtained a small clerkship in the Custom House. When Mr. Greeley and his *confères* established the *Tribune*, Mr. Mackenzie obtained employment on the staff of that journal. He acted as its Washington correspondent, and afterwards represented it at the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York. Several petitions were at various times presented to the Canadian Parliament praying that a pardon might be extended to him for his share in the rebellion; but the prayer was not granted until the 1st of February, 1849. A letter written by him shortly before this time gives us an insight into the effect produced upon him by over ten years' personal experience of republican institutions. “A course of careful observation,” he says, “during the last eleven years, has fully satisfied me that, had the violent movements in which I and many others were engaged on both sides of the Niagara proved successful, that success would have deeply injured the people of

Canada, whom I then believed I was serving at great risks; that it would have deprived millions, perhaps, of our own countrymen in Europe of a home upon this continent, except upon conditions which, though many hundreds of thousands of immigrants have been constrained to accept them, are of an exceedingly onerous and degrading character. I have long been sensible of the errors committed during that period to which the intended amnesty applies. No punishment that power could inflict or nature sustain would have equalled the regrets I have felt on account of much that I did, said, wrote, and published; but the past cannot be recalled. . . . There is not a living man on this continent who more sincerely desires that British Government in Canada may long continue, and give a home and a welcome to the old countrymen, than myself."

He had long been sick of American institutions, and anxious to return to Canada. Soon after receiving his pardon he once more became a resident of Toronto, and in the spring of 1851 he was elected to Parliament as member for the county of Haldimand. He continued to sit for this constituency until August, 1858, when he resigned. As a member of the House he took an active part in public affairs, but owing partly to his advanced years, and partly to the great change which had taken place in Canadian politics during his long exile, he did not exercise the weight which he had been accustomed to exercise in former days. Soon after his resignation a public subscription was set on foot for the purpose of presenting him with a testimonial for his past services to the Reform party of Upper Canada. A homestead was purchased for him on Bond Street, Toronto, in which he lived out the three years of life

which remained to him. The newspaper called *Mackenzie's Weekly Message*, alluded to in the early part of this sketch, was started by him soon after his return to Canada. It continued to be published at irregular intervals down to the spring of 1860, but was never a financial success. For several years previous to his death there was an evident failure of his powers, both physical and mental, and for some time before his last hour it was apparent to all his friends that his recovery was hopeless. He died on the 29th of August, 1861, at his own house in Toronto, at the age of 66.

Any dispassionate observer of Mr. Mackenzie's career must come to the conclusion that, notwithstanding many shortcomings and some grave faults, he was a man of great ability, true patriotism, and sterling integrity of purpose. His services to the people of Canada were great, and to many of them his name is dear. He himself lived to acknowledge that he had been guilty of a grievous error in inciting the people to rebellion; but at the time when he did so he believed rebellion to be the only remedy for the manifold evils under which the country groaned. He was wrong in his belief, and wrong in his acts founded upon that belief; but he was not *altogether* wrong. The ills of Canada were of a kind calling for strong remedies, and those who were most loud in denouncing "Mackenzie's Rebellion" were those who were chiefly responsible for the state of affairs which gave rise to it. Time, however, makes all things even. The Canadian people have long ago done justice to his memory, and have recognized the fact that among the names of those patriots who have manfully and conscientiously struggled for Canadian freedom, few deserve a higher place than that of William Lyon Mackenzie.

## THOMAS LOUIS CONNOLLY.

THE late Archbishop Connolly was born in the City of Cork, Ireland, in 1814. His parents, though obscure, were frugal, worthy people. When he had reached his third year, his father died, and he and a sister younger than himself were left to depend upon his mother, who, notwithstanding the slenderness of her means, contrived to give both of her children a tolerably good education. The boy was an apt scholar, quick and ready to learn, and he soon got on famously with his studies. Of striking appearance, and the possessor of a fascinating manner, he attracted much attention towards himself, and while yet very young he managed to win the good opinion of the eminent apostle of temperance, Father Mathew, who seemed drawn towards the lad by a sort of irresistible impulse. The reverend father's church was but a few doors beyond the home of young Connolly, and seeing his *protégé* attentive to the lessons of Christianity, and faithful in the performance of his religious duties, he lost no time in exhibiting to the youth proof after proof of his friendship and esteem. Such attentions had a marked effect on the susceptible mind of the future prelate, and he listened in wonder, admiration and love, to the kindly and sympathetic counsel of the priest. When Connolly had arrived at the age of sixteen, had mastered history and mathematics, and was well advanced in Greek, French and Latin, he became a novice in the Order of

the Capuchins, through the instrumentality of his friend and benefactor. At the age of eighteen he went to Rome to continue and complete his studies for the priesthood. He remained in the Eternal City six years, devoting his attention to rhetoric, philosophy and theology. At the close of the term he proceeded to the south of France, and after a severe course of study, during which he greatly distinguished himself, he was finally ordained priest in 1838, at the cathedral of Lyons. In 1839 Connolly returned to the land of his birth, and for three years he laboured in the Capuchin Mission House, Dublin, and at the Grange Gorman Lane Penitentiary, to which latter institution he was appointed chaplain. In 1842 the Rev. Dr. Walsh was appointed Bishop of Halifax, N.S., and young Connolly, then in his twenty-eighth year, volunteered his services as secretary to the prelate, whom he was destined to succeed. He proceeded to the capital of Nova Scotia, and in 1845 became Vicar-General and Administrator of the diocese. Dr. Dollard, the much esteemed Bishop of St. John, N.B., died in 1851, and on the cordial recommendation of the American Bishops, Father Connolly was nominated Bishop of the commercial capital of New Brunswick—a position which he filled with characteristic zeal and tact. He found the Church in a state which required action of a prompt and vigorous nature. A heavy debt was upon the people, and they were

undergoing burdens which a less chivalrous congregation might not have tolerated. Poverty and suffering had kept them long under a cloud. In this condition Thomas Connolly found the members of the flock over whose spiritual destinies he had come to preside. He entered upon his work with great interest and activity, and during the seven years of his residence in St. John he accomplished many important undertakings in connection with his Church. He began the erection of the cathedral—a fine edifice which stands as a commanding monument of his priestly administration. He built the orphan asylum, and through his influence nuns were brought from abroad to conduct it. His administrative powers were great, and he thoroughly identified himself with even the minutest details of his office. In 1859, on the death of Archbishop Walsh, Pope Pius IX. appointed Bishop Connolly to succeed him. The Doctor, who was then a man of forty-five, sharp in intellect, keen in thought, and widened in experience, repaired to Halifax. He at once devoted himself to the enlargement of his sphere of usefulness. The Roman Catholic population of Nova Scotia was at this time in a state of open discord with Protestants. Ill feeling between the denominations was the rule rather than the exception, and much bitterness prevailed. To reconcile these difficulties was one of the first movements made by the Archbishop, and it is not too much to say that a considerable part of the friendly feeling which exists to-day among the Protestant and Roman Catholic population of Nova Scotia is due to the efforts of Archbishop Connolly, who in his time was the all-powerful head of his faith. He was hospitable, genial, and liberal-minded. He entertained lavishly, and in the exercise of the social element in his nature he never stopped to inquire the creed or the nationality of those who were invited to his table. Witty, eloquent, versed in the scriptures, dignified

on occasion and undignified when it suited, and thoroughly acquainted always with the ways of the world, Archbishop Connolly was truly a many-sided man. He was respected by all for his learning; he was admired for his ready wit, even when—as was sometimes the case—it was out of season; he was loved for the goodness of heart which prompted him to many kindly acts; and even those who differed from him in religious thought had words of praise to bestow on the faithful character of his life work.

His name is prominently identified with the Free School movement in Halifax, the large building operations whereof were from time to time prosecuted under his auspices—for His Grace was an amateur architect and builder of no mean capacity. He took an active part in promoting the Confederation scheme, to carry which he entered into the contest with all his heart and soul. He even strove to influence the elections by means of pamphlets and letters which were couched in the very strongest and most convincing language. There were many co-religionists of His Grace, as well as many who were not of his faith, to condemn his action during the political excitement of 1866 and 1867 and later on, but he paid little heed to any of those who differed from him. A warm admirer of the late Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, the Hon. Dr. Tupper, and other prominent politicians of the time, Archbishop Connolly espoused the Union cause, and did his utmost to win the people under his charge over to the side of those who advocated Confederation. He had, however, but indifferent success, the prejudices of the people triumphing over what many regarded as undue interference with those political rights and privileges which men believe to be the direct inheritance of good citizenship and righteous self-government. Archbishop Connolly was sincere in his belief in Confederation, and never once doubted, even in after years, the complete

wisdom of the movement. He took no further interest in political affairs, however, deeming, doubtless, that ecclesiastical interference was, to say the least of it, unwise, and fraught with danger to the interests of the Church. It is worth placing on record here the attitude which Dr. Connolly maintained in Rome, during the sitting of the Great Council which had been called together by the Pontiff, to determine the infallibility dogma. He viewed the dogma as a serious political mistake, and did not hesitate to express pretty freely his opinion regarding the trouble the adoption of such a measure would create in the civilized world, and which, in this century at least, the people were wholly unprepared to accept. He took a leading part in the memorable discussion which followed, and took pains to extend his views, both in the Council and out of it. He was over-ruled, however, by his

brethren, and the decrees were proclaimed. Faithful in the observance of the laws of his Church, he submitted and accepted as part of his faith the dogma which decreed the Pope's infallibility. He was sincere in his belief, but his was no rebellious spirit, and when beaten in debate he yielded up his opposition, and submitted to the inevitable with what grace he could.

As a speaker, Dr. Connolly was a natural orator, full of a certain rude and homely eloquence. He had a way of reaching the masses, of touching their hearts and enlisting their sympathies by a word. He always spoke good sound sense, had no tricks of rhetoric, no theatrical manner. He was accounted one of the best extempore speakers of his day. He died suddenly of congestion of the brain, in Halifax, N.S., at midnight, on Thursday, July 27th, 1876, in the sixty-second year of his age.







Anna Jameson

## ANNA JAMESON.

MRS. JAMESON was not a Canadian by birth, nor was her residence in this country sufficiently prolonged to make her a Canadian by force of sympathy. Her sojourn among us extended over a period of only about fifteen months, and when her term of exile came to an end she was very glad to shake our dust from her feet, and return to a more congenial clime. Still she carried away with her some not unkindly memories of our western wilderness, and did something towards making our scenery and institutions familiar to the reading world of Great Britain. She possessed the faculty of creating a strong interest in herself wherever she went; and though her own heart seems to have been to a considerable extent submerged in her intellect, she certainly succeeded in awakening many tendernesses in the hearts of others. There are persons still living in our midst to whom the memory of Anna Jameson is grateful, and who will doubtless be glad to learn more of her than can be learned from ordinary works of reference.

The story of her life is tinged with an atmosphere of sadness from first to last. Her father was a brilliant, unstable, impetuous young Irishman, by name Brownell Murphy, who at the time of her birth resided in Dublin. He was by profession a miniature painter, and had married an English wife. He was possessed of considerable talent in his artistic calling, but his success

in life was impeded by his political tendencies, and that want of practical common sense which has been the besetting hindrance of so many of his countrymen. He was one of the "United Irishmen," an adherent of Robert Emmet and Lord Edward Fitzgerald. He escaped the disastrous fate which befell so many of his unhappy compatriots by a timely migration from his own country to England; but his sympathies remained on the side of the revolutionary party in Ireland, with some of the leaders of which he continued to maintain a questionable correspondence until the final collapse of their enterprises. His eldest daughter, the subject of this memoir, was born in Dublin, sometime in the year 1794.\* The removal to England took place in 1798, by which time the family responsibilities had been increased by the birth of two additional children, both daughters. The latter were left behind at nurse, near Dublin, but the eldest, Anna, accompanied her parents to England. They settled at the little seaport town of Whitehaven, on the coast of Cumberland, where the next four years of Anna Murphy's life were passed. Her little sisters still remained in Ireland, and

\* The date of her birth is erroneously given in nearly all the authorities as May 19th, 1797. The correct year is given in the life of Mrs. Jameson by her niece, Gerardine Macpherson, published about two years ago; but that biographer does not profess to give either the day or the month, and the gravestone in Kensal Green Cemetery is equally silent on the subject.

her life during this period must have been solitary and desolate enough, for her mother was frequently ill, and her father's professional pursuits rendered it necessary that he should frequently be away from home. Another little daughter was born during the residence at Whitehaven. Some of Anna's autobiographic reminiscences of this period, written in the maturity of her fame, have been preserved, and they give us a tolerably clear inkling as to what manner of child she was. It is evident that she was precocious, and that her temperament and disposition were not such as to give assurance of a happy future. "I was," she says, "an affectionate, but not, as I now think, a loveable or an attractive child. I did not, like the little Mozart, ask of every one around me, 'Do you love me?' The instinctive question was rather, 'Can I love you?' With a good temper there was the capacity of a strong, deep, silent resentment, and a vindictive spirit of rather a peculiar kind. I recollect that when one of those set over me inflicted what then appeared a most horrible injury and injustice, the thoughts of vengeance haunted my fancy for months." It is scarcely reassuring, after this, to read that the vengeance was not unmingled with magnanimity, and that she was wont to indulge in mental visions of her enemy's house on fire, and of herself darting through the flames to the rescue. She adds, "I always fancied evil and shame and humiliation to my adversary; to myself the *role* of superiority and gratified pride." A child of tender age, if its mind be perfectly healthy and wholesome, will hardly be given to the indulgence of such morbid thoughts as these; and when we read that such were the frequently-recurring day-dreams of Anna Murphy at seven or eight years old, we are quite prepared to read of matrimonial infelicities and incompatibilities when she shall have grown to womanhood. Her parents do not appear to have

fully comprehended or sympathized with her. It is probable that she was even somewhat neglected, and that her morbid tone of mind was unconsciously fostered by a want of perfect openness between her and her parents. Not that there would appear to have been any premeditated concealment on either side. It was simply this: that their natures were not acutely sympathetic, and that their circumstances made it incumbent upon the elders to pay more attention to the practical than to the sentimental side of life. The mother, cramped by a narrow income, and sometimes prostrated by feeble health, doubtless found sufficient employment for her time in her domestic cares. The father, though not unkind, was at least as much in love with his profession as with his family. Amid such environments was the childhood and youth of the future authoress permitted to develop itself.

In 1802 the family removed to Newcastle-on-Tyne. Here the father's pecuniary circumstances underwent a change for the better. The two little girls were brought over from Dublin, and the household became reunited. Next year another move was made, and the family settled down in the neighbourhood of London, whence, in 1806, they migrated to "the busy region of Pall-Mall." Here Anna, of her own free will, began to seriously bestir herself in the matter of her education. She worked hard, we are told, but fitfully, at French, Italian and other modern languages, in which she acquired what for her age was a high degree of proficiency. By way of variety she devoted herself to the history and romances of India, and made some progress with an original story on Oriental subjects called "Faizy." Here, again, her introspection furnishes us with further insight into her state of mind. She professes that she had very confused ideas about *truth*. "I had," she tells us, "a more distinct and absolute idea of honour than of truth. . . . I

knew very well, in a general way, that to tell a lie was wicked ;" but "to lie for my own profit or pleasure, or to the hurt of others, was, according to my infant code of morals, worse than wicked—it was *dishonourable*." She admits, however, that she had no compunction about telling fictions for the purpose of exciting the enjoyment of her listeners. "In this respect," she adds, "Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, that liar of the first magnitude, was nothing in comparison to me. I must have been twelve years old before my conscience was first awakened to the necessity of truth as a principle." Her views on religious matters were equally confused and disjointed. It is fair to add, however, that her delinquencies were mental only. She was passionately fond of her little sisters, and was beloved by them in their turn. She sympathized with the pecuniary difficulties of her parents, and projected a girlish scheme for assisting them to make ends meet. She proposed that she and her sisters should at once set out for Brussels, learn the art of lace-making, achieve a fortune, retire from business, and set up a carriage and pair for their father and mother. A more practicable scheme for assisting her family, however, presented itself when she was about sixteen. She became a governess in the family of the Marquis of Winchester. How long she continued in that capacity we have no means of knowing, and for the next few years, owing to a lack of materials, her life presents to the biographer a mere blank. Her time, however, must have been industriously spent, for when next we meet her she is a woman of considerable learning, varied accomplishments, and wide reading, with a decided intellectual predominance over most of her friends and associates.

In the month of December, 1820, she first made the acquaintance of Mr. Robert S. Jameson, her future husband. He was then a young barrister, of good family,

handsome appearance and fascinating manners. His powers of conversation were exceptionally brilliant, his morals irreproachable, and his learning much beyond that of the average even of professional men of his age. He was a native of the lake country, the *protégé* of Wordsworth, and the familiar friend of Coleridge and Southey. Miss Murphy was already somewhat of a *bachelon*, and was at once attracted by the handsome and accomplished young lawyer. It was the old story of Phyllis and Corydon over again. "His heart confessed a kindred flame." After a brief courtship a proposal of marriage was made in due form and accepted. Within a few weeks an estrangement ensued, and the engagement was broken off. The cause of this estrangement has never been fully made known, and is not now ascertainable. It was probably nothing more than a commonplace lover's quarrel, and acquired undue importance from subsequent events. It would probably have been better for both if all intercourse between Robert Jameson and Anna Murphy had permanently ended there and then. The next we know of the latter is that in the month of June, 1821, she accompanied a lady to France and Italy as governess to her daughter. During this tour, which lasted about a year, she kept a full diary of her wanderings and experiences, which was subsequently published, with some modifications, under the title of "The Diary of an *Ennuyée*." Soon after her return to England she accepted a situation as governess in the family of Mr. Littleton, M.P. for one of the ridings of Staffordshire, who was subsequently raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Hatherton, and whose grandson, Colonel Edward George Percy Littleton, is known to many Canadians through his residence in this country as Secretary to Lord Dufferin. She remained in Mr. Littleton's service about three years. During her last year of ser-

vice she again met her fate in the person of Mr. Jameson. The engagement, broken off in 1824, was now renewed, and the marriage soon afterwards took place.

Mrs. Jameson's biographer expresses the opinion that the marriage took place with every promise of mutual well-being. "The new husband and wife," says Mrs. Macpherson, "were of kindred tastes and accomplishments, fond of literature and of cultivated society, and though not rich, of sufficiently good prospects to justify their union in a time not quite so exacting in this respect as at present." As matter of fact, however, it is doubtful whether either of the parties to this contract could ever have enjoyed a large share of wedded bliss, even had each been more prudent in the selection of a partner for life. It was at any rate utterly impossible that two persons so constituted should get along happily *together*. Their marriage was a grievous mistake on both sides. Their community of literary and social tastes was altogether insufficient as a bond of union. They were both of them morbidly self-conscious, and neither had learned that great lesson so necessary to comfortable domestic existence—*forbearance*. Both were intellectually vain, and given to self-assertion. There were doubtless faults on both sides which have never been revealed to the world at large. Sufficient has been made known, however, to prove most incontestably that all the blame should not rest upon the wife, whose domestic trials began on the fourth day of her honeymoon. The marriage took place on a Wednesday, and the pair settled down in lodgings in Chenies Street, Tottenham Court Road. On the following Sunday the fond bridegroom announced his intention of going out to pass the day at the house of some friends with whom he had been accustomed to spend his Sundays in the time of his bachelorhood. Mrs. Jameson, who was unacquainted with these friends of her hus-

band's, was not a little surprised at the announcement, and suggested the propriety of waiting until they had shown their wish to become acquainted with her by paying her a visit. "As you please," was the husband's reply; "but I shall go whether you accompany me or not," and began to prepare for his departure. We give the rest of the story in the words of Mrs. Jameson's biographer. "The bride of three or four days had to make up her mind. How could she intrude herself upon strangers. But supposing, on the other hand, that any friend of her own should come; any member of her family to congratulate her on her happiness, how could her pride bear to be found there alone and forsaken on the first Sunday of her married life? Accordingly, with an effort, she prepared herself, and set out with him in her white gown, forlorn enough, who can doubt? They had not gone far when it began to rain, and, taking advantage of this same white gown as a pretext for escaping from so embarrassing a visit, she declared it impossible to go further. 'Very well,' once more said the bridegroom; 'you have an umbrella. Go back, by all means; but I shall go on.' And so he did; and though received, as his astonished hosts afterwards related, with exclamations of bewilderment and consternation, calmly ate his dinner with them, and spent the rest of the evening until his usual hour with perfect equanimity and unconcern." Now, it is extremely probable that in this statement of the matter we have not the whole truth. There had doubtless been some petty little quarrel between the newly wedded pair, and we will give the bridegroom the benefit of taking it for granted that the bride had been most in fault. There is no evidence to support such an assumption, and the case may have been directly the reverse; but assuming everything in the husband's favour, his conduct was so selfish and mean as to be almost inhuman.

The history of domestic infelicity may be searched in vain for a more flagrant instance of marital cruelty. Griselda herself might have been excused for resenting such an exhibition of utter heartlessness. The man who could be guilty of such petty malignity was unfit to be entrusted with the happiness of any woman, and if Mrs. Jameson had left her husband then and there, we, for our part, would be the last to blame her. She seems, however, to have exercised on this occasion a most exemplary forbearance, and years of wedded unhappiness were yet in store for her.

There is no inducement to linger over this portion of the memoir. The husband and wife continued to dwell together for four years, during which period the latter produced two books, both of which are tolerably well known to lovers of literature. The "Diary" has already been referred to. It achieved considerable success, but the only recompense received by the author, in addition to the fame it brought her, was a Spanish guitar, the nominal value of which was ten guineas. The other book was "Loves of the Poets," which the *Westminster Review* rather vaguely pronounced to be "replete with the beautiful and unknown." It was published in 1829, and realized for the author something more than mere empty praise, though its sale was not large. Mr. Jameson's success in his profession, meanwhile, had not fulfilled his expectations, and during the same year he received an appointment to a puisné judgeship in the Island of Dominica, one of the British possessions in the West Indies. He went out to the trying climate of that island, leaving his wife behind him. It does not seem to have been contemplated by either of them that their separation should be permanent, though the skeleton in their domestic closet had attained such proportions as were barely endurable. Their union had not been blessed with children, nor was there any prospect

of such fruition. Mrs. Jameson returned to the protection of her father's house, whence she shortly afterwards set out on a tour on the Continent, accompanied by her father and his patron Sir Gerard Noel. She was absent many months, and spent some time at Weimar, where she made the acquaintance of the family of Goëthe, and of other distinguished members of the Grand Duke's brilliant little coterie. Her impressions of this town were afterwards published under the title of "Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad." In 1831 appeared her "Memoirs of the Lives of Celebrated Female Sovereigns," which still enjoys a limited share of popularity, more especially with female readers. The profits arising from her literary labours had now become a necessity, as her remittances from her husband were few and meagre, and she was compelled to contribute something to the support of her father and his family. In 1832 her "Characteristics of Women," a series of disquisitions on the female characters in Shakespeare's plays, appeared. Of this work, which has perhaps enjoyed a wider reputation than any of her literary productions, all that need be said is that it contains some criticism that is worth reading, and that its defects are largely redeemed by the easy grace of the style in which it is written. Just before the publication of the "Characteristics," the author supplied the letterpress to accompany a series of fine engravings of "The Windsor Beauties," as they are called—a magnificent collection of portraits painted by Sir Peter Lely for Charles II., depicting a number of the fair—and in many cases frail—habitués of that monarch's dissolute court. The paintings had been copied in miniature by Mrs. Jameson's father, by command of the Princess Charlotte, in whose household Mr. Murphy had held the appointment of Painter in Enamel, from the year 1810. These, with several additions, were now engraved and

published, under the title of "Beauties of the Court of Charles II." Mrs. Jameson's sparkling letterpress lent additional charms to a singularly attractive work. It has several times been republished, and early editions of it command a high price among lovers of choice books. Its publication was undertaken entirely for Mr. Murphy's benefit, but, though it added somewhat to Mrs. Jameson's reputation, the cost of production was very great, and the profits were little or nothing.

Mr. Jameson, meanwhile, had not found his position in the West Indies much to his liking, and had never asked his wife to join him there. Early in 1833 he resigned his judgeship and returned to England, where he took up his quarters with his wife at the house of Mrs. Bate, a married sister of the latter's. In a few weeks he succeeded in obtaining an appointment as Speaker of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, and took his departure from London for Toronto—or York, as it was then called. It was arranged between the husband and wife that a home should forthwith be provided in the little provincial capital, and that Mrs. Jameson should be sent for. She had long ago ceased to place much dependence on her lord's word, however, and we can hardly blame her if she did not feel for him much wifely affection. She devoted herself to her literary pursuits with fresh assiduity, and set out on another continental expedition. She spent some time in Germany, where she found a warm welcome in the best social and literary circles, and formed the acquaintance of Retzsch and Ludwig Tieck. She kept up an occasional correspondence with her husband, but no time was arranged for her joining him in Canada, and their letters were wonderfully stilted and formal. After a considerable stay in Germany she returned to London, where she was a sort of literary lioness, and a decided social success. She supported

herself meanwhile by her pen, and had acquired a genuine love for her literary calling. She became acquainted with Lady Byron, and their acquaintance soon ripened into a friendship which lasted nearly twenty years. In the spring of 1834 a letter arrived from Mr. Jameson in which he at last expressed his desire that his wife should join him in Canada. She, however, had formed other projects, and felt quite independent of her husband. She had received overtures from first-class publishers to undertake literary work which would be both congenial and profitable. She, a childless wife, did not conceive it to be her duty to forego the many advantages she enjoyed, merely to take up her abode in an American wilderness, as the companion of "a cold and self-sufficing man, to whose happiness she never seemed to be necessary except when the Atlantic flowed between." In reply to his injunction she wrote to him evasively; and this brought from him a letter conceived in a much warmer strain than he had been wont to use. "Dearest Anna," he writes; "let me look forward to our meeting with hope. Let me not lose the privilege of loving you, and the hope of being loved by you. Let me come to my solitary home with the prospect that my daily labours shall, before any very lengthened day of trial, be rewarded by your presence and your most precious endearments. I have no single hope that does not depend on this one. Do not school your heart against me, and I will compel you to love me. I have been fencing-in my nice little piece of ground on the banks of the lake, where I am promising myself the happiness of building you a pretty little villa after your own taste. I have set a man to plant some trees and shrubs also, for the place was quite denuded, though by far the finest situation in the town. I have ground enough for a pretty extensive garden, nearly three acres." Again, in the following spring (May,



1835,) he writes: "My hopes of receiving you in a house of your own have been for the present thwarted—I have not the requisite money. But I have the ground, which I trust I shall not be driven to sacrifice, because I should never meet with so pleasant a situation; and before long I trust still to have a nice cottage, at all events, upon it. And then, what portion of happiness we enjoy in it depends upon you, dearest Anna; and I think you will not wilfully shut it out of doors, merely because it may be a better fate than I deserve." He had by this time ceased to be Speaker of the Assembly, having been appointed Attorney-General; but his wife was left to learn this fact how she might, and there is no allusion to his improved circumstances in his correspondence. The letters from which the foregoing quotations are made were such as to require that she should make up her mind. She seems, however, to have been very deliberate, and did not reply until the lapse of some months. An extract from her reply will give a better idea of the fathomless abyss that lay between this ill-mated husband and wife than any description could afford. In his last epistle he had referred to his solitariness and great need of her; jocularly adding that he intended ere long to take another wife. She writes: "You say it is your intention to marry again. My Dear Robert, jesting apart, I wish it only depended on me to give you that power. You might perhaps be happy with another woman. A union such as ours is, and has been ever, is a real mockery of the laws of God and man. You have the power to dispose of our fate as far as it depends on each other. I placed that power in your hands . . . and had you used that power in a decided manly spirit, whether to unite or to part us, I had respected you the more, and would have arranged my life accordingly. But what an existence is this to which you have re-

duced us both! If you can make up your mind to live without me—if your vague letters signify a purpose of this kind—for God's sake speak the truth to me; but if, on the other hand, it is your purpose to remain in Canada, to settle there under any political change, and your real wish to have me with you and make another trial for happiness, tell me so distinctly and decidedly—tell me at what time to leave England—tell me what things I ought to take with me . . . what kind of life I shall live, that I may come prepared to render my own existence and yours as pleasant as possible."

To this letter the husband replied, imperatively enjoining the wife to come out to him; and in compliance with the injunction she sailed for New York in September, 1836. Upon reaching New York, contrary to what she had been led to expect, she found no one to meet her, and was compelled to make the remainder of the journey alone. She made her way to Toronto *via* Albany to Queenston, and thence by steamer. She reached her destination at an unexpected time, and by an unexpected boat, so that there was no one at the wharf to meet her. When she landed from the steamer she stepped from the boat into a street ankle-deep in mud, and walked through the desolate roads to her husband's abode, more than a mile distant. The house of the Attorney-General was situated near the foot of the west side of Brock street. The place had been first enclosed and ornamentally planted by Mr. Jameson, as related in one of the foregoing extracts. Her husband's neglect, and the desolate circumstances which attended her first appearance in Toronto, gave her a distaste to the place which she never entirely overcame. She has left a picture of the capital of Upper Canada as it appeared to her in that dreary autumn of 1838. She describes it as strangely mean and melancholy: "A little ill-built town on low land, at the bot-

tom of a frozen bay, with one very ugly church without tower or steeple:" (this was the St. James's Cathedral of those days:) "some Government offices built of staring red brick, in the most tasteless vulgar style imaginable;" (the present Parliament buildings:) "three feet of snow all around, and the grey, sullen, uninviting lake, and the dark gloom of the pine forest bounding the prospect. Such seems Toronto to me now. I did not expect much, but for this I was not prepared." To do her justice, she seems to have done her utmost for some time to rouse herself from the gloom which beset her, and to render her home agreeable to her lord and master. But she was altogether out of harmony with her environment, and the attempt was a failure. She was insufferably bored by the society in which she found herself; and her discomfort was increased by repeated attacks of ague. Her native enthusiasm could not even be roused by a visit which she paid to Niagara in the depth of winter. She was so disappointed at the effect produced upon her by the sight of the roaring abyss that she regretted having gone near it. She would have preferred that it had remained a "Yarrow Unvisited." A subsequent visit during the early summer tended to restore the mighty cataract to her favour, but as yet she beheld everything through a jaundiced medium, and could not work herself up to the point of admiration. Before spring arrived, Mr. Jameson was elevated to a seat on the Judicial Bench: He became Vice-Chancellor, the Chancellorship being vested in the Crown. "He is now at the top of the tree," writes Mrs. Jameson to her sister in England, "and has no more to expect or aspire to. I think he will make an excellent Chancellor: he is gentlemanlike, cautious, and will stick to precedents, and his excessive reserve is *here* the greatest of possible virtues. No one loves him, it is true; but every one approves

him, and his promotion has not caused a murmur." A few lines lower down in the same letter she adds: "The house is very pretty and compact, and the garden will be beautiful, but I take no pleasure in anything. The place itself, the society, are so detestable to me, my own domestic position so painful, and so without remedy or hope, that to remain here would be the death of me. My plan is to help Jameson in arranging his house, and, when the spring is sufficiently advanced, to make a tour through the western districts up to Lake Huron. Towards the end of the year I trust by God's mercy to be in England." One of the most disagreeable features about the whole of this unhappy business is Mrs. Jameson's disposition to take her relatives, and even the world at large, into her confidence on the subject of her domestic unhappinesses. She had much to bear, it is true, and must often and often have been aware of life; but she was unquestionably in some respects an unwomanly woman. She had not that fortitude which frequently belongs to nobler, if less intellectual, natures, and which teaches them to suffer and be silent. For such natures, we doubt not, she entertained an unmeasured contempt. Her love for her husband, if it had ever existed, was dead. She despised him, and unlike George Eliot, she did not recognize the fact that the woman who willingly lifts up the veil of her married life thereby profanes it from a sanctuary into a vulgar place.

The programme which she had sketched out for herself was carried into effect in all essential particulars. She made a western expedition through the Upper Canadian peninsula; succeeded in obtaining an interview with the eccentric Colonel Talbot at the Port named after him; passed on up Lake Huron, and ran the Sault Ste. Marie in a birch-bark canoe; saw a good deal of wild rough life among the Indians; and

thus consumed about two months of glorious summer weather. She returned to Toronto in the early autumn, and soon afterwards took a final farewell of the Chancellor. We find her, towards the close of the year (1837), sojourning at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, as the guest of Miss Catherine Maria Sedgwick, the American authoress. She was lionized by the hospitable literary people of New England during her stay among them, which lasted till February, 1838, when she sailed for England. She bore with her a missive from her husband expressing his acquiescence in a permanent separation. "My Dear Anna:"—thus it runs—"In leaving Canada to reside among your friends in England or elsewhere, you carry with you my most perfect respect and esteem. My affliction you will never cease to retain. Were it otherwise I should feel less pain at consenting to an arrangement arising from no wish of mine, but which I am compelled to believe is best calculated for your happiness, and which therefore I cannot but approve." The husband and wife never met again.

And this was the unhappy end of it. During the rest of his life the husband allowed her a separate income of £300 a year, which, added to her own literary gains, made a sufficient sum to enable her to maintain herself with comfort. But her parents long continued to be more or less dependent upon her, and it must be confessed that she was ever ready to minister to their necessities to the utmost of her power. Upon her arrival in England she took up her abode with her sister, Mrs. Bate, and soon afterwards brought out her "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada," a work which was received with much favour on two continents, and which, for Canadian readers, is by far the most interesting of all her contributions to literature. It deals with her Canadian and United States experiences at full length, and is written in a lively, animated style, which

makes it very pleasant reading, more especially for persons familiar with the society and scenes described. Her own individuality, however, is constantly intruded; sometimes with an effusiveness so great as to be almost offensive. The book was reprinted in the United States, and obtained a wide circle of readers there. It has since been reprinted in England, in a somewhat abridged form, under the title of "Sketches in Canada, and Rambles among the Red Men."

With the publication of this work the chief interest in Mrs. Jameson's life, for Canadian readers, may be said to have come to an end. We have space for only a very brief account of her subsequent career, which was almost entirely devoted to literary pursuits, and incidentally to some important social reforms. She spent much of her time on the continent, and explored the principal art galleries of Germany, Italy and France with a never-failing enthusiasm. She wrote several works on art and kindred topics which have done much to create a taste for, and diffuse a knowledge of, artistic productions. The best known of these are "Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters," "Memoirs and Essays on Art, Literature and Social Morals," "Sacred and Legendary Art," "Legends of the Monastic Orders," and "Legends of the Madonna." She also published several less ambitious, but extremely valuable works, in the shape of a series of handbooks to various artistic collections. She numbered among her friends and correspondents many of the most distinguished authors of the day. As might have been expected, she developed into a vigorous exponent of the rights of her sex; exerted herself to get the schools of design opened to women; interested herself warmly in the cause of female education; and did much, by her writings and example, to stimulate the thought of her day on the question of an enlarged sphere of duty for members of her sex. She cultivated a close intimacy

with Lady Byron, and a warm friendship subsisted between them until the year 1853, when Her Ladyship took mortal offence at her friend for a trivial cause, and hated her most cordially ever afterwards. For some years, however, Mrs. Jameson was one of Lady Byron's most trusted friends, and the recipient of her most cherished secrets. She was doubtless one of the twenty-and-odd "tried friends" to whom the poet's widow—the woman "perfect past all parallel"—disclosed her morbid imaginings about her dead lord. If so, Mrs. Jameson proved faithful to her trust, and no great harm was done. Unfortunately, as we all know, Her Ladyship, in a moment of even more than usually misplaced confidence, told her horrible chimeras to a woman from Massachusetts: a woman of prying curiosity, prurient fancy, and slanderous tongue. The result was that within a few years after Lady Byron had been laid in her grave the world was entertained with the horrible story—a story so utterly vile and disgusting that we must go to the records of the Beecher family to find anything approaching it in infamy.

Mrs. Jameson's father died in March, 1842, leaving her mother and two daughters entirely dependent upon her for support; as, indeed, they had been for some years previously. She acquitted herself of her responsibility with praiseworthy courage, and did her utmost to provide for them out of her own moderate store. In 1851 a Crown pension was obtained for her through the good offices of Lord Stanley of Alderley and Lord John Russell. The spring of the year 1854 was rendered noteworthy to her by the

death of her mother; and in the autumn of the same year she received from Canada intelligence of her husband's death. Some particulars as to the latter years of Mr. Jameson's life in Canada will be found in the sketch of the life of the Hon. William Hume Blake, included in the present series. Some time previously he had prevailed upon his wife to surrender to him the legal papers by which her annuity from him was secured. It had been represented to her that the surrender was desired by Mr. Jameson with a view to securing the income to her after his death. She now learned that no provision whatever had been made for her, and that she was deprived of the income upon which she had learned to depend. Through the influence of the Proctors and other friends at this juncture a sum was raised which obtained for her an income of £100 a year for the remainder of her life. She was destined to benefit by this arrangement only a little more than five years. In 1857 her health began perceptibly to give way. The climate of Italy did something to restore the natural buoyancy of her spirits, but she never again recovered more than a very moderate share of physical health. She returned to London, and continued to engage in literary labours beyond her strength. Early in March, 1860, she caught a severe cold from exposure to a cutting snow-storm, while walking from the British Museum to her lodgings. She was prostrated by fever, and rapidly sank into her grave. She died on the 17th of the month, and was buried in the cemetery at Kensal Green, that final resting-place of so many persons whose names are eminent in English literature.





*J. H. MacVicar*

## THE REV. D. H. McVICAR, LL.D.

THE Principal of the Presbyterian College, Montreal, was born on the 29th of November, 1831, at Dunglass, near Campbelltown, in the peninsula of Kintyre, Argyllshire, Scotland. His parents emigrated to Canada when he was only four years of age, and took up their abode in the county of Kent, near the site of the present town of Chatham. He received his earliest education under an efficient private tutor, and later on became a student at the Toronto Academy, which was then conducted by the Rev. Alexander Gall, M.A., an excellent teacher and disciplinarian. He also attended for some time as a student at the University of Toronto. He received his theological training at Knox College, under the supervision of the late Dr. Willis, Dr. Burns, and Professor G. P. Young. For nearly two years before he obtained his license authorizing him to preach, he officiated as a preceptor in a private academy conducted by his brother, on Gould Street, Toronto, opposite the Normal school. Here he instructed the pupils in Greek, Latin and English. His first preaching was done at Collingwood, in the county of Simcoe, in the summer of 1858. During the following year he obtained from the Toronto Presbytery of the Canada Presbyterian Church a license to preach the Gospel. He officiated for some time in a hall in the west end of Toronto, where he received much assistance in the general work of the congregation, and especially in the

Sabbath School, from the Hon. John McMurrich. Soon afterwards he was appointed by the Committee on Foreign Missions to undertake a mission to British Columbia, which mission, however, he declined to accept. He also received and declined calls to Erin, Bradford and Collingwood. He was earnestly solicited by the congregation over which he officiated in Toronto—where he was much beloved—to remain there, but he ultimately decided to accept a pressing and unanimous call which had been extended to him by the congregation of Knox Church at Guelph. Having accepted this call he entered with energy and zeal upon the work of his charge. He found the congregation much run down, and used his utmost endeavours to bring about a more prosperous state of things. His efforts were crowned with success. During the single year of his pastorate fifty-two members were added, and other work of the church was advanced fully in proportion to the increased membership. His abilities as a preacher and pastor were destined speedily to obtain recognition from other congregations, and towards the close of 1860 he received a call from the Cote Street Free Church, Montreal, as successor to Dr. Fraser, now of London, England. This was then, and is still, one of the leading Presbyterian churches in the country. He accepted the call, and was inducted into his new pastorate on the 30th of January, 1861. He dis-

charged the responsible duties of this important pastorate with marked ability and success for nearly eight years. During this period the congregation reached the highest point it has ever attained, both in numbers and efficiency—the membership having nearly doubled. Here, too, his eminent abilities as a teacher enabled him to draw together and hold with unflagging interest one of the largest Bible classes in the country. He carried his people with him heartily into the work of church extension, founding several Mission Sunday Schools, two of which have since grown into self-supporting congregations. In 1868 the Synod appointed him Professor of Divinity in the Presbyterian College, Montreal. This institution was then in its feeblest beginnings, with no endowment, no books, no building, and only five or six students. After about four months' consideration he undertook the duties of his new office. His congregation unanimously bore testimony by public resolution to their unabated esteem for him, and to their appreciation of his ability and uniform fidelity in pulpit and pastoral work. For about four years the College work had to be carried on in the basement of Erskine Church. At the present day the institution stands upon a very different footing. It now has a fine, handsome building, a valuable library of over seven thousand volumes, a partial endowment, and an efficient staff of Professors and Lecturers; and its last report to the General Assembly shows a larger roll of theological students than any other college in the church. These facts speak for themselves, and show that the Synod and others were not mistaken in predicting for him success in the great work of founding a college in Montreal.

His official duties in connection with the College did not prevent his employing himself usefully in other fields. For six years he had charge, as Moderator of Session, of Cote Street Church, and to him the con-

gregation mainly owe it that they were carried unitedly through protracted vacancies in the pastorate, and through the building of their present magnificent edifice, the cost of which exceeded \$120,000. The work done during this period was fraught with no ordinary difficulty both to Dr. McVicar and the congregation. The former's unwearied efforts, tact, and personal influence with the members contributed very largely to preserve the congregation unbroken in removing to the new church, and thus the interests of Presbyterianism in Montreal and beyond it were greatly promoted.

Principal McVicar has long taken the deepest interest in the work of French Evangelization. By overture to the Presbytery of Montreal and the Synod he originated the work of training French and English speaking missionaries and ministers, and organized the Presbyterian French work which has since been so successful. At the last General Assembly he secured the appointment in the College over which he presides of a French Professor of Theology. He has within the last year taken the initiative in Canada in establishing a Lectureship for the cultivation of Celtic Literature, and it is hoped that this may be developed into a fully endowed chair. He also served many years on the Protestant Board of School Commissioners in Montreal, and was Chairman at the time of his retirement last year. His services in this connection have been invaluable to the cause of education in Montreal—a fact frankly and repeatedly acknowledged by his fellow-citizens and the local press. A writer in one of the local journals not long since spoke of his published lectures and addresses on various questions educational and theological as entitling him to be ranked among the most vigorous thinkers of his time. Some of his educational works have already taken their places as standard text books, and



have received the highest commendations from educators and from the press. These consist, among others, of two arithmetics, the one primary, and the other of a more advanced character, both of which have been introduced into the schools of the Province of Quebec, and authorized by the Minister of Education for Ontario. Among his other publications, those best known are his lectures respectively on Inspiration; Miracles; The Constitution of the Church; The Sabbath Law; Modern Scepticism; Moral Culture; The Teacher in his Study and Class-room; Romanism in Quebec; Hindrances and Helps to Presbyterianism, etc., together with sermons on various occasions. In 1876 he delivered a course of twenty lectures on Applied Logic before the Ladies' Educational Association of Montreal; and in 1878 a similar course on Ethics before the same Association. He has devoted some time to the study of certain branches of Medical Science, especially Anatomy and Physiology, in both of which he still takes a more than ordinary interest, as bearing upon the direction taken by recent scientific discussions. During one session he was Lecturer on Logic to McGill University, Montreal. He is a Fellow of McGill College, and in 1870 received the highest honour in its gift—the degree of LL.D. *honoris causa*. He has been a member of every General Assembly of his Church, where he exerts a powerful influence in guiding her councils and moulding her decisions in all important matters of doctrine and practice. He was appointed by the General Assembly a member of the first General Presbyterian Council which met at Edinburgh in 1877, and also of the one to meet at Philadelphia during the current year. He is not given to putting himself conspicuously forward

as a speaker in Church Courts, but has always spoken vigorously in advocacy of what he has believed to be right measures, irrespective of any consideration as to whether his advocacy might conduce to his popularity. He is known to have definite opinions, and is always able to give a reason for them. As a preacher he may be described as exegetical and eminently practical, drawing his illustrations largely from Biblical sources and the surroundings and occupations of his hearers. He delivers his discourses with much animation and force, and seems to delight in pulpit work, as he frequently appears at the opening of churches, rendering service to his brethren, and even beyond his own denomination. While no believer in a vague and nondescript theology, he is anything but sectarian in his conceptions of the constitution of the Church, and has shown himself ready to work most cordially with all who profess Christianity. It may also be noted that he is a powerful advocate on the temperance platform, and has contributed much to the social enlightenment of the poor of his city.

He has been compelled to do the heaviest part of the financing on behalf of the College, and considering the small field to which his labours have been restricted his success has been almost marvellous. He is still required to teach Systematic Theology, Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, and Church Government.

A few years since he received a pressing call from the congregation of South Church, Brooklyn, and was offered a salary of \$7,000 a year by way of inducement to accept it. He declined, however, to sever the associations which have hitherto bound him to Montreal and Canada, where he has exercised so great an influence for good.

## THE HON. WILLIAM HENRY DRAPER.

THE late Mr. Draper achieved high position in various walks of life. While still in early youth he took a conspicuous place at the Bar of Upper Canada, and acquired an enviable reputation at a time when that Bar numbered among its ranks many persons of marked forensic ability. As a politician he also attained a foremost place, and for more than two years was, as matter of fact, the real "power behind the throne." His political career, however, though it was marked by characteristics sufficiently salient, and was eminently successful in procuring for him power and influence, was on the whole not such as to commend itself to persons of modern ideas. His politics were the politics of a past time. It is not in the *role* of a politician that those who cherish his memory like best to think of him, and it is not upon his political achievements that his highest claims to regard must rest. His judicial career, on the other hand, was not only one of singular brilliancy, but was destined to leave a distinct and permanent mark upon Canadian jurisprudence. As a judge, William Henry Draper occupies a place in the legal history of this country of which any man might justly feel proud. He was a profound and learned lawyer, who felt the grave responsibilities of his high position, and his written judgments will long continue to be cited with the respect due to great legal acumen, keen power of discrimination, and a remarkably capacious mind.

He was an Englishman by birth and early education, having been born on the 11th of March, 1801, in one of the Surrey suburbs of London. His father, the Rev. Henry Draper, was a clergyman of the Church of England, and was for some years incumbent of one of those many metropolitan churches which seem, in these days, to have survived their practical usefulness. He was rector of St. Anthony's—corruptly called St. Antholin's—in Watling Street, in the very heart of the city, and almost within the shadow of the great dome of St. Paul's. Subsequently he became incumbent of a rectory at South Brent, in Devonshire. It was during his incumbency of St. Anthony's that his son, the subject of this sketch, was born. The latter is said to have run away to sea, like other spirited lads, when he had scarcely entered his teens. At all events he embarked in a seafaring life, as cadet on board an East Indiaman. When he was about eighteen years of age he abandoned maritime pursuits, and soon afterwards emigrated to Canada, whither he arrived in the early summer of 1820, he being then in his twentieth year. He engaged in his first employment at Port Hope, in the capacity of a school-teacher, but did not find that pursuit much to his taste, and in 1823 began the study of the law in the office of Mr. Thomas Ward, a local practitioner of some repute in those days. How long he remained in the office of Mr. Ward does not appear, but in 1825 we find him a student in the office of the

Hon. George Somerville Boulton, at Cobourg. He was soon afterwards appointed Deputy-Registrar of the United Counties of Northumberland and Durham. While holding this office, and before he had completed his legal studies, he married the estimable lady who was his companion through more than half a century of his subsequent life, and who still survives him. She was Miss White, daughter of Captain George White, of the Royal Navy. On the 16th of June, 1828, he was called to the Bar of Upper Canada, and soon afterwards resigned his Deputy-Registrarship. He had always possessed a vigorous constitution, and was of robust habits. While holding the office last named he resided at Port Hope. His duties required his daily attendance at the Registry Office, which was at Cobourg, seven miles distant. In those days there was no railway, and the stage did not run at seasonable hours, so that Mr. Draper was commonly accustomed to make the journey both ways on foot—a custom involving at least fourteen miles of pedestrian exercise daily.

Almost immediately after his call to the Bar he removed to Toronto. The Hon. John Beverley Robinson, who was then Attorney-General, having occasion to be in Cobourg on official business, had made the young man's acquaintance, and had been much impressed by the manner in which the latter had prepared a brief for trial. Mr. Robinson offered young Draper a place in his office, and the offer was readily accepted. He continued to have his home in Toronto from that time till his death. On the 18th of November, 1829, he was appointed Reporter to the Court of King's Bench, an office which he held for a period of about eight years. In 1830 he was appointed a Benchler of the Law Society, and in 1842 he was created a Queen's Counsel, along with Robert Baldwin, Henry John Boulton, Henry Sherwood, and James Edward Small, with a patent of precedence. He was by

this time recognized as one of the leaders of the Bar in this Province, and enjoyed a large and lucrative practice.

He entered political life soon after the arrival of Francis Bond Head in Upper Canada, which took place early in 1836. During the following summer Mr. Draper was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly by the city of Toronto, and towards the close of the year, at the Governor's request, he accepted a place in the Executive Council without a portfolio. On the 23rd of the following March he became Solicitor-General of Upper Canada, and continued to hold that office through the stormy period of the rebellion, and subsequently until the Administration of Mr. Thomson—afterwards Lord Sydenham. During his tenure of office as Deputy-Registrar, at Cobourg, he had held a colonel's commission in the county of Durham, and in 1838 he was appointed colonel of a York battalion. During the rebellion he served as an aide-de-camp to Sir George Arthur. While holding office as Solicitor-General, in 1840, he introduced a measure for the settlement of the vexed question of the Clergy Reserves. It passed the Assembly, but was rejected by the Council. Upon the resignation of Mr. Hagerman, Mr. Draper succeeded that gentleman as Attorney-General, and held that office at the time of the consummation of the Union of the two Provinces in 1841. He was succeeded in the office of Solicitor-General by Robert Baldwin, who consented to enter the Ministry at the urgent request of the Governor-General, and upon the supposition that the Government was to be carried on in accordance with the principles of Responsible Government. The history of the various administrations of the next few years, and of Mr. Draper's share in them, has already been given in various sketches included in this series. Though not a member of the Family Compact, he was a Conservative of the most

pronounced cast, and had no sympathy with the Reform projects for which Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues so earnestly contended. It was impossible that any Ministry containing such incongruous materials as Robert Baldwin and William Henry Draper could be of long duration. The former resigned at the opening of the next session of Parliament; the latter continued to hold office. Upon the accession of Sir Charles Bagot, and the formation of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government, Mr. Draper was of course compelled to resign. Then came Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Mr. Baldwin's Ministry took its turn at resignation. It was at this crisis that Mr. Draper came conspicuously to the front. On the 10th of April, 1843, he had been created a Legislative Councillor. He now resigned his place in the Upper House, and became Premier, with the portfolio of Attorney-General. With much difficulty, and after long delay, he succeeded in forming his Provisional Government. He himself, and his two colleagues, Dominick Daly and D. B. Viger, divided the ten Cabinet offices among them, and dragged through the session as best they could. It is to be feared that for much of the mischief wrought by the Governor-General during this unhappy period, Mr. Draper must be held largely responsible. As has been said, he was "the power behind the throne." The plain English of the matter is that Responsible Government was a myth, and the tide of progress was effectually stemmed. This state of things lasted until after Lord Metcalfe's departure from our shores—and in fact until after the arrival of Lord Elgin, for Earl Cathcart merely administered the necessary functions of Government during the interval, and did not in any way attempt to interfere in the disputes of the rival political parties.

In the summer following Lord Elgin's ar-

rival in Canada, and before the general election which ensued, Mr. Draper wisely withdrew from political life, and accepted a seat on the Judicial Bench. He became a Puisné Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench, as successor to Mr. Justice Hagerman, deceased. His appointment took place on the 12th of June, 1847, and he retained the position till February 5th, 1856, when he succeeded Sir James Macaulay as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. This latter position he filled for seven years. In the month of July, 1863, he became Chief Justice of Upper Canada, as successor to the Hon. Archibald McLean, who then succeeded to the Presidency of the Court of Appeal, rendered vacant by the death of the Hon. Sir John Beverley Robinson, on the 31st of January previous. Mr. Draper remained Chief Justice of Upper Canada until February, 1869, when he in turn became President of the Court of Error and Appeal. This position he continued to hold up to the time of his death, which took place at his home in Yorkville, a suburb of Toronto, after a lingering illness, on the 3rd of November, 1877.

In the foregoing rapid enumeration of the high judicial honours achieved at various times by Mr. Draper, it has been omitted to mention that, in 1854, the ribbon of a Companion of the Bath was conferred upon him. It is said that he was several times offered the dignity of knighthood, but declined. The only other important event to be chronicled is the fact that in 1857, while he was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, he visited England on a mission from the Canadian Government in relation to the North-West Territories. The Chief Justice had a numerous family, of whom only two survive him. One of these, Major Frank Draper, is the present Chief of Police in this city.





*Charles Tupper*

## THE HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, who, prior to his receiving the honour of knighthood last year, was best known by his professional title of *Doctor Tupper*, is of U. E. Loyalist stock. He is descended from a German family formerly resident in the electorate of Hesse-Cassel. Sometime during the early part of the eighteenth century the family removed to the Island of Guernsey, in the English Channel, where one of its members formed an alliance by marriage with the old Saxon family of Brock—the family to which Sir Isaac Brock, the hero of Queens-ton Heights, belonged. A few years later, one branch of the Tupper family emigrated to Virginia, and settled in the neighbourhood of Jamestown, whither some of their friends from Guernsey had preceded them. Upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary War the Tupper family espoused the British side, and after the cessation of hostilities “the Old Dominion” could no longer be a comfortable home for them. Like hundreds of their compatriots, they removed to British territory, and took up their abode in Nova Scotia, where the Rev. Charles Tupper, the father of the subject of this memoir, was born on the 6th of August, 1794. This gentleman, who has reached the venerable age of eighty-six years, is still living, and in the full enjoyment of all his faculties. He has had a highly useful and honourable career, and is regarded as one of the patriarchs of his

native Province. He is a Doctor of Divinity, and an accomplished linguist, and was at one time Principal of the Baptist Seminary at Fredericton. He edited the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* from 1827 to 1832, and is the author of several works on temperance and polemical subjects, the best known of which is a volume entitled “Baptist Principles Vindicated,” published at Halifax in 1844.

Sir Charles Tupper is the eldest son of the reverend gentleman above referred to, and was born at Amherst, Nova Scotia, on the 2nd of July, 1821. After attending various public and private schools he completed his education at Horton Academy and Acadia College. From the latter seat of learning he obtained the degree of M.A. He chose the medical profession as his calling in life, and after studying for some time in his native Province he crossed the Atlantic, and graduated in medicine at the University of Edinburgh. He also became a member of the famous Royal College of Surgeons of that city in 1843. Immediately afterwards he returned to Nova Scotia and began the practice of his profession in his native town of Amherst, which is the capital of Cumberland County. Three years later he married Miss Frances Morse, a daughter of a gentleman resident at Amherst. This lady, who still survives, has always been in the true sense of the word a helpmeet to her husband, and has taken an exceptionally

warm interest in the advancement of his successful political career.

From 1843 to 1855 Dr. Tupper's chief business in life was to thoroughly establish himself in his profession. In this he was eminently successful. He not only secured a large and lucrative medical practice, and amassed considerable wealth, but won a much higher reputation for professional skill than commonly falls to the lot of a young practitioner in a provincial town. He is, however, a man of remarkably sound constitution and great energy of character, and his professional pursuits did not so entirely engross his time as to exclude a warm interest in the Provincial politics. Like his father, he was a Conservative, both politically and socially, and entered into the local electioneering contests with much zest. Though his partizanship was never violent or bitter—at least in those days—he had the courage of his opinions, and regard for his professional interests never kept him silent when he could serve his party by speaking his mind. Apart from politics he was in every sense of the word a popular and distinguished man. He had a fine and commanding presence; was well educated, even for a professional man; could discourse volubly and cleverly on the topics of the day; and was not so terribly in earnest about anything as to provoke bitter animosities on the part of those who did not adopt his views. The adherents of the Conservative Party began to look upon him as an eligible candidate for Parliament. In 1855 a general election took place in Nova Scotia, and, in response to the pressing solicitations of his political friends he allowed himself to be put in nomination as a candidate for the county of Cumberland. It was a venture of considerable temerity on his part, for his opponent was the late Hon. Joseph Howe. Mr. Howe had already sat in the Assembly for that constituency. He was the most eloquent, and in many

respects the ablest man in Nova Scotia, and was then at the height of his fame. That a young and successful professional man like Dr. Tupper, to whom political life was in no respect a necessity, should court defeat by opposing so redoubtable a candidate, was considered an exhibition of presumption and foolhardiness. The great Liberal leader himself was for some time disposed to make light of the opposition, but when the day of nomination arrived it was apparent that the impending contest would not be so one-sided as had been supposed. The campaign was carried on with a bitterness and acrimony almost unparalleled in the annals of Nova Scotia. Dr. Tupper proved to be a most vigorous and effective speaker on the platform, and his diatribes stirred up opposition to Mr. Howe in quarters where no such opposition had been looked for. Mr. Howe himself, it is said, was taken by surprise. He had expected to have something like a walk over the course of Cumberland County. As the campaign progressed it became apparent that, so far from enjoying a walk over, he would have enough to do to secure a bare majority. In several of his speeches during the canvass he did full justice to the energy and ability of his youthful opponent, and prophesied that the latter, though defeat must inevitably await him in the present contest, would be heard of again, and would one day take a foremost place in public life. Finally the time of election arrived, and, to the surprise even of many of his warmest supporters, Dr. Tupper's name stood at the head of the poll. Mr. Howe was constrained to take refuge in another constituency, which he continued to represent until his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship a short time before his death. Dr. Tupper took his seat in the House, where he soon attracted notice by the volubility and vigour of his oratory, and by the enthusiasm with which he fought out the party battles of the time. The



chief points in dispute were a proposed prohibitory liquor law, vote by ballot, an elective Legislative Council, and the abolition of the monopoly in the mines and minerals of the Province. On all these questions Dr. Tupper held very pronounced opinions, upon which he enlarged at great length and with much earnestness. The measures advocated by him were defeated for the time, but his speeches established his reputation as a Parliamentary speaker, and paved the way for future success. Soon afterwards, differences arose between the Roman Catholic members and the leaders of the Liberal Party in Nova Scotia, and the former, who had theretofore supported the Liberal Policy, arrayed themselves on the side of the Opposition. The result was the defeat of the Liberal Government, and the late Hon. James W. Johnston, the leader of the Conservatives, was called upon to form a new Administration, which was gazetted on the 24th of February, 1856. In the Government then formed Dr. Tupper was offered the post of Provincial Secretary, which he accepted, and thus gained his first experience of official life. During the following year (1857) he ceased to reside at Amherst, and removed to Halifax, which thenceforward continued to be his home until after the accomplishment of Confederation.

His first tenure of office as Provincial Secretary was marked by a good deal of important legislation, for which he is entitled to a full share of credit, as, though not the actual leader of the Government, he was its most energetic member, and was regarded as in many respects its leading spirit. Among the most important measures which became law at this time were the Act whereby the monopoly in mines and minerals was abolished; the Act making population the basis of representation in the Assembly; an Act amending and consolidating the Jury law; and an Act whereby subordinate officers of the Crown were dis-

qualified from sitting in the Legislature. An Act making the Legislative Council elective was also passed by the Assembly, but was rejected by the Upper House.

In 1858 Dr. Tupper went to England on an official mission, organized in concert with representatives from New Brunswick, to promote the scheme of constructing the Intercolonial Railway. He was absent for several months, during which he had frequent conferences with the leading statesmen of Great Britain, with whom he discussed the feasibility of a political Confederation of the British American Provinces, and fitted himself for the prominent part which he afterwards took in bringing that important project to maturity.

At the general elections held in 1859 Dr. Tupper was again returned as one of the members for Cumberland County. The general result of the elections, however, was to place the Government in a minority, and when the Legislature met in January of the following year, an adverse vote once more landed the Conservatives in Opposition. As an Opposition member Dr. Tupper displayed many of the characteristics that have distinguished him in the wider sphere which he has since found for his political aspirations. He became a formidable assailant of the Government. He charged them with extravagance, and denounced their alleged shortcomings in this respect in the strongest terms. His efforts culminated in 1863, when he carried a large majority of the constituencies by means of the retrenchment cry, and once more found himself seated upon the Treasury Benches, virtually the leader of the Government. In 1864 provision for the retirement of the Premier, Mr. Johnston, by the creation of an Equity Judgeship having been made, Dr. Tupper became Premier, and so continued till 1867. It is alleged by his political opponents that his hustings and Opposition pledges of retrenchment and economy were overlooked

in the cares of office, and that his Administration was even more extravagant than the one it supplanted. To the Tupper Ministry of 1864-7, however, belongs the credit of passing the School Law which has ever since been in force in Nova Scotia, and which has done much to advance the cause of popular education in that Province. Whatever honour is due for the initiation of the measure and the responsibility of passing it through the House may be fairly accorded to Dr. Tupper and his colleagues, although, as a matter of fact, party differences were for the moment laid aside, and an agreement between the Government and the Liberal leaders, Messrs. Archibald and Annand, was arrived at on the basis of a free school system supported by direct local taxation, supplemented by a grant from the public treasury. The introduction of direct taxation was a bugbear from which all previous ministers had shrunk. Dr. Tupper plainly foresaw that he would have to encounter a storm of unpopularity, but his tenacity of purpose was not to be shaken. He repeatedly stated, both in his place in the House and elsewhere, his conviction that this Act would probably cost him place, power and popularity, but that he would ever regard it as one of the proudest achievements of his life. The value of the boon, says one of Dr. Tupper's eulogists, may be estimated from the fact that while in 1861 only 31,000 children between five and fifteen years of age attended school in Nova Scotia, the number had increased, in 1871, to more than 90,000. "One man had the courage to fight and master a great and growing evil, the blight of ignorance covering a whole Province, and he has his reward in the consciousness of having initiated and carried out successfully a noble national undertaking, making posterity his debtor."

In 1864 Dr. Tupper moved the resolution to send delegates to the Charlottetown (P.E.I.) Conference, where the question of a

union of the Maritime Provinces was discussed, and out of which grew the movement in favour of the larger project. He was one of the representatives at the Quebec Conference held in the same year, and also at the London Conference in 1866-7, where the terms of Confederation were finally settled. He had entered into the scheme of Confederation with great energy, and carried his measure through the Local Legislature; but the feeling of a large number of the people of Nova Scotia was one of great irritation, and an amount of bitterness was aroused both against the prime mover in the scheme and the Act of Union itself that is not even yet wholly allayed. There are those who believe that a statesman with more tact and discretion and a stronger desire to conciliate would have achieved his end at less cost; but to Dr. Tupper belongs, at all events, the merit of success, as the result of great vigour, determination, and earnestness. The immediate result to himself and his Government was, however, disastrous. He alone, of all the Union candidates, was elected to the House of Commons, and in the Local Legislature of thirty-eight members the Unionists numbered but two. The fact that the Doctor was able to carry his own election under such circumstances is certainly about as strong a proof as could well have been afforded of his personal popularity in his native Province.

In 1867 he was created a C.B. (civil), in recognition of his eminent public services. During the same year he was elected to the Presidency of the Canada Medical Association, a dignity which he retained for three years, when he declined reelection in consequence of the pressing demands upon his time arising out of his public and official duties. After the accomplishment of Confederation he was offered a seat in the Dominion Cabinet, but declined to accept it, and continued to sit in the House of

Commons as a private member until June, 1870, when he accepted the position of President of the Privy Council. In 1868 the Chairmanship of the Intercolonial Railway Board was offered to and refused by him. During the same year he visited London on behalf of the Dominion Government, in order to counteract Mr. Howe's efforts for a repeal of the recent union of the Provinces. He then had the satisfaction of seeing the prejudices of his old antagonist overcome by the concession of the "better terms" to Nova Scotia, while the action of their old leader had a marked effect on the course of several of the anti-unionist representatives who had formerly belonged to the Liberal Party. In 1870 the two rivals were both found in the same Dominion Cabinet, Dr. Tupper being, first, as has been seen, President of the Council; then, in 1872, Minister of Inland Revenue; and early in 1873 Minister of Customs, a post which he held until the downfall of the Macdonald Ministry in November of that year, owing to the Pacific Scandal disclosures. The general election which ensued in January, 1874, once more placed the Government supporters from Nova Scotia in a minority, though Dr. Tupper himself was returned by his old constituents in Cumberland County for the ninth time. During the existence of Mr. Mackenzie's Government he was one of its most uncompromising opponents, and was a most unsparing critic of the financial and Pacific Railway Policy of the Administration. During the summer of 1878 he took an active part in organizing the campaign for the impending general election, and like other prominent politicians on both sides, delivered stirring addresses at public meetings in various parts of the country. He advocated the project which has been christened "the National Policy" with remarkable vehemence. At the election which took place on the 17th of September of that

year he was once more elected by the county of Cumberland, by a majority of 562 votes, and thereby secured his tenth consecutive return for that constituency. Upon the formation of the new Administration under the auspices of Sir John A. Macdonald in the following October, Dr. Tupper accepted the portfolio of Minister of Public Works, which he retained until the passing of the Act dividing that Department, since which time he has been Minister of Railways and Canals. On the 24th of May, 1879, he was created a Knight of the noble Order of St. Michael and St. George by the present Governor-General, acting on behalf of Her Majesty.

Sir Charles Tupper is still, as he has long been, one of the foremost men of the Liberal Conservative Party, and is usually regarded as the future leader of that party in the event of Sir John A. Macdonald's retirement from public life. He has been assailed with much rancour by his opponents, and various charges of corruption have from time to time been brought against him; but these accusations do not seem to have seriously affected his popularity with his political allies, and he himself appears to regard them with supreme indifference. His character and attributes have been limned by writers of opposite political tendencies, and the bias of the writers is of course apparent in the conclusions arrived at. One of the most hostile of his critics says of him: "He is not an attractive orator. His speeches lack freshness or novelty; no original idea ever seems to intrude itself upon his consideration; his delivery is loud and monotonous, his torrent of words being extremely tiring to listen to and hard to follow. His statements are often made loosely and recklessly, with very small foundation, and apparently upon the spur of the moment. At times it seems as though exhaustion or apoplexy were about to supervene as the orator thunders away at real or imaginary

grounds of complaint, or magnifies some microscopical mole-hill into a mountain; but now and then, even in his most tremendous mood, a lurking smile hints that he is not, after all, too terribly in earnest, and those who know him best are not always over-persuaded of the sincerity of his advocacy. He is 'the fighting captain' of the Opposition craft, and has little care apparently for the course of her navigation or the dangers into which she may be carried, so long as his aggressive temperament finds its true avocation. His political life has been one eminently favourable for the cultivation of an antagonistic habit and manner. Controversy in Nova Scotia, in the days of his career in the Assembly of that Province, was conducted in no gentle spirit. The contestants handled each other without gloves, and his reputation for personal honour and integrity in connection with his official position was more than once seriously challenged." *Audi alteram partem.* A writer who takes a much more favourable view of Sir Charles's character, position and prospects, says that: "On his own side of the House he stands next to Sir John Macdonald, whose right arm he is, and whose successor as leader of the Liberal Conservative party, and the head of a future Conservative Government he is, in all human probability, destined to become. If the question were asked as to who are the two ablest men on each side of the House, the line is so clearly marked that ninety-nine out of a hundred would reply, 'Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake on the one—Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper on the other.' Sir Charles Tupper has reached his present position through no extraneous influence. All that he has and is, he owes to himself, under Providence. He took his place in the front rank as a public man at the outset by pure force of character and strength of intellect. As a politician he has throughout been consistent and progressive, gener-

ally taking counsel with himself rather than following the suggestions of others. There is nothing mean, shifty, or vacillating in his character. In every line of action he has taken, he has followed it out in a firm, fearless and undaunted spirit. With strong party feelings, and a still stronger will, his course has always been shaped in accordance with what he believes to be the public interest. In the earlier part of his career he was dreaded for his terrible power of invective. That power remains, but he has long ceased to wield it as a weapon of offence. His leading characteristics as an orator and statesman are clearness and rapidity of thought, fluency and accuracy of language, tenacity of purpose, strength of will, and promptness of action. His public speeches are an index at once of his intellect and his constitutional temperament. His words are poured out like an avalanche, but you will listen in vain for either verbiage or repetition. The sentences flow on keen and incisive, copious in fact and illustration, bristling with argument, and crushing in force and vigour of expression. As a debater he is perhaps the foremost man in the House of Commons. His articulation is clear and resonant, his utterance rapid and impassioned. But though vehement enough in manner when heated by debate, he seldom loses temper, or forgets the conventional courtesy due to an opponent. His judgment is calm and collected at all times, and few can parry a thrust more adroitly, or be more formidable in attack."

Sir Charles Tupper is a Governor of Dalhousie College, Halifax, and is the author of several pamphlets, the best known of which is "A Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Carnarvon, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies," published at London, in 1866, in reply to a pamphlet by the late Hon. Joseph Howe, entitled "Confederation, considered in relation to the interests of the Empire."

## MONTCALM.

"My daddy he crossed the wide ocean,  
My mother brought me on her neck,  
And we came in the year 'fifty-seven,  
To guard the good town of Quebec.

"In the year 'fifty-nine came the Britons ;  
Full well I remember the day—  
They knocked at our gates for admittance,  
Their vessels were moored in our bay.  
Says Montcalm, 'Go drive me yon red-coats  
Away to the sea, whence they come.'—  
Then we marched against Wolfe and his bull-dogs,  
We marched at the sound of the drum."

—THACKERAY.

"GO TO: the boy is a born generalissimo, and is destined to be a Marshal of France," said M. Ricot, holding up his hands in amazement. The boy referred to was a little fellow seven or eight years of age, by name Louis Joseph de Saint V6ran. M. Ricot was his tutor, and was led to express himself after this fashion in consequence of some precocious criticisms of his pupil on the tactics employed by Caius Julius Caesar at a battle fought in Transalpine Gaul fifty odd years before the advent of the Christian era. It was evident to the critic's youthful mind that the battle ought to have resulted differently, and that if the foes of "the mighty Julius" had had the wit to take advantage of his indiscretion, certain pages of the "Commentaries" might have been conceived in a less boastful spirit. Little Louis Joseph had sketched a rough plan, showing the respective positions of the opposing forces, and had then demanded

of his tutor why *this* had not been done, why *that* had been neglected, and why *the other* had never been even so much as thought of. M. Ricot, after carefully following out the reasoning of his pupil, could find no weak point therein, and was fain to admit that the great Roman had been guilty of a huge blunder in the arrangement of his forces. Fortunately for the General's military reputation, the Gauls had been beaten in spite of his defective strategy, and he himself had survived to transmit to posterity a rather egotistical account of the affair. M. Ricot had been reading those "Commentaries" all his life—reading them, as he supposed, critically—but he had never lighted upon the discovery which his present pupil had made upon a first perusal. Well might he exclaim, "Go to; the boy is a born generalissimo, and is destined to be a Marshal of France."

Such is the anecdote—preserved in an old volume of French memoirs—of the childhood of him who subsequently became famous on two continents, and who for more than a hundred years past has been accounted one of the most redoubtable commanders of his age. If the story be true, certainly the Marquis de Montcalm did not carry out the splendid promise of his boyhood. He lived to fight the battles of his country with unflinching courage, with a tolerable amount of military skill, and with a tenacity of purpose that often achieved

success against tremendous odds. But, unlike the great general to whom, during the last few weeks of his life, it was his fortune to be opposed, he never gave any evidence of possessing an original military genius—such a genius as would seem to have been possessed by the youth who figures in the foregoing anecdote. His chivalrous bravery, his high-bred courtesy, and, more than all, his untimely death, have done much to make his name famous in history, and to obscure certain features of character which we are not usually accustomed to associate with greatness. "History," says Cooper, "is like love, and is apt to surround her heroes with an atmosphere of imaginary brightness. It is probable that Louis de Saint V6ran will be viewed by posterity only as the gallant defender of his country, while his cruel apathy on the shores of the Oswego and the Horican will be forgotten."

He was descended from a noble French family, and was born at the Ch4teau of Caudeac, near Nismes, in Southern France, on the 28th of February, 1712. Concerning his early years but few particulars have come down to us. He seems to have entered the army before he had completed his fourteenth year, and to have distinguished himself in various campaigns in Germany, Bohemia and Italy during the war of the Austrian succession. At the disastrous battle of Piacenza, in Italy, fought in the year 1746, he gained the rank of Colonel; and in 1749 he became a Brigadier-general. Seven years subsequent to the latter date he began to figure conspicuously in Canadian history, and from that time forward we are able to trace his career pretty closely. Early in 1756, having been elevated to the rank of a Field-Marshal—thus verifying the prediction of his old tutor—he was appointed successor to the Baron Dieskau in the chief command of the French forces in this country. He sailed from France early in April, and arrived at Quebec about a month

afterwards. He was accompanied across the Atlantic by a large reinforcement, consisting of nearly 14,000 regular troops, and an ample supply of munitions of war. He at once began to set on foot those active operations against the British in America which were followed up with such unremitting vigilance throughout the greater part of the following three years.

The state of affairs in Canada at this period may be briefly summarized as follows:—The Government was administered by the Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, a man ill-fitted for so onerous a position in such troublous times. The colony extended from the seaboard to the far west, through the valley of the Ohio, and had a white population of about 80,000. Previous to Montcalm's arrival there were 3,000 veteran French troops in the country, in addition to a well-trained militia. The country, indeed, was an essentially military settlement, and the people felt that they might at any time be called upon to defend their frontiers. The countless tribes and offshoots of the Huron-Algonquin Indians had cast in their lot with the French, and were to contribute not a little to the success of many of their warlike operations. The French, by means of their Forts at Niagara, Toronto and Frontenac (Kingston), held almost undisputed sovereignty over Lake Ontario; and their forts at Crown Point and Ticonderoga enabled them to control Lake Champlain.

Still, the French colonists laboured under some serious disadvantages, which contributed eventually to decide the contest adversely to them. They had given comparatively little attention to the cultivation of the soil, and suffered from a chronic scarcity of food. They were subjected to feudal exactions ill-suited to the condition of the country, and were further impoverished by huge commercial monopolies. Every branch of the public service was corrupt, and the peculations of the officials, if not shared by

the Governor himself, were at least winked at or sanctioned by him. Montcalm, whatever may have been his shortcomings in some respects, was no self-seeker, and was very properly disgusted with the maladministration which everywhere prevailed. His dissatisfaction with, and contempt for the Governor, had the effect of producing much internal dissension among the Canadians, and of hastening the downfall of French dominion in the colony.

The population of the British colonies at this time was not much less than three millions; but this population, unlike that of Canada, knew little of military affairs. The British colonists had spent their time in commercial and agricultural pursuits, and had not cast loose from the spirit of puritanism which had animated the breasts of their forefathers. As compared with the mother-country they were poor enough in all conscience, but they were, as a rule, frugal, industrious and intelligent; and, as compared with their Canadian neighbours, they might almost be said to be in affluent circumstances. They possessed in an eminent degree those qualities—energy, endurance, and courage—which mark the Anglo-Saxon race in every quarter of the globe. Such a foe, if once disciplined and roused to united action, was not to be despised, even by the veteran battalions of France; and the most Christian King showed his appreciation of this fact by sending against them a general who was regarded as the most consummate soldier in Europe.

Having arrived at Quebec about the middle of May, Montcalm lost no time in opening the campaign. One of his earliest proceedings was to lay siege to Fort Oswego, which, after a faint resistance, was compelled to surrender. Articles of capitulation were signed, the British laid down their arms, and the fort was delivered over to the conquerors. One hundred and thirty-four cannon and a large quantity of specie and

military stores became the spoil of the victors, and more than 1,600 British subjects, including 120 women and children, became prisoners of war.

Up to this epoch in his career the conduct of the Marquis de Montcalm had been such as to deserve the unqualified admiration alike of his contemporaries and of posterity. Though not past his prime, he had achieved the highest military distinction which his sovereign could bestow. His chivalrous courage had been signally displayed on many a hard-fought field, and his urbanity, amiability, and generosity had made him the idol of his soldiers. He had a manner at once grand and ingratiating, and in his intercourse with others he manifested a *bonhomie* that caused him to be beloved alike by the simple soldier and the haughty *noblesse* of his native land. Considering his opportunities, he had been a diligent student, and had improved his mind by familiarity with the productions of many of the greatest writers of ancient and modern times. By far the greater part of his life had been spent in the service of his country, and when compelled to endure the privations incidental to an active military life in the midst of war, he had ever been ready to share his crust with the humblest soldier in the ranks. Up to this time every action of his life had seemed to indicate that he was a man of high principle and stainless honour. If it had been his good fortune to die before the fall of Oswego his name would have been handed down to future times as a perfect mirror of chivalry—a knight without fear and without reproach. It is sad to think that a career hitherto without a blot should have been marred by repeated acts of cruelty and breaches of faith. On both counts of this indictment the Marquis of Montcalm must be pronounced guilty; and in view of his conduct at Oswego, and afterwards at Fort William Henry, the only conclusion at which the

impartial historian can arrive is that he was lamentably deficient in the highest attributes of character.

Fort Oswego was surrendered on the 14th of August. By the terms of capitulation the sick and wounded were specially entrusted to Montcalm, whose word was solemnly pledged for their protection and safe conduct. How was the pledge redeemed? No sooner were the British deprived of their arms than the Indian allies of the French were permitted to swoop down upon the defenceless prisoners and execute upon them their savage will. The sick and wounded were scalped, slain, and barbarously mutilated before the eyes of the Marshal of France, who had guaranteed that not a hair of their heads should fall. Nay, more; a score of the prisoners were deliberately handed over to the savages to be ruthlessly butchered, as an offering to the manes of an equal number of Indians who had been slain during the siege. Such are the unimpeachable facts of the massacre at Oswego.

It is not to be supposed that these proceedings on the part of the Indians were agreeable to the feelings of Montcalm, or that he consented to them with a very good grace. The noble representative of the highest civilization in Europe could scarcely have taken pleasure in witnessing the hideous massacre of defenceless women and children. But he was anxious to retain the coöperation of his red allies at any cost, and had not the moral greatness to exercise his authority to restrain their savage lust for blood. It has been contended by some defenders of his fame that he had no choice in the matter—that the ferocity of the savages was aroused, and could not be controlled. It is sufficient to say in reply that those who argue thus must wilfully shut their eyes to the facts. Was it because he could not restrain his allies that he, without remonstrance, delivered up to them

twenty British soldiers to be tortured, cut to pieces, and burned? Was he unable to restrain them when he finally became sickened with their butchery and personally interposed to prevent its further continuance? From the moment when his will was unmistakably made known to the Indians the massacre ceased; and if he had been true to himself and his solemnly-plighted word from the beginning, that massacre would never have begun. By no specious argument can he be held guiltless of the blood of those luckless victims whose dismembered limbs were left to fester before the entrenchments at Oswego.

With the surrender of Oswego Great Britain lost her last vestige of control over Lake Ontario. The fort was demolished, and the French returned to the eastern part of the Province. The result of the campaign of 1756 was decidedly in favour of the French, and Montcalm's reputation as a military commander rose rapidly, though his conduct at Oswego led to his being looked upon with a sort of distrust that had never before attached to his name. His courage and generalship, however, were unimpeachable, and his vigilance never slept. During the following winter his spies scoured the frontiers of the British settlements, and gained early intelligence of every important movement of the forces. Among other information, he learned that the British had a vast store of provisions and munitions of war at Fort William Henry, at the south-western extremity of Lake George. Early in the spring, Montcalm resolved to capture this fort, and to possess himself of the stores. On the 16th of March, 1757, he landed on the opposite side of the lake, at a place called Long Point. Next day, having rounded the head of the lake, he attacked the fort; but the garrison made a vigorous defence, and he was compelled to retire to Fort Ticonderoga, at the foot of the lake. For several months afterwards his attention



was distracted from Fort William Henry, by operations in different parts of the Province; but early in the month of August he renewed the attempt with a force consisting of 7,000 French and Canadian troops, 2,000 Indians, and a powerful train of artillery. The garrison consisted of 2,300 men, besides women and children. To tell the story of the second siege and final surrender of Fort William Henry would require pages. Suffice it to say that the dire tragedy of Oswego was reënacted on a much more extended scale. For six days the garrison was valiantly defended by Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, a veteran of the 35th Regiment of the line. Day after day did the gallant old soldier defend his trust, waiting in vain for succours that never arrived. Finally, when he learned that no succours were to be expected, and that to prolong the strife would simply be to throw away the lives of his men, he had an interview with the French commander, and agreed to an honourable capitulation. Again did Montcalm pledge his sacred word for the safety of the garrison, which was to be escorted to Fort Edward by a detachment of French troops. The sick and wounded were to be taken under his own protection until their recovery, when they were to be permitted to return to their own camp.

Such were the terms of capitulation: terms which were honourable to the victor, and which the vanquished could accept without ignominy. How were these terms carried out? No sooner was the garrison well clear of the fort than the shrill war-whoop of the Indians was heard, and there ensued a slaughter so terrible, so indiscriminate, and so inconceivably hideous in all its details that even the history of pioneer warfare hardly furnishes any parallel to it. Nearly a thousand victims were slain on the spot, and hundreds more were carried away into hopeless captivity. No more graphic or historically accurate description

of that scene has ever been written than is to be found in "The Last of the Mohicans," where we read that no sooner had the war-whoop sounded than upwards of two thousand raging savages burst from the forest and threw themselves across the plain with instinctive alacrity. "Death was everywhere, in its most terrific and disgusting aspects. Resistance only served to inflame the murderers, who inflicted their furious blows long after their victims were beyond the reach of their resentment. The flow of blood might be likened to the outbreathing of a gushing torrent: and as the natives became heated and maddened by the sight, many among them kneeled on the earth and drank freely, exultingly, hellishly, of the crimson tide. The trained bodies of the British troops threw themselves quickly into solid masses, endeavouring to awe their assailants by the imposing appearance of a military front. The experiment in some measure succeeded, though many suffered their unloaded muskets to be torn from their hands in the vain hope of appeasing the savages."

It has been alleged on Montcalm's behalf that when the slaughter began he used his utmost endeavours to arrest it. His utmost endeavours! Why, even if his command was insufficient to restrain his allies, he had seven thousand regular troops, with arms in their hands, at his back. Instead of theatrically baring his breast, and calling upon the savages to slay him in place of the English, for whom his honour was pledged, he would have done well to have kept that honour unsullied by observing the plain terms of capitulation, and providing a suitable escort. Instead of calling upon the British—hampered as they were by the presence of their sick, and of their women and children—to defend themselves, he should have called upon his own troops to protect his honour and that of France. Had his promised escort been provided no

attempt would have been made by the Indians, and the tragedy at Oswego might in process of time have come to be regarded as a mere mischance. But no such excuse can now be of any avail. According to some accounts of this second massacre, no escort whatever was furnished. According to others, the escort was a mere mockery, consisting of a totally inadequate number of French troops, who were very willing to see their enemies butchered, and who did not even make any attempt to restrain their allies. All that can be known for certain is, that if there was any escort at all it was wholly ineffective; and, leaving humanity altogether out of the question, this was in itself an express violation of the terms upon which the garrison had been surrendered. The massacre at Fort William Henry followed one short year after that at Oswego, and the two combined have left a stain upon the memory of the man who permitted them which no time can ever wash away.

It is unnecessary to describe at length the subsequent campaigns of that and the following year. Montcalm's defence of Fort Ticonderoga on the 8th of June, 1758, was a masterly piece of strategy, and was unmarred by any incident to detract from the honour of his victory, which was achieved against stupendous odds. Ticonderoga continued to be Montcalm's headquarters until Quebec was threatened by the British under Wolfe, when he at once abandoned the shores of Lake Champlain, and mustered all his forces for the defence of the capital of the French colony.

The siege of Quebec has been described at length in a former sketch, and it is unnecessary to add much to that description here. It will be remembered how Wolfe landed at L'Anse du Foulon in the darkness of the night of September 12th, 1759, and how the British troops scaled the precipitous heights leading to the Plains of Abraham. Intelligence of this momentous

event reached Montcalm, at his headquarters at Beauport, about daybreak on the morning of the 13th. "Aha," said the General, "then they have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison." He at once issued orders to break up the camp, and led his army across the St. Charles River, past the northern ramparts of the city, and thence on to the plains of Abraham, where Wolfe and his forces were impatiently awaiting his arrival. The battle was of short duration. The first deadly volley fired by the British decided the fortunes of the day, and the French fled across the plains in the direction of the citadel. Montcalm, who had himself received a dangerous wound, rode hither and thither, and used his utmost endeavour to rally his flying troops. While so engaged he received a mortal wound, and sank to the ground. From that moment there was no attempt to oppose the victorious British, whose general had likewise fallen in the conflict.

Montcalm's wound, though mortal, was not immediately so, and he survived until the following day. When the surgeons proceeded to examine his wound the general asked if it was mortal. They replied in the affirmative. "How long before the end?" he calmly inquired. He was informed that the end was not far off, and would certainly arrive before many hours. "So much the better," was the comment of the dying soldier—"I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." The commander of the garrison asked for instructions as to the further defence of the city, but Montcalm declined to occupy himself any longer with worldly affairs. Still, even at this solemn moment, the courteous urbanity by which he had always been distinguished did not desert him. "To your keeping," he said to De Ramesay, the commander of the garrison, "I commend the honour of France. I wish you all comfort, and that you may be happily extricated from your present perplexities. As for me, my time is short, and

I have matters of more importance to attend to than the defence of Quebec. I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." Not long afterwards he again spoke: "Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to me to be vanquished by so great and generous an enemy. If I could survive this wound, I would engage to beat three times the number of such forces as I commanded this morning with a third of their number of British troops." His chaplain arrived about this time, accompanied by the bishop of the colony, from whom the dying man received the last sacred offices of the Roman Catholic religion. He lingered for some hours afterwards, and finally passed away, to all outward seeming, with calmness and resignation.

It seems like an ungrateful task to recur to the frailties of a brave and chivalrous man, more especially when he dies in the odour of sanctity. But as we ponder upon that final scene in the life of the gay, charming, brilliant Marquis of Montcalm, we cannot avoid wondering whether the "sheeted ghosts" of the wounded men, helpless women, and innocent babes who were so ruthlessly slaughtered at Oswego and William Henry flitted around his pillow in those last fleeting moments. Notwithstanding the fact that his mind seemed to receive solace from the solemn rites in which he then took part, we have never read the account of those last hours of Montcalm without being reminded of the lines of the British Homer descriptive of the death of him who fell "on Flodden's fatal field."

The exact place of Montcalm's death has never been definitely ascertained. Various sites are indicated by different authorities, but no conclusive evidence has been adduced in support of the claims of any of them. It is, however, known for certain that his body was interred within the precincts of the Ursuline Convent at Quebec, where a mural

tablet was erected by Lord Aylmer to his memory in 1832. The following is a translation of the inscription:—

HONOUR  
TO  
MONTCALM!  
FATE, IN DEPRIVING HIM OF VICTORY,  
RECOMPENSED HIM BY A  
GLORIOUS DEATH.

A few years ago his remains were disinterred, and his skull, with its base enclosed in a military collar, is religiously preserved in a glass case on a table in the convent. The monument to the joint memory of Wolfe and Montcalm has been referred to in a previous sketch.

Thus lived and died the Marquis of Montcalm. He was forty-seven years of age at the time of his death, and was constitutionally younger than his years would seem to indicate. A Canadian historian thus sums up the brighter side of his character: "Trained from his youth in the art of war: laborious, just, and self-denying, he offered a remarkable exception to the venality of the public men of Canada at this period, and in the midst of universal corruption made the general good his aim. Night, the rushing tide, veteran discipline, and more brilliant genius had given his rival the victory. Yet he was not the less great: and while the name of Wolfe will never be forgotten, that of Montcalm is also engraved by its side on the enduring scroll of human fame. The latter has been censured for not abiding the chances of a siege, rather than risking a battle. But with a town already in ruins, a garrison deficient in provisions and ammunition, and an enemy to contend with possessed of a formidable siege-train, the fire of which must speedily silence his guns, he acted wisely in staking the issue on a battle, in which, if he found defeat, he met also an honourable and a glorious death."

## THE HON. OLIVER MOWAT.

MR. MOWAT, who has long been one of the most prominent members of the Reform Party in this country, cannot be said to have inherited any portion of his advanced political views. He was cradled in the lap of Toryism, and in his early youth was regarded by some members of the Conservative Party as an available future candidate for Parliament. His father, the late Mr. John Mowat, was a native of Canisbay, Caithness, Scotland, who early in life entered the army, and who served throughout the whole course of the Peninsular war. In 1816 he came to Canada; and he had been only a few months in this country ere he took up his abode at Kingston, where he thenceforward continued to reside until his death. During the early years of his residence in Canada he married Miss Helen Levack, who, like himself, was a native of Caithness, and by whom he had five children, the eldest of whom is the subject of the present sketch. Soon after settling at Kingston, Mr. Mowat opened a general retail store, and continued to carry on a successful commercial business for many years. At the time of the disruption of the Scottish National Church, in 1843, he adhered to the Kirk. He had then been for many years an elder of St. Andrew's Church, Kingston, and he so remained until his death. His business continued to prosper, and in course of time he realized a competence. As he advanced in years he gradually ceased to take any personal concern in the manage-

ment of his commercial affairs, and finally withdrew from mercantile life altogether. He was a man of much social influence, and was held in high esteem for the uprightness of his character. He was one of the original promoters of the Commercial Bank, and was for many years one of the directors of that institution. He was also a trustee of Queen's College for many years prior to his death, which took place at Kingston in 1860. In politics he favoured Responsible Government in the Province, and was a zealous opponent of the exclusive claims of the Church of England, but, like many others in his day who held those views, he was an adherent of the Conservative Party.

Oliver Mowat was born at Kingston, on the 22nd of July, 1820. After receiving tuition at several small local private establishments, he attended a more pretentious educational institution taught by the Rev. John Cruikshank, who is now minister of the parish of Turrieff, in Scotland. The latter institution was one of some repute in those times, and numbered among its scholars the present Premier of Canada and the late Hon. John Hillyard Cameron. Like his father before him, he was bred in the Presbyterian faith, and has always been a member of that body. As a child he is said to have exhibited a good deal of mental precocity, and learned to read at a very early age. When only five years old he used to mount a high stool in his father's



*Quo vadis*



counting-room, and read the newspapers aloud to the clerks employed in the establishment. Like most clever boys, he was fond of books and study, and acquired a good deal of miscellaneous knowledge. Upon leaving school he entered upon the study of the law in the office of Mr. (now Sir) John A. Macdonald, in his native town. Within a few months after he had completed his seventeenth year the rebellion of 1837-8 broke out. Trained as he had been, he could not be expected to feel any sympathy in that unwise movement, and, like a loyal subject, he served for a short time as a volunteer. After spending four years in Mr. Macdonald's office, he removed to Toronto, where he completed the term of his studies under the late Mr. Robert E. Burns, afterwards a Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench. In Michaelmas Term, 1841, he was admitted as an attorney and solicitor, and in the same term he was called to the Bar of Upper Canada. He at once entered upon the practice of his profession at Kingston. He soon afterwards removed to Toronto, and formed a partnership with his former principal, Mr. Burns, under the style of Burns & Mowat. The late Mr. P. M. M. S. Vankoughnet was subsequently admitted to the firm, the style of which thenceforward became Burns, Mowat & Vankoughnet. Mr. Burns then occupied the position of Judge of the Home District Court, embracing the present counties of York, Ontario and Peel. As the law then stood, he was permitted to carry on his professional business concurrently with his judicial duties; but in 1848 an Act was passed whereby County Court Judges were precluded from practising at the Bar. Mr. Burns accordingly gave up his professional practice, and retained his seat on the Bench. He was subsequently raised to the dignity of a Puisné Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench, and continued to occupy that position until his death, which took place on the 13th of January,

1863. Mr. Vankoughnet's distinguished career, both in political life and as Chancellor of Upper Canada, is outlined elsewhere in these pages. After Mr. Burns's retirement from practice, Messrs. Mowat and Vankoughnet continued to carry on business in partnership for some years. Mr. Mowat confined his attention almost exclusively to the equity branch of the profession. The Court of Chancery, which had been created in 1837, was not then very efficiently conducted. The Chancellorship was vested in the Crown, and the judicial duties were discharged by Vice-Chancellor Robert S. Jameson, a man of varied learning and accomplishments, but of objectionable habits, and in many important respects unfitted for the duties of his office; and the delay and expense to which suitors were in consequence subjected were so great as to be almost tantamount to a denial of justice. The Vice-Chancellor's inefficiency increased with his advancing years, and things went on from bad to worse, until there was an outcry for the abolition of the Court of Chancery from one end of the Province to the other. In 1849, the late Hon. William Hume Blake, who was Solicitor-General in the then existing Baldwin-Lafontaine Government, introduced and passed through the House a Bill whereby the Court was reformed and entirely reorganized, with three judges instead of one. Mr. Blake himself was induced to accept the office of Chancellor, and from that time forward the Court of Chancery was conducted with an efficiency which soon gained the confidence both of the Bar and the public.

At the Bar of the remodelled Court Mr. Mowat took a foremost place. His practice grew day by day, and he was entirely engrossed by the duties of his profession. The partnership between Mr. Vankoughnet and himself having been dissolved by mutual consent, they practised thenceforward separately, and each had a

very large business. Mr. Mowat after a time formed a partnership with Messrs. John Ewart and John Helliwell (both deceased), under the style of Mowat, Ewart & Helliwell; and subsequently with the late Mr. John Roaf and a Mr. Davis, the style of the firm being Mowat, Roaf & Davis. After the dissolution of this partnership Mr. Mowat for some time carried on business alone. He had the largest equity practice in Upper Canada, and was concerned in nearly every important case which came before the Court of Chancery in those days. Gradually he began to take a keen interest in politics. He had already, however, formed political ideas widely at variance with those in which he had been reared. Theoretically, he had become an advanced Liberal, though he did not then, and probably does not now, believe that the time had arrived for carrying all his theories into practice. Some Conservatives regarded and spoke of his alliance with the Reform Party as a defection from their ranks. A defection, however, it certainly was not, as he had never been allied with the Tory Party, as had his father; he had never recorded a Tory vote, or in fact taken any part in political life. His growing leanings in the direction of Liberalism were the outgrowth of the times, and of his own study and reflection.

In 1856 Mr. Mowat was created a Queen's Counsel, and during the same year he was appointed as one of the commissioners for the consolidation of the Public General Statutes of Canada and of Upper Canada respectively. At the general election of 1857, he offered himself in opposition to Mr. (now the Hon.) Joseph C. Morrison, as a candidate for the representation of South Ontario in the House of Assembly. He was elected by a majority of nearly 800, and upon the opening of the next session in February, 1858, he took his seat in the House. There he spoke with no uncertain sound. He opposed various measures of the

then-existing Macdonald-Cartier Government with a vigour and clearness of exposition which produced considerable effect. He was one of the most effective speakers on the side of the Opposition, all of whom yielded the palm to their leader, the late Mr. Brown, whose energy and vigour were then in their zenith. The Opposition as a whole was a most formidable one, and the Government had no sinecure in their offices. On the question of Representation by Population the Ministry was sustained, after an acrimonious debate in which both Mr. Brown and Mr. Mowat took a conspicuous part, by a majority of only twelve. Then came the debate on the question of the location of the seat of the Government. A resolution, the terms of which everybody remembers, was carried against the Government by a majority of fourteen. Then followed the resignation, and the formation of the Brown-Dorion Government, in which Mr. Mowat accepted the post of Provincial Secretary. This Government, however, was fated to last only four days, the Governor-General having refused the usual and well-known right of a new Ministry to a dissolution. The "Double Shuffle" followed, and Mr. Mowat and his colleagues once more found themselves in Opposition. Mr. Mowat continued to second Mr. Brown with much energy all through that Parliament.

During the year 1857 he sat in the City Council of Toronto as Alderman for St. Lawrence Ward, and during the following year for St. James's Ward. While occupying that position he proposed and carried through the Council an important measure which was known as "Alderman Mowat's By-law." It was entitled, "An Act to provide for the better administration of the affairs of the Corporation," and furnished an important check upon the expenditure of the public funds. It has since been consolidated, and now forms a part of the City By-law No. 504.



At the general election of 1861 he made a bold move, being nothing less than an attempt to oust Mr. Macdonald from the representation of Kingston, which the latter gentleman had then represented for a continuous period of seventeen years. The attempt was not successful, and indeed could hardly have been expected to be so, and Mr. Mowat took refuge in his old constituency of South Ontario. Upon the formation of the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Administration in May, 1863, Mr. Mowat accepted the portfolio of Postmaster-General, which he retained until the defeat of that Government in the following year. Upon the formation of the Taché-Macdonald Government he again accepted the Postmaster-Generalsip, which he retained for about four months. He was a member of the Union Conference held at Quebec in that year, and took a part in the drafting of the Constitution for the Dominion. In the subsequent proceedings which resulted in the accomplishment of Confederation he was not destined to play a very important part, as he about this time withdrew from political life. In the autumn of 1864 the death of Vice-Chancellor Esten left a vacancy on the Chancery Bench in Upper Canada. The vacant position was offered to Mr. Mowat, and after due consideration accepted. During the next eight years he discharged the important and onerous duties of an equity judge with honour to himself, and with acceptance by the profession. The most noteworthy characteristic of his decisions is the manifest desire to mete out perfect justice between man and man; and for this purpose to regard, as far as a judge may, the spirit of the law in preference to the letter. This, of course, is one of the duties of every judge who presides over the Court of Chancery; though there is no greater mistake than to suppose that an equity judge is not bound by precedents, and even by technicalities, though not, per-

haps, to so great an extent as judges of the Courts of Common Law. It was currently said by members of the profession that he was the most reluctant judge on the Bench to grant a decree to a dishonest suitor, whatever former decisions and the strict letter of the law in the case might be. Many of his written judgments are notable specimens of clear and logical reasoning, and are held in high respect by the judges and the profession generally.

In the autumn of 1872 Mr. Mowat resigned his seat on the Bench and reëntered political life. The circumstances under which he was induced to take this step were simply these. The Act prohibiting Dual Representation having come into force, Mr. Blake, the then Premier of Ontario, was compelled to choose between the Dominion and the Local Parliaments as a field for his future labours. Mr. Mackenzie, who also held office in the Local Cabinet, was placed under a similar necessity. They both finally resolved to select the House of Commons, and it became necessary in the interests of the Reform Party of Ontario to supply their place in the Local Cabinet. It was suggested to the Lieutenant-Governor—no doubt by Mr. Blake, the retiring Premier—that Mr. Mowat, if he could be induced to re-enter the political arena, would be eminently fitted to carry on the Government with advantage to the Province. The suggestion was acted upon, and Mr. Mowat accepted the proposition made to him. On the 25th of October it was announced that the Ministry had been reconstructed under Mr. Mowat's auspices, and that Mr. Mowat had himself taken the office of Attorney-General. Nearly eight years have elapsed since that time. There have been modifications in the *personnel* of the Local Cabinet in the interval, but Mr. Mowat still retains his position, and the result of the elections of the 5th of June, 1879, would seem to indicate that he is not likely to be

ousted, at least for some time to come. After forming his Cabinet in the autumn of 1872, he presented himself to the electors of North Oxford, when he was returned by acclamation. He was again returned by acclamation at the general election in 1875; and at the general election in 1879 his majority was 1157. At the latter election he was also a candidate for the representation of East Toronto, in opposition to the Hon. Alexander Morris, but was defeated by a majority of 57 votes.

A brief reference to the legislation effected in Ontario under Mr. Mowat's *régime* will give some idea of the industry of the Government of which he has been the guiding spirit. He assumed office, as has been seen, in the month of October, 1872. The ensuing session lasted nearly three months, during which 163 Acts were passed, 50 of which related to matters of general concern. Among the most important may be enumerated the Act for the settlement of the Municipal Loan Fund; the Act consolidating the Municipal Law; and the Act respecting the Administration of Justice. Other legislation effected improvements in the mode of electing members of the Legislature; extended the usefulness of the Provincial University, and the efficiency of its Senate; established a school for practical instruction in the arts of mining, engineering, mechanics and manufactures; made more effectual regulations respecting the liquor traffic; and established public boards of health for the prevention or removal of causes of disease.

During the next session, which opened in January, 1874, 103 Acts were passed, 37 of which were of general utility. Among the most important legislation effected was the extension of the franchise to income voters, and the establishment of machinery for the revision of voters' lists at a moderate expense to each municipality, while the principle of voting by ballot was introduced. The system of licenses as a

preliminary to the lawful solemnization of marriage was made clear, and all legal questions, both as to past and future marriages, were removed, and the Provincial fee abolished. The wages of mechanics under the sum of twenty-five dollars were exempted from attachment by garnishee. Mr. Mowat also took a further successful step in removing the anomalies between matters cognizable at law and in equity, and removed the great defect which had, up to this time, existed in our judicial system, by constituting a Court of Appeal as an independent Court. The law relating to Public and High Schools was consolidated under his supervision, and the experiment was made of introducing elective members into the Council of Public Instruction. The advantage of general laws for incorporating and conferring privileges upon associations of individuals for any proper or lawful object, such as for benevolent and charitable purposes, or for any trade, business, or manufacture, was also provided for, and an expeditious and cheap method of securing incorporation for such purposes was established. The regulations of the liquor traffic were improved by taking from municipal inspectors the right of granting licenses, and placing this right under the control of the police commissioners in cities, and the municipal councils in other places, and giving the Government further powers for securing compliance with the law.

The last session of the then existing Parliament opened on the 12th of November, 1874, and presented a satisfactory record of its labours, 94 Acts having been passed, 30 of which were for public objects. Among the latter may be enumerated the Act providing for the increase of the representation of the Province by six additional members; an Act imposing additional checks against bribery and corruption at elections, and facilitating the procedure in election trials; and an Act making titles to land more secure, and simplifying the proof thereof by

lessening the time required to constitute title by possession. The ballot was also extended to municipal elections, and the operation of the Mechanics' Lien Act was made more efficient.

This record of legislation was accepted by the Province as satisfactory, and at the general election held in January, 1875, Mr. Mowat's Government was sustained by a considerable majority. The first session of the new Parliament began on the 25th of November, 1875, and closed on the 10th of February, 1876, during which 114 Acts were passed, 36 being of public application. The chief public measures referred to vital statistics, amendments to the law respecting municipal elections, amendments to the law suggested by the statute commissioners, the privileges of the Legislative Assembly, voters' lists, circuits for County Court Judges, increase of jurisdiction and amendments to the Division Court Act, security of public officers to the Crown, and the regulation and licensing of Insurance Companies doing business in Ontario. Further amendments were made in the law respecting the liquor traffic, so as to secure proper restraints, and diminish its injurious effects. Important changes were also effected in the Education Department of Ontario. A Committee of the Executive Council was substituted for the Council of Public Instruction, and a Minister of Education was appointed in lieu of the Chief Superintendent.

During the session of 1877 the most important public legislation related to escheats and forfeitures, the granting of the franchise to farmers' sons, the application of voters' lists to municipal elections, and amendments in the Acts respecting the Education Department, and Public and High Schools. An Act was passed for the encouragement of Agriculture, Horticulture, Arts and Manufactures, including Mechanics' Institutes, and further amendments were made to the law respecting the liquor traffic. Effect was

also given to the revision of the Ontario Statutes, a task which had been completed under the personal supervision of Mr. Mowat. During this session also the gratifying results attending the Canadian exhibit at Philadelphia were formally made known to the House.

The most important public measures of the session of 1878 were an Act to establish regulations for the public service of Ontario; an Act for more clearly defining the rights and powers of Justices of the Peace; an Act for the winding up of Joint Stock Companies; an Act to establish a fund of \$200,000 in aid of tile drainage operations; and an Act to provide for the finality of the voters' list. The session of 1879—the last session of the third Parliament of Ontario—was an especially productive one. The most important of the public Acts were the following:—to confirm the determination of the Northerly and Westerly boundaries of Ontario by the Arbitrators, and to provide for the administration of justice therein; to provide for the duration of the Legislative Assembly; to protect candidates at elections when lawful and reasonable expenses are incurred on their behalf without any corrupt intent; to improve the system of selecting jurors; to regulate proceedings under powers of sale in mortgages, and to preserve the right of dower to wives; to facilitate companies in supplying gas, heat, or steam. Further amendments were also made respecting Public, Separate and High Schools. From the Reports presented to the House during the session it appeared that Ontario, in the nature, extent and excellence of her exhibits at Paris, had gained as great commendation as she had received at Philadelphia in 1876, and that a market had been opened for certain Canadian manufactures.

The most important measures of last session were the Act authorizing the erection of new Parliament and Departmental Build-

ings: the Act extending the jurisdiction and altering the machinery of the Division Courts; the Act—known as “The Creditors’ Relief Act, 1880”—whereby priority among execution creditors was intended to be abolished; and the Act amending the law respecting municipal taxation. The Judicature Bill, which was introduced but not passed, is a measure which also requires some reference, as it is likely to engage the attention of the Legislature next session, and to provoke warm discussion all over the Province. This Act is founded upon the English Law Reform Act of 1873, but contains a great deal of original matter for which Mr. Mowat is himself responsible. It contemplates a practical fusion of law and equity, the abolition of all the Superior Courts, and the substitution of a general Supreme Court of Judicature for Ontario. By its provisions, the new Court is to consist of two permanent divisions, one with original jurisdiction, embracing the judges of the Courts of Chancery, Queen’s Bench, and Common Pleas, to be called the High Court of Justice; and the other, with appellate jurisdiction, to be called the Court of Appeal. The High Court of Justice is to consist of three divisions, to be known as Chancery, Queen’s Bench, and Common Pleas, each with a President of its own. It is to have all the jurisdiction exercised by the present Superior Courts. The jurisdiction of the Court of Appeal is to remain unchanged. In all Courts law and equity are to be concurrently administered, and in matters not specified, where there is any conflict or variance between the rules of Equity and the rules of Common Law, the rules of Equity are to prevail. “Terms,” as they are called, are abolished, and the Courts may sit and act at any time and place for the transaction of business, or for the discharge of any duty which, by statute or otherwise, is required to be discharged during or after term. The present system of pleading is materially

simplified, and should the Act come into operation, lawyers will practically have to unlearn many of the lessons of a lifetime. Instead of the elaborate technical pleadings in force since the passing of the Common Law Procedure Act—and these are simplicity itself as compared with the system previously in vogue—there will be simple brief statements of alleged facts by the plaintiff, and equally simple denials by the defendant. That so radical a Bill should meet with opposition from many members of the profession is what was to be expected. That the discussion respecting it will be sharp, and that some of its clauses will have to be modified, it is safe to assume. Such discussions and modifications, however, are the all but invariable accompaniments of measures equally radical, and equally far-reaching in their application. The general principles of the Bill—the simplification of legal practice, and the reduction of the cost of litigation—are likely to find acceptance with the public, and in some form or other these principles are likely to prevail.

Mr. Mowat was a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto, and is a Bencher *ex officio* of the Law Society of Ontario. It has been seen that for some time subsequent to the dissolution of the partnership existing between Messrs. Mowat, Roaf & Davis, Mr. Mowat carried on business alone. In 1862 he formed a partnership with Mr. James Maclellan, under the style of Mowat & Maclellan, which was dissolved on Mr. Mowat’s accepting the Vice-Chancellorship. On his afterwards leaving the Bench for political life he resumed the practice of his profession, and again became connected with Mr. Maclellan, who had some years before admitted as a partner Mr. John Downey, an old student of Mr. Mowat’s, and the style of the firm has ever since been Mowat, Maclellan & Downey. Of this firm Mr. Mowat is, as its style imports, senior partner.

Notwithstanding the pronounced political

stand he has taken ever since his entrance into public life, Mr. Mowat's personal character has never been assailed, and now stands as high as that of any man in the Dominion, not only among the adherents of his own party, but among his opponents. His most enduring claim to the remembrance of posterity will be as a law reformer, in which respect none of his contemporaries will venture to dispute his preëminence. Independently of the Judicature Act, which has not yet become law—and which, in its present

shape, is hardly likely to become law—his Administration of Justice Acts and other kindred measures are lasting evidences of his legal acumen, right-mindedness, and breadth of view. His technical education has not curtailed his intellect, and he is not wedded to precedent, as is commonly the case with members of his profession. The work of his life has been done quietly, and without any parade or ostentation, but it has left its mark upon our institutions, and the mark is not likely to be soon effaced.

## THE REV. GEORGE DOUGLAS, LL.D.

DR. DOUGLAS'S career furnishes a notable example of the extent to which genuine manliness and force of character, aided by a strong and earnest purpose in life, can triumph over depressing and adverse circumstances. He began his ministerial life with few advantages derived from education, and with none whatever derived from social standing. Since reaching manhood he has been subjected to the serious drawbacks inseparable from various depressing ailments and an uncertain state of bodily health. His great powers have developed themselves in spite of hindrances to which a feebler will and a smaller measure of genius would undoubtedly have succumbed. Undeterred by the various obstacles which from time to time have arisen in his path, he has long since achieved a position as a pulpit orator unsurpassed—perhaps unrivalled—in this country. His reputation is not confined to Canada, or to the religious Body wherewith he is more immediately connected. The lecture-halls of New England have echoed to the deep tones of his powerful voice, and his reputation for eloquence stands as high in Boston as in Montreal, where the greater part of his ministerial career has been spent. That he has been able to accomplish so much—handicapped, as he has been, by a late start in life, and by subsequent ill-health—affords strong proof that, under more favourable circumstances, his fame would have

been world-wide. His services to the Methodist Church, and to the cause of Christianity generally, have been very great, and the future historian of Canadian Methodism must assign to him a place in the front rank among the pulpit orators of his time.

As is sufficiently indicated by his name, he is of Scottish origin. He was born on the 14th of October, 1825, at Ashkirk, a beautiful little village in one of the most picturesque parts of Roxburghshire, about seven miles from Abbotsford, and in the very centre of the district consecrated by the genius of Sir Walter Scott, the Ettrick Shepherd, and John Leyden. "Doubtless," says a writer in the *Methodist Magazine*, "his young soul was often stirred by the heroic traditions of Flodden Field and of Dunbar, which were both near by, and by the ballads of Chevy Chase and of the border wars." His parents were strict Presbyterians, and of course reared their family in the Presbyterian doctrines. How extensive the family was, we have no present means of ascertaining. There were at all events three sons, of whom the subject of this sketch was the youngest. The family emigrated from Scotland to Canada in 1832, when George was a child of seven years old, and settled in the city of Montreal. The parents were in humble circumstances, and the children seem from the first to have recognized the fact that it would be necessary for them to make their own way in



*Edw. Longen*





life. Their educational advantages, as has been intimated, were not great. George attended for a short time at a private school at Laprairie, kept by the Rev. Mr. Black, a Presbyterian minister; but he does not appear to have acquired much there beyond an elementary knowledge of the three R's. Upon leaving this school he was for a short time employed as an assistant in a Montreal book store, after which he was apprenticed to the trade of a blacksmith. He learned his trade, and entered into partnership, while still in his teens, with his eldest brother, James, who was a carpenter and builder. Meanwhile he had become an insatiable reader, and devoured with eagerness whatever books came in his way. His faculties would seem to have developed somewhat late, but before he had reached manhood his friends and acquaintances began to recognize the fact that he was endowed with unusual powers of mind. Upon any subject which specially attracted his attention he was wont to express himself with an eloquence and a wealth of illustration such as is not often heard from a youth imperfectly educated, and who has not enjoyed the advantage of association with cultured minds. Erelong he made up his mind to study medicine, and matriculated in one of the medical schools of Montreal. Soon after this time, and while his medical studies were still in progress, a crisis took place in his mental history. He began to attend the Methodist Church, and was awakened by the preaching of the late Rev. William Squire, who was then a power in the local Methodist pulpit. Having experienced the mental phenomena incident to "conversion," he joined the Methodist Church, and soon afterwards began to take a conspicuous part as a "class leader," under the direction of the Rev. John Matheson. It is said that he was singularly diffident about his own capacity for speaking before an audience. In a very short time, however,

his thoughts found forcible expression, and it was observed that his addresses produced a marked effect upon those who listened to them. In process of time he became a local preacher; emulating, in this respect, the example of his elder brother John, who had also undergone spiritual experiences, and who subsequently became a zealous and effective minister of the Methodist Church. George's sermons were from the very first marked by a high degree of spiritual fervour. "It was evident," says the writer already quoted from, "that God had called this young man to the office of the Christian ministry as his life-work, and he was not disobedient to the Divine call." In 1848, being then in his twenty-third year, he was received as a probationer for the ministry. In 1849, having been recommended by the Lower Canada District to attend the Wesleyan Theological Institute at Richmond, in England, he crossed the Atlantic for that purpose, but had scarcely reached his destination ere he was appointed to missionary work in the Bahamas District of the West India Mission. He was specially ordained at St. John's Square, London, in the spring of 1850, by the Rev. Thomas Jackson, Dr. Alder, and others, and sent to the Bermuda Islands. After about eighteen months' residence there his health failed, and he began to suffer from a distressing affection of the nerves, engendered by the peculiarities of the climate, and augmented, doubtless, by his ceaseless mental toil. He was accordingly compelled to return to Montreal, and has ever since resided in Canada, where his reputation has steadily grown with his increasing years. Of his ministerial life, twenty years have been spent in Montreal—eleven in pastoral work, seven as head of the Wesleyan Theological College, and two without a charge, on account of ill-health. His other fields of toil have been Kingston, Toronto, and Hamilton, in each of which he laboured with great effect for three years. Ever since devoting

himself to the ministry he has been an indefatigable student, and has aided his great natural powers of mind by a wide and various course of reading. He is especially learned in Metaphysics, and notwithstanding his multifarious duties and frequent bodily infirmities, he has kept himself fully abreast of the times in literature, philosophy, and natural science. In 1869, in recognition of his distinguished abilities, the University of McGill College conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

To say that Dr. Douglas is highly esteemed by his brother ministers and Professors, and by Canadian Methodists generally, would be to give very faint expression to the prevailing sentiment. He is endowed with a magnetic force of character which impels all his acquaintances to regard him in the light of a warm personal friend. He has often been deputed to represent his Church in the great ecclesiastical gatherings of Christendom, and "right royally has he performed that task, maintaining the honour of his Church and country in the presence of the foremost orators of the day. His manly presence, his deep-toned voice, his broad sweep of thought and majestic flights of eloquence, have stirred

the hearts of listening thousands, and done a brave battle for the cause of God." His oratory has been pronounced by many competent judges to be even more effective than that of his friend and fellow-labourer, Dr. Punshon. Possessed of few of the tricks of elocution, his voice has a peculiar depth and richness of intonation which no mere elocutionary training can give, and, when roused by a more than usually congenial theme, his utterances seem to be positively inspired. Among a host of other important undertakings, he has represented his Church at the Young Men's Christian Association at the International Conventions at Washington, Philadelphia, Albany, Indianapolis, and Chicago; at the Evangelical Alliance in New York; and at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southern States. He has also filled with eminent ability the offices of Co-Delegate of the old Canada Conference, President of the Montreal Conference, and Vice-President and President of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada. Of late years he has devoted his best powers to the duties incidental to his position as Principal of the Wesleyan Theological College at Montreal.





Elgin & Kinnear

## LORD ELGIN.

JAMES BRUCE, who afterwards became eighth Earl of Elgin and twelfth Earl of Kincardine, was born in London, on the 20th of July, 1811. He was the second son of his father, the seventh Earl, whose embassy to Constantinople at the beginning of the present century was indirectly the means of procuring for him a reputation which will probably endure as long as the English language. All readers of Byron are familiar with the circumstances under which this reputation was gained. In the year 1799, Lord Elgin was despatched by the British Government as envoy extraordinary to Constantinople. During his embassy he had occasion to visit Athens, where he found that the combined influence of time and the Turks was rapidly destroying the magnificent vestiges of the past wherewith the city and its neighbourhood abounded. Actuated by a wish to preserve some of these relics of departed greatness—and probably wishing to connect his name with their preservation—he conceived the idea of removing a few of the more interesting of them to England. Without much difficulty he obtained permission from the Porte to take away from the ruins of ancient Athens “any stones that might appear interesting to him.” The British Government declined to lend its assistance to what some members of the Cabinet regarded as an act of spoliation, and Lord Elgin was thus compelled to carry out the project at his own expense. He

hired a corps of artists, labourers, and other assistants, most of whom were specially brought from Italy, to aid in the work. About ten years were spent in detaching from the Parthenon, and in excavating from the rubbish at its base, numerous specimens of various sculptures, all or most of which were presumed to have been the handiwork of Phidias and his pupils. Other valuable sculptures were disinterred from the ruins about the Acropolis, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Upon the arrival in England of these great works of ancient art all the world of London went to see and admire them. In 1816 they were purchased for the nation for £35,000, and placed in the British Museum, where they still remain. Many persons, however, censured Lord Elgin for what they called his Vandalism in removing the relics from their native land. Among those who assailed him on this score was Lord Byron, who hurled anathemas at him both in prose and verse. “The Curse of Minerva” may fairly be said to have made Lord Elgin’s name immortal. The case made against him in that fierce philippic, however, is grossly one-sided, as the author himself subsequently acknowledged; and there is a good deal to be said on the other side. The presence of these magnificent sculptures in the British Museum gave an impetus to sculpture not only throughout Great Britain, but to a less extent throughout the whole of Western Europe. It should also be

remembered that had they been permitted to remain where they were they would most likely have been totally destroyed long before now in some of the many violent scenes of which Athens has since been the theatre. Some art critics have—more especially of late years—decried the workmanship of these marbles, and have argued that they could not possibly have been the work of Phidias. It is beyond doubt, however, that they display Greek art at a splendid and mature stage of development, and their value to the British nation is simply beyond price.

The subject of this sketch was destined to achieve a higher and less dubious reputation than that of his father. Being only a second son, he was not born heir-apparent to the family title and estates, and his education was completed before—in consequence of the death of his elder brother and of his father—he succeeded to the peerage. At the age of fourteen he went to Eton, from which seat of learning he in due time passed to Christ Church, Oxford. Here he formed one of a group of young men, many of whom have since attained high distinction in political life. Among them we find the names of William Ewart Gladstone, the late Duke of Newcastle (the friend and guardian of the Prince of Wales upon the occasion of his visit to this country in 1860), Sidney Herbert, James Ramsay (afterwards Earl of Dalhousie, son of a former Governor-General of Canada), Lord Canning, Robert Lowe, Edward Cardwell, and Roundell Palmer—now Lord Selborne. Between young Bruce and two of these—Ramsay and Canning—an uncommonly warm intimacy prevailed; and it is a somewhat curious coincidence that they lived to be the three successive rulers of India during the transition period of British Government there. Ramsay, then Lord Dalhousie, was the last Governor before the breaking out of the Mutiny; Canning was Governor during the Mutiny; and Bruce, as Lord Elgin,

was the first who went out as Viceroy after the Indian Empire was brought under the government of the Crown.

Among the brilliant young men who were his friends and compeers at college, James Bruce is said to have been as conspicuous as any for the brilliancy and originality of his speeches at the Union. Mr. Gladstone himself has said of him, "I well remember placing him, as to the natural gift of eloquence, at the head of all those I knew, either at Eton or at the University." But he was not less distinguished by maturity of judgment, by a love of abstract thought, and by those philosophical studies which lay the foundation of true reasoning in the mind. In 1834 he published a pamphlet to protest against a monopoly of liberal sentiment by the Whigs; and in 1841 he went into the House of Commons for Southampton on Conservative principles, which had, however, a strong flavour of Whiggism about them. He soon developed a remarkable aptitude for political life. He seconded the address which turned out Lord Melbourne and brought in Sir Robert Peel, in a speech prophetically favourable to free trade, and he would doubtless have been a cordial supporter of Peel's liberal commercial policy had not his Parliamentary career speedily come to an end. In 1840, George, Lord Bruce, elder brother of James, died unmarried, and the latter became heir-apparent to the family honours. On the 22nd of April, 1841, he married Elizabeth Mary, daughter of Mr. C. L. Canning Bruce. The death of his father soon afterwards raised him to the Scottish peerage. He had no seat in either House of Parliament, and in 1842 he accepted from Lord Stanley the office of Governor of Jamaica—an appointment which decided his vocation in life. With his career at Jamaica we have no special concern, and it need not detain us. It may be remarked, in passing, that he remained there four years, during which period—owing, doubtless, in

some measure to the sudden death of his wife soon after their arrival in the island—he led a somewhat secluded life. He quitted his post in 1846, and returned to England. Almost immediately after his arrival there, Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, offered him the position of Governor-General of British North America. He accepted it, says his biographer, not in the mere spirit of selfish ambition, but with a deep sense of the responsibility attached to it. It was arranged that he should go to Canada at the beginning of the new year. In the interval, on November 7th, he married Lady Mary Louisa Lambton, daughter of the first Earl of Durham, whose five months' sojourn in this country in the year 1838 was destined to produce such important and beneficial effects upon our Constitution. Lord Elgin was wont to say that "The real and effectual vindication of Lord Durham's memory and proceedings will be the success of a Governor-General of Canada who works out his views of government fairly." Thus it happened that the young Conservative Peer, who had already shaken off his early Tory prepossessions, found himself called upon to build on the broad foundations laid by the most advanced member of the Liberal party of that day, and to inaugurate the new principle of government which Lord Durham and Charles Buller had conceived, not merely in Canada, but throughout the colonial empire of Britain. Leaving his bride behind him, to follow at a less inclement season, he set out for the seat of his new duties early in January, and reached Montreal on the 29th. He took up his quarters at Monklands, the suburban residence of the Governor.

Nine years had elapsed since the rebellion of 1837. Lord Durham, Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Bagot, Lord Metcalfe, and Lord Cathcart, had successively governed the North American Provinces in that short interval, but—except in the case of Lord Dur-

ham—with not very satisfactory results. The method of Responsible Government was new with us. The smouldering fires of rebellion were only just extinguished. The repulsion of races was at its strongest. The deposed clique which had virtually ruled the colony was still furious, and the depressed section was suspicious and restive. It was just at the time, too, when, between English and American legislation, we were suffering at once from the evils of protection and free trade. The principles upon which Lord Elgin undertook to carry on the administration of the affairs of the colony were that he should identify himself with no party, but make himself a mediator and moderator between the influential of all parties; that he should retain no ministers who did not enjoy the confidence of the Assembly, or, in the last resort, of the people; and that he should not refuse his consent to any measure proposed by his Ministry, unless it should be of an extreme party character, such as the Assembly or the people would be sure to disapprove of. For some months after his arrival in this country matters went smoothly enough. The Draper Administration, never very strong, had for several years been growing gradually weaker and weaker, and was now tottering towards its fall; but so far it could command a small majority of votes, and continued to hold the reins of power. The result of the next general elections, however, which were held at the close of the year, was the return of a large preponderance of Reformers, among whom were nearly all the leading spirits of the Reform Party. Upon the opening of Parliament on the 25th of February, 1848, the Draper Administration resigned, and its leader accepted a seat on the Judicial Bench. The Governor accordingly summoned the leaders of the Opposition to his councils, and the Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry was formed. After a short session the House was prorogued on the 25th

of March. It did not meet again until the 18th of January following. It is hardly necessary to inform the Canadian reader that the Canadian Parliament sat at Montreal at that time. During the session one of the stormiest episodes in our history occurred. Every Canadian who has passed middle age remembers that disturbed time. The excitement arose out of the Rebellion Losses Bill, as it was called—a measure introduced by Mr. Lafontaine, the object of which was to reimburse such of the inhabitants of the Lower Province as had sustained loss from the rebellion of eleven years before. Within a very short time after the close of that rebellion, the attention of both sections of the colony was directed to compensating those who had suffered by it. First came the case of the primary sufferers, if so they may be called; that is, the loyalists, whose property had been destroyed by rebels. Measures were at once taken to indemnify all such persons—in Upper Canada, by an Act passed in the last session of its separate Provincial Parliament; in Lower Canada, by an ordinance of the Special Council, under which the Province was at that time administered. But it was felt that this was not enough; that where property had been wantonly and unnecessarily destroyed, even though it were by persons acting in support of authority, some compensation ought to be given; and the Upper Canada Act above mentioned was amended next year, in the first session of the United Parliament, so as to extend to all losses occasioned by violence on the part of persons acting or assuming to act on Her Majesty's behalf. Nothing was done at this time about Lower Canada; but it was obviously inevitable that the treatment applied to the one Province should be extended to the other. Accordingly, in 1845, during Lord Metcalfe's Government, and under a Conservative Administration, an Address was adopted unanimously by the Assembly,

praying His Excellency to cause proper measures to be taken "in order to insure to the inhabitants of that portion of the Province formerly Lower Canada indemnity for just losses by them sustained during the Rebellion of 1837 and 1838." In pursuance of this Address, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the claims of persons whose property had been destroyed in the rebellion; the Commissioners receiving instructions to distinguish the cases of persons who had abetted the said rebellion from the cases of those who had not. The Commissioners made their investigations, and reported that they had recognized, as worthy of further inquiry, claims representing a sum total of £241,965 10s. 5d.; but they added an expression of opinion that the losses suffered would be found, on closer examination, not to exceed the value of £100,000. This report was rendered in April, 1846; but though Lord Metcalfe's Ministry, which had issued the Commission avowedly as preliminary to a subsequent and more minute inquiry, remained in office for nearly two years longer, they took no steps towards carrying out their declared intentions. So the matter stood when the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration was formed. It was natural that they should take up the work left half done by their predecessors; and early in the session of 1849, Mr. Lafontaine introduced the Rebellion Losses Bill. The Opposition contrived to kindle a flame all over the country. Meetings were held denouncing the measure, and petitions were presented to the Governor with the obvious design of producing a collision between him and Parliament. He was strenuously urged to reserve the Bill for Imperial consideration, in the event of its receiving the sanction of the Canadian Parliament. The Bill was finally passed in the Assembly by forty-seven votes to eighteen. Out of thirty-one members from Upper Canada who voted on the occasion,



seventeen supported and fourteen opposed it; and of ten members for Lower Canada of British descent, six supported and four opposed it. "These facts," (wrote Lord Elgin) "seemed altogether irreconcilable with the allegation that the question was one on which the two races were arrayed against each other throughout the Province generally. I considered, therefore, that by reserving the Bill, I should only cast on Her Majesty and Her Majesty's advisers a responsibility which ought, in the first instance at least, to rest on my own shoulders, and that I should awaken in the minds of the people at large, even of those who were indifferent or hostile to the Bill, doubts as to the sincerity with which it was intended that constitutional Government should be carried on in Canada; doubts which it is my firm conviction, if they were to obtain generally, would be fatal to the connection."

On the 25th of April Lord Elgin went down to the Parliament Buildings and gave his assent to the Bill. On leaving the House he was insulted by the crowd, who pelted him with missiles. In the evening a disorderly mob, intent upon mischief, got together and set fire to the Parliament Buildings, which were burned to the ground. By this wanton act, public property of considerable value, including two excellent libraries, was utterly destroyed. Having achieved their object the crowd dispersed, apparently satisfied with what they had done. The members were permitted to retire unmolested, and no resistance was offered to the military, who appeared on the ground after a brief interval to restore order, and to aid in extinguishing the flames. During the two following days a good deal of excitement prevailed in the streets, and some further acts of incendiarism were perpetrated. Similar scenes, on a somewhat smaller scale, were enacted in Toronto and elsewhere in the Upper Province. The houses of Mr. Baldwin and some other prominent mem-

bers of the Reform party were attacked, and the owners burned in effigy.

Meanwhile numerous signed addresses came pouring in to the Governor from all quarters, expressing entire confidence in the Administration, and unbounded regret for the indignities to which he had been subjected. Lord Elgin, however, felt bound to tender his resignation to the Home Government. Meanwhile the Bill which had caused such an explosion in the colony was running the gauntlet of the British Parliament. On June 14th it was vehemently attacked in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone himself described it as a "measure for rewarding rebels." The strongest pressure had already been put upon Lord Elgin to induce him to refuse the Royal Assent to the Bill. To do so would have been to place himself in direct collision with his Parliament, and this he steadily refused to do. The Home Government, represented by Lord Grey, firmly supported him, approved his policy, and shortly afterwards conferred upon him a British peerage as an acknowledgment of the unshaken confidence of the Queen. Being urgently pressed to remain in office as Governor-General, he consented, and the more readily because the agitation soon quieted down. From this time we hear no more of such disgraceful scenes, but it was long before the old "Family Compact" Party forgave the Governor who had dared to be impartial. By many kinds of detraction they sought to weaken his influence and damage his popularity. And as the members of this Party, though they had lost their monopoly of political power, still remained the dominant class in society, the disparaging tone which they set was taken up not only in the colony itself, but also by travellers who visited it, and by them carried back to infect opinion in England. The result was that persons at home, who had the highest appreciation of Lord Elgin's capacity as a

statesman, sincerely believed him to be deficient in nerve and vigour; and as the misapprehension was one which he could not have corrected, even if he had been aware how widely it was spread, it continued to exist in many quarters until dispelled by the singular energy and boldness, amounting almost to rashness, which he subsequently displayed in the East.

Since the session of 1849 no Parliament has ever sat, nor is any ever again likely to sit, at Montreal. In view of the riots and the burning of the Parliament Buildings it was determined to remove the Legislature, which met at Toronto for the next two years. Subsequently it met alternately at Quebec and Toronto until 1866, since which time Ottawa has been the permanent capital of the Dominion.

After the storm consequent on the Rebellion Losses Bill, the most important event by which Lord Elgin's Canadian administration was characterized was the negotiation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. The conclusion of this Treaty was a matter requiring much time and a good deal of prudent negotiation. In 1854, after the negotiations had dragged on wearily for more than six years, Lord Elgin himself was sent to Washington, in the hope of bringing the matter to a successful issue. He was accompanied on his mission by Mr.—now Sir Francis—Hincks, who was the leader of the Government then in being. Within a few weeks the terms of a Treaty of Reciprocity were agreed upon, and they soon afterwards received the sanction of the Governments concerned. Lord Elgin returned to England at the close of 1854, being succeeded in the government of Canada by Sir Edmund Walker Head, who had examined him for a Merton Fellowship at Oxford in 1833. Soon after Lord Elgin's return home, the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster was offered him by Lord Palmerston, with a seat in the Cabi-

net; but he preferred to take no active part in public affairs, and enjoyed an interval of two years' rest from official labour. His subsequent career can only be glanced at very briefly. In 1857 he was sent to China to try what could be done to repair, or to turn to the best account, the mischiefs done by Sir John Bowring's course, and by the patronage of it at home, in the face of the moral reprobation of the people at large. He was present at the taking of Canton, and in conjunction with the French, succeeded by prompt and vigorous measures in reducing the Celestial Empire to terms. After signing a Treaty with the Chinese Commissioners at Tientsin, on the 26th of July, 1858, the conditions of which were highly favourable to the British, he sailed for Japan, and boldly entered the harbour of Jeddo, from which foreigners had always been rigidly excluded. Here he obtained very important commercial privileges for the British, and on the 26th of August concluded a treaty with the Japanese. He returned to England in May, 1859. The merchants of London, in recognition of his immense services to British commerce, did themselves honour by the thoroughness of their acknowledgment of Lord Elgin's services, and presented him with the freedom of the city.

Within a month after his return he accepted the office of Postmaster-General in the Cabinet then formed by Lord Palmerston. He was soon afterwards elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow. He held the office of Postmaster-General till the hostile acts of the Chinese Government towards the English and French Ministers in China rendered it necessary that he should go out again. The Chinese Government, untaught by experience, had reopened the war, and had fired upon the British troops. Lord Elgin was accordingly sent out as a special ambassador, to demand an apology for the attack, and to insist upon a

literal fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty of the previous year. He was also authorized to demand an indemnity for all naval and military expenditure incurred in enforcing these terms. He was as successful on this occasion as on the former one. After opening Peking to British diplomacy, he returned to England in April, 1861. Almost immediately afterwards he was offered the Viceroyalty of India. This splendid appointment he was not disposed to decline. He accepted, and went out to the seat of his Government, where, during the brief span of life which remained to him, he loyally carried out the wise and equitable policy of Lord Canning, his predecessor in office. He lived only eighteen months longer—a period, says his biographer, hardly sufficient for him to master the details of administration of that great Empire, with which he had no previous acquaintance, and quite insufficient for him to give to the policy of the Government the stamp of his own mind. He died of fatty degeneration of the muscular fibres of the heart, while making a vice-regal excursion through his dominions, on the 20th

of November, 1863. He was buried in the cemetery at Dhurmsala, "the place of piety," in a spot selected by Lady Elgin. He was the second British Governor-General of India whose body found a last resting-place there. The other was Lord Cornwallis, whose remains rest at Ghuzee-pore.

"Perhaps," says a sympathetic critic of Lord Elgin's career, "the noblest part of the history of England is to be found in the recorded lives of those who have been her chosen servants, and who have died in that service. Self-control, endurance, and an heroic sense of duty, are more conspicuous in such men than the love of action and fame. But their lives are the landmarks of our race. Lord Elgin, it is true, can hardly be ranked with the first of British statesmen, or orators, or commanders. His services, great as they unquestionably were, had all been performed under the orders of other men. Even among his own contemporaries he fills a place in the second rank. But happy are the country and the age in which such men are to be found in the second rank, and are content to be there."

## THE REV. ROBERT ALEXANDER FYFE, D.D.,

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IT falls to the lot of few persons to be so generally beloved as was the late Dr. Fyfe. He was known to, and revered by, a very large circle of friends, and those friends were not confined to adherents of the particular creed which he himself professed. His character was one of singular beauty and amiability, and his loss was viewed in the light of a calamity, not only by those connected with the Institution over which he presided, but by the entire Baptist denomination in Ontario. By many persons who had no connection with either the Institute or the Baptist Church, Dr. Fyfe was regarded with the reverence due to one whose actions were always marked by thorough conscientiousness of purpose, and whose life was passed in the exercise of true Christian benevolence.

The facts of his life, so far as they have been published, are few in number, and we regret our inability to add much to them at the present time. He was born in the parish of St. André, near Montreal, in Lower Canada, on the 20th of October, 1816. His descent, as indicated by his name, was Scottish. His parents emigrated from Scotland to Lower Canada in the year 1809, about seven years prior to the birth of the subject of this sketch. The boyhood of the latter was passed amid a French Canadian population of the middle and lower orders, which is equivalent to saying that there were no good schools in his neighbourhood. His

educational advantages, in those early days were few, and before he had fairly emerged from childhood he began to earn his own living; so that he grew up to young-manhood with but little scholastic training. He became a clerk in a country store, and remained there until several months after completing his nineteenth year. Notwithstanding his limited education he had by this time acquired a reputation for more than ordinary intelligence, and was highly esteemed for the probity and integrity of his character. It was at this time, too, that he first entered upon his spiritual experiences. He awoke to new aims and purposes in life, and resolved to devote himself to the spread of the gospel. In his own language, he was conscious of "a call to do the Lord's work." With a view to fitting himself for the ministry, he abandoned commercial pursuits, and entered as a student at Madison University, in the State of New York. Here he studied with such persistent zeal that he undermined his health, and probably laid the foundation of the slow and wasting disease to which he finally succumbed. He was compelled to discontinue his studies altogether for a time, and to sever his connection with Madison University. Upon regaining a fair degree of health he again betook himself to study, and attended an academy at Worcester, Massachusetts. During vacations, and perhaps at other times, he taught school, and thus obtained



R. A. Lytle



the means of pursuing his studies. After leaving the academy at Worcester he attended for some time at a theological seminary at Newton, near Boston, where he graduated early in 1842. He received ordination at Brookline, Massachusetts, on the 25th of August following, and at once entered upon active work in connection with the ministry of the Baptist Church. His first pastoral charge was at Perth, in the county of Lanark, Upper Canada, where he organized a congregation, over which he presided about a year and a half. At the close of 1843 he consented, at the urgent request of the authorities of the Montreal Baptist College, to take charge of that institution until they could secure a successor to the first president, Dr. Davies, who had removed to Stepney College, London, England. He remained in Montreal about a year, when he was called to the pastorate of the old March Street Church, in Toronto, which was the first Baptist Church established in the city. The congregation had been organized about fourteen years previously, and it met for worship for a considerable time in the old Masonic Hall in Market Lane, now called Colborne Street. A lot was subsequently procured on March Street—a street which became somewhat notorious under its later title of Stanley Street, and which is now called Lombard Street. Here a little church was erected. At that time the street had just been laid out, and there was no reason for doubting that it would become one of the most respectable in the city. "But such," to use Dr. Fyfe's own words, "was not to be its destiny. The chapel itself was very far from being attractive to look at, besides being very small. It could not seat comfortably more than one hundred and sixty people. Miserable houses sprang up all around it; and what was still worse, many of them were inhabited by the most vicious and miserable kind of people, so that the whole street soon became ex-

tremely unsavoury in every sense of the term. For sixteen long years the outward condition of the Baptists of this city might be compared to that of those unhappy criminals who were, by their Tuscan tyrants, tied hand to hand and face to face with the rotting dead. The surroundings of the church were constantly growing worse, and thus the last part of their sojourn there was worse than the first. Often, on Sabbath evenings, a policeman was secured to patrol the sidewalk in front of March Street Church, to keep down the uproar which the children and others would thoughtlessly, or wilfully, make in the neighbourhood." Under such circumstances it is not surprising that its history should be unpropitious. The first pastor, the Rev. A. Stewart, resigned his charge in 1836, and was followed in rapid succession by several others who filled up the interval between that date and September, 1844, when Dr. Fyfe was called to the pastorate of the weak and scattered congregation. At that time the nominal membership amounted to only sixty-four, and the salary paid was very small. In spite of the discouraging circumstances by which he found himself surrounded, and the apparently insuperable obstacles he had to surmount, the new pastor set to work with energy and enthusiasm, and a few months before his resignation, in the autumn of 1848, he had the satisfaction of seeing the place of worship transferred from the little chapel in March Street to a much more commodious building in a better locality. It was mainly to Dr. Fyfe's exertions that the building of the Bond Street Baptist Church was due, but soon after it was ready for use he gave up his charge and returned to his former inequibency in Perth. After remaining there a year, his health again became precarious, and he was compelled to seek a milder climate. He spent four years in charge of a congregation in Warren, Rhode Island, and two in the pastorate of

another in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and after these seven years of absence was recalled to the Bond Street Church in 1855. The congregation had meanwhile made considerable progress under the ministrations of the Rev. Dr. Pyper, and before the close of Dr. Fyfe's five years' pastorate a second church was established. In 1860 he reluctantly resigned his charge once more, to assume control, at the urgent request of the leading members of the denomination, of the new college which had been established at Woodstock. The congregation which he left, notwithstanding several secessions, and the establishment of new congregations, went on increasing in numbers until the old Bond Street Church was found to be altogether too limited in capacity, and the fine edifice now occupied by the congregation on Jarvis Street took its place. As Dr. Fyfe had been the first occupant of the Bond Street pulpit it was deemed fitting that he should preach the last sermon to be delivered to the congregation before it should be abandoned, and from the survey of the history of the Church which that sermon contains many of the above particulars have been derived.

During the remainder of his life—embracing a period of about eighteen years—he occupied the position of Principal of the Canadian Institute at Woodstock, a position for which he was in many respects admirably fitted. The proposal to embark in such an enterprise emanated from himself, while he was still pastor of the Bond Street Church. The Institute was incorporated by the Legislature in the Session of 1857-8, but not opened for instruction until the summer of 1860. With its subsequent history and development Dr. Fyfe's name must ever be identified. It was not endowed, but has had to depend for its establishment and support upon voluntary subscriptions. It had been in existence only about six months when the building in which it was carried on was burned down by the act of an

incendiary, and the insurance fell \$6,000 short of the debt due upon it. Dr. Fyfe applied himself to the task of raising subscriptions and reconstructing with great energy and zeal. The enthusiasm of the Baptist denomination throughout the country was aroused, and in less than four months a sufficient amount was raised to set about the work of rebuilding on a more extended scale. In a short time the main building was erected, and other buildings have since been added, with ample accommodation for imparting both a theological and a literary training. With its subsequent history, and with the contemplated removal of the theological department to Toronto, we have no present concern. Dr. Fyfe devoted himself to the duties and responsibilities of his office with great vigour—a vigour which was never relaxed until failing health compelled him to desist from the most arduous of his labours. He sympathized warmly with the personal aspirations of the students, and was always ready and willing to aid them with his counsel and experience. He was regarded by them with feelings little short of veneration, and to many of them he stood almost in the light of a parent. But the seeds of disease had years before been planted in his frame, and he was subject to occasional attacks of almost complete physical prostration, which incapacitated him from either bodily or mental labour. He himself knew that he held his life by even a frailer tenure than is the common lot of humanity. For some years before his death he had been gradually sinking under the ravages of an incurable malady. The end came on Wednesday, the 4th of September, 1878, when he died calmly and peacefully at his home in Woodstock. His funeral took place at Toronto, two days afterwards.

Dr. Fyfe was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was united on the 17th of February, 1843, was formerly Miss Jane



Maclerie Thomson, of Toronto. By this lady he had two sons, both of whom were taken from him by death in infancy. In 1847 their mother was also taken from him. On the 15th of August, 1848, he married his second wife, who still survives him.

One of Dr. Fyfe's contemporaries has thus summed up the various traits by which he was distinguished:—"His intellectual character was of a high order. The faculties of his mind were originally strong and active, and were developed and improved during his collegiate course and his subsequent life. On all subjects to which he turned his attention, whether literary, political or religious, he formed clear and comprehensive views; and whether he undertook to write or speak, he exhibited the riches of his mind in a diction uniformly natural, perspicuous

and manly. His eloquence was generally impressive, and sometimes powerful. He was distinguished by patience and fairness in his investigations, by the clearness and force of his reasoning, by skill in devising measures, and by uncommon executive ability. He was active in doing good, and was continually consulting and labouring for the welfare of others. The affection which predominated in his breast, next to a supreme love to God, was compassion for the souls of men, and a strong desire for their salvation. This was the inward power which moved him. It was not a feverish heat, but the even pulsation and glow of health. What others might do from sudden excitement or the spur of the occasion, he did from principle—principle which was strong, uniform and abiding."

## MARSHALL SPRING BIDWELL.

IN the old ante-rebellion days of Upper Canada, when a Family Compact still held the reins of government, and jealously guarded every avenue to power; in the days of a venal judiciary, and a press prostituted to the will of the ruling oligarchy; when every project for the improvement of the condition of the people was trodden under foot, and when a few patriotic and enlightened men were valiantly fighting the battle which at last brought about Responsible Government, no name was more familiar in the ears of Upper Canadians than was that of the subject of this sketch. Local historians have done very inadequate justice to the part played by him in our history, and his connection with Canada terminated more than forty years ago, so that during the last two generations he has quietly passed out of public memory. Yet the name of Marshall Spring Bidwell is one which deserves to be held in perpetual remembrance by the people of this country as that of a legislator of singular purity of character, who struggled and suffered for the national freedom.

He was born at Stockbridge, in the State of Massachusetts, in the month of February, 1799. His father, Barnabas Bidwell, was a lawyer of considerable local eminence, who had been engaged in the active practice of his profession ever since the termination of the War of Independence. The latter rose in his profession by steady de-

grees, and before reaching middle age became Attorney-General of the State. He was afterwards returned as Member of Congress, and seems to have served in that capacity during at least one session. Later still, he became Treasurer of the county of Berkshire, in his native State. He was a man of high culture and attainments, both in his profession and out of it, and was distinguished for courtly and agreeable manners, great powers of conversation, and a high degree of mental activity. He was an ardent Republican, and took a most pronounced stand in the national politics. His career as a politician was somewhat stern and uncompromising, and while it secured him many warm friends, it also brought down upon his head the fierce enmity of some of his opponents. During the year 1810, while he continued to be Treasurer of Berkshire County, he was charged by some of the most virulent of his enemies with certain irregularities in the discharge of his official duties. The whole truth with regard to this much-discussed affair will probably never be ascertained. The best opinion seems to be that Mr. Bidwell's enemies had determined upon his downfall, and had subtly woven a mesh round him from which exile was the only escape. An indictment was laid against him, and a warrant issued for his apprehension. He was very doubtful about obtaining justice, and resolved not to stand his trial. He came over to Canada

before the warrant could be executed, bringing with him his family, consisting of his son, Marshall, the subject of this sketch—who was then a bright, intelligent lad in his twelfth year—and a daughter several years younger. They settled at the little village of Bath, on the Bay of Quinté, where the father obtained employment as a school teacher. In 1812 the elder Bidwell took the oath of allegiance, and thenceforth began to take part in the politics of his adopted country, which at that time groaned under an irresponsible executive and a multitude of evil counsellors. Upon Robert Gourlay's arrival in the country, Mr. Bidwell made his acquaintance, and rendered him valuable assistance in the preparation of his work on Canada. After spending several years at Bath, the family removed to Kingston, and soon afterwards young Marshall entered the office of Mr. Washburne as a student-at-law. The youth's father was proud of the abilities of his son, and devoted much time to the direction of his studies and the formation of his mind. The latter was reputed to be one of the most brilliant young men in the country. The promise of the youth was fully borne out by the performance of the man. Upon the completion of his term of study he was called to the Bar, at which, notwithstanding his youth, he at once took a foremost place. His practice was by no means confined to his own neighbourhood, and his services as counsel were sought after in important cases from all parts of the Province.

Early in life, and while yet a student, he married Miss Willeox, a young lady of great moral and social worth, belonging to a family resident in the neighbourhood of Bath. Soon after his marriage, and before his call to the Bar, he united himself with the Presbyterian Church, of which he continued to be an earnest and devoted member down to the time of his death.

About the time of his son's call to the

Bar, the elder Bidwell offered himself as a candidate for the Provincial Legislature as Representative of the United Counties of Lennox and Addington. He was returned by a large majority, and the members of the Family Compact looked forward with much anxiety to the ensuing session, for Mr. Bidwell was a Reformer of the most pronounced type, and endowed with an eloquence, an aggressiveness, and a keenness in controversy not often found in Canadian Parliaments in those days. Before the House met, however, the circumstances under which he had emigrated from Massachusetts became known, and a petition was at once filed against his election on the ground that he was an alien and a fugitive from justice. Upon the opening of the session the matter came on for discussion, and Mr. Bidwell defended himself in a speech which was long remembered for its eloquence and vigour. He succeeded in convincing all whose judgments were not warped by personal or political prejudice that, so far as his flight from Massachusetts was concerned, he had been the victim of a powerful clique of enemies. The House, nevertheless, by a majority of one, decided against him on the ground of his being an alien, and as the constituency of Lennox and Addington was thus left without a representative a writ was issued for a new election there. Young Bidwell, who had by this time attained his majority, offered himself as a candidate, but his candidature was objected to on the ground that he also was an alien, and his opponent—a Mr. Clark—was accordingly returned. In 1824, however, an Act was passed whereby a continuous residence of seven years in this Province rendered a foreigner eligible for a seat in the Assembly, except in the case of a person who had held any of the principal public offices in the United States. Under this Act Barnabas Bidwell was still ineligible, as he had been Attorney-General of Massachusetts; but the

son's disqualification was removed, and at the next election the latter was triumphantly returned as member for Lennox and Addington. He was then twenty-five years of age. He continued to sit in the House for eleven successive years, during which period he occupied a foremost place in the ranks of the Reform Party. At the opening of the session of 1829 he was elected Speaker, and was reelected to that position in the subsequent session of 1835.

His influence began to be felt long before the close of his first parliamentary session. While not inferior to his father in eloquence, earnestness and genuine desire for Reform, he held broader and more statesmanlike views than any man who then sat in the Assembly. He was, moreover, of a character so amiable, sincere and lovable that he not only aroused the enthusiasm of his coadjutors, but extorted the respect of the bitterest of his opponents. To tell at length the story of his parliamentary career would be to write the political history of Upper Canada during a period of eleven years. No man contributed more effectually to the overthrow of the Family Compact. While as zealous for Reform as was William Lyon Mackenzie himself, Mr. Bidwell was no mere partisan. He took a prominent part in opposing Mr. Mackenzie's repeated expulsions from the House for reporting its proceedings and publishing libels on some of the members. Without justifying, or seeking to palliate the offence, Mr. Bidwell questioned the power of Parliament to take cognizance of it. He thought that the question of guilt and punishment belonged to the courts of law; that it was not wise or proper for members of the House, however much aggrieved by the publications, to act both as prosecutors and judges, and that the proceedings were infractions rather than vindications of parliamentary privilege. He voted against each of the expulsions. Mr. Boulton, then Attorney-General, and Mr.

Hagerman, Solicitor-General, were members of the House, and the recognized leaders of the Tory party. They both voted *for* those expulsions. The English Ministry not only adopted Mr. Bidwell's views, but, regarding Mr. Boulton and Mr. Hagerman as responsible for those violent and ill-advised acts, signified its disapprobation by dismissing them from office.

As an instance of his moral elevation, some circumstances which occurred while he was Speaker of the Assembly may be mentioned. During the administration of Sir John Colborne, and while the Reform Party had a large majority in the House, Sir John was exhibited in effigy in the streets of Hamilton. The House appointed a committee of investigation, with power to send for persons and papers, and Mr. Macnab (who was then a young lawyer of Hamilton) and Mr. Solicitor-General Boulton were cited to appear and be examined. They refused to answer certain questions, and having been reported to the House, were required to attend and answer for the contempt. Mr. Macnab came first, and not exercising much discretion, was punished by actual imprisonment. But, as his Party regarded him as a martyr, the event gave an impetus to his fortunes, and so it was that, instead of living, as he might have done, an obscure Hamilton lawyer, he became a member of Parliament, and died Sir Allan Macnab. When Mr. Solicitor-General Boulton came before the House, he understood its spirit, and so adroitly explained his offence that, after debate, it was resolved that he should be let off with a reprimand from the Speaker. It was believed, however, that this would be no slight penalty. The Solicitor-General had been a principal opponent of the elder Mr. Bidwell, had favoured his removal from the House, and the adoption of the special statute which had closed the doors of Parliament to him forever. In the language of the newspapers

of the day, there was a deadly feud between the Bidwells and the Boultons. Great concern was felt on the part of Mr. Boulton's friends lest he should be roughly handled, for it was feared that the son would pay off all the father's old debts. Mark the sequel. The occasion when the Solicitor-General was brought to the Bar of the House was one of great ceremony and solemnity. In the first part of the reprimand, when the Speaker was vindicating the power of Parliament, and stating that he could not forget that its power and dignity had been offended and sought to be impaired by one who was the legal adviser of the Government—an example most pernicious—Mr. Boulton appeared calm, if not indifferent; but as the Speaker proceeded, and administered the required reproof with such magnanimity and forbearance that a mere observer could not have told whether the offender was or was not a personal friend of the Speaker, Mr. Boulton, recognizing the presence of a superior mind and heart, was humbled, and finally left the House profoundly affected. The *London Times*, in publishing that reprimand, declared it to be the best paper of the kind on record. These circumstances are not without present interest as illustrating how Marshall Spring Bidwell, when charged with the performance of a great constitutional duty, could rise to the dignity of the occasion, quite above mere personal and party dissensions, and could discharge that duty in the spirit of a lofty and high-minded statesman.

The peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Bidwell ceased to reside in Canada must now be related. All readers of these pages are familiar with the leading facts in the history of the insurrection of December, 1837, under the auspices of William Lyon Mackenzie. The rising was quickly suppressed, and the insurgents dispersed; but among the banners captured from them was one bearing the inscription, "Bidwell

and the Glorious Minority." This was, in fact, an old political banner which had been used on an earlier occasion, and had been appropriated by the insurgents, whose hasty preparation and scanty means compelled them to adopt and use imperfect ensigns as well as arms. Nothing could be less compatible with Mr. Bidwell's peaceful and law-loving nature than violent and insurrectionary measures. His reverence for law and order was part of his very being, and nothing could be more certain than his non-concurrence in the course of the revolutionary party, even had its movement been less desperate and certain of failure than it was. But he was a thorn in the flesh of Sir Francis Bond Head, who had succeeded Sir John Colborne as Governor, and the capture of the flag gave Sir Francis the opportunity he desired. He notified Mr. Bidwell of the capture; intimated the existence of letters and other evidence implicating him in the rebellion, and rendering him liable to prosecution for high treason. He further stated to Mr. Bidwell that martial law was about to be declared, and that he could not protect him from arrest; but informed him that, in consideration of his unblemished private character and high professional standing, he would not be disturbed if he saw fit to depart from Canada. Mr. Bidwell, perfectly conscious of his own absolute innocence of participation in the plans and actions of the insurgents, at the same time knew that the country was wild with wrath and excitement—that the exasperated Tories were at such a time likely to rush to quick judgments, and that he was especially obnoxious to them as one of the ablest of their constitutional adversaries. Under these circumstances he foresaw nothing but personal embarrassment, the possible ruin of some of his friends, and the total interruption, perhaps for an indefinite and ruinous period, of his peaceful and professional pursuits. He therefore accepted

the Governor's proposition, and left Canada for New York, where he was at once admitted to the Bar by courtesy, and where he entered upon the practice of his profession. This was in the month of January, 1838. He soon became known as an able and erudite lawyer, a dignified, refined, and accomplished gentleman; a warm, generous, and noble man. His practice became large and lucrative, and he devoted himself to his professional duties with industry and zeal.

Soon after this time Sir Francis Bond Head was recalled. He prorogued the Legislature, which was then (March, 1838) in session, and his disastrous administration of Upper Canadian affairs came to an end. He prepared to return to England by way of Halifax, but upon being informed that there was a plot to assassinate him before he could embark there, he determined to return by way of New York. Upon arriving there he took up his quarters at the City Hotel, where he invited Mr. Bidwell to call upon him. The invitation was accepted, and at the interview which then took place, Sir Francis said:—"I think I ought to tell you, Mr. Bidwell, that you are the cause of my being recalled. I was instructed by the Colonial Secretary to place your name on the list of Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench, and was induced to send a remonstrance. That instruction was renewed, and influenced by my advisers, a further remonstrance was sent. Afterwards I received notice that my successor had been appointed." Mr. Bidwell then, perhaps, calling up in review all that he had lost and suffered, said:—"You may be correct in that, sir, but I now see why it was desired that I should leave the Province. You wished to be able to say to your superiors, whom you had disobeyed, that the man they intended to honour was a rebel, and had left the country." Mr. Bidwell retired without ceremony. But as an instance of the gentleness of the man's spirit, a gentleness which

could not let the sun go down upon his wrath, he had not walked more than a block from the hotel before he felt ashamed of having been in such a temper, and was inclined to return and say so to Sir Francis, and bid him a respectful farewell. It is almost consoling to know that though he cherished no resentment against Sir Francis, he finally determined not to return to the hotel.

A well-known Canadian historian, while admitting that Sir Francis Head acted dishonourably in thus forcing Mr. Bidwell into exile, in order to sustain his own conduct in not raising him to the Bench, remarks, very unjustly, that there seems to have been a secret consciousness of guilt on the part of Mr. Bidwell. He adds:—"An innocent man would scarcely have pronounced a voluntary sentence of expatriation on himself, as he well knew that the guilty only had anything to dread from British law and British justice." But it should not be assumed that Mr. Bidwell tamely accepted the condition imposed as to his leaving the Province. He was under terrible constraint; an extremity having few precedents. In the interview to which the Governor had called him he was assured that martial law was about to be declared; that his actual imprisonment was inevitable. Sir Francis, in great apparent tribulation, and with tears in his eyes, assured Mr. Bidwell, whom he called his friend, that he would not be able to protect him; and that his safety depended upon his departure from the Province. At that time the popular excitement and turmoil were very great, and the extent of the rising throughout the Provinces, and its probable duration, could not be known. However free Mr. Bidwell may have been from all taint of complicity in the rebellion, the imminence of martial law, and the prospect of indefinite imprisonment, might well be sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. A consciousness of innocence, with no hope

of being heard in declaring it until after long deprivation and suffering, would not have given the most sanguine man much strength. It has been believed, and perhaps justly, in view of Sir Francis's character, and of strictures published by him in England unfriendly to Mr. Bidwell, that the consent thus wrung from the latter was not unwisely given.

After the first shock of the rebellion was over, Mr. Bidwell's return to Canada was earnestly desired by many of its best and most prominent citizens, and he received assurances of the welcome and preferment which would await his coming. Upon the accession to power of the Reform Party a seat on the Judicial Bench was offered to him. As his return to this country, however, was necessarily a condition precedent to the actual making of the appointment, he felt himself compelled to decline the proffered honour. He had already found abundant professional occupation and social sympathies in his new home, where he determined to remain; though his interest in the home and friends of his earlier life never failed, and his friendships and intercourse with them continued to the end. The thirty-four years of his residence in New York were a period of unbroken, active, distinguished professional labour and usefulness, and at the same time of devoted service in the great religious and charitable institutions with which he was connected. Prominent among the latter were the American Bible Society, of which he was a Director, and the Bank for Savings, of which he was President. The first case of importance in the courts in which he was concerned, after his arrival in New York, was that of James Fenimore Cooper, the well-known novelist, against William L. Stone, for libel, founded on criticisms by the defendant on certain literary labours of the plaintiff. Mr. Bidwell conducted the defence with ability so distinguished as to place him at once in the front rank of the

New York Bar. From that time forward he was engaged in very many most important cases in the local courts, in the Court of Errors, the Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court of the United States.

As a professional adviser he was preëminent. He was profoundly learned in the law. Chancellor Walworth said of him, what can be said of few in these days of Codes and Digests, that he was "a great lawyer." "He had gone back to the sources and fountains, and had studied and mastered the principles and rules of law. He knew not only what they were, but he knew their origin, their history, and the cases in which they had become shaped, modified and determined. Nothing more delighted him than such studies. He often said that he found far more entertainment in tracing some legal principle back through the Reports of the seventeenth century than in perusing the most attractive work of fiction ever written. Not only the provisions of the leading statutes, but their political and legal history were entirely familiar to him. Though he was acquainted with every branch of his profession, including constitutional, commercial, and equity law, he had, perhaps given most attention to the law of real estate, or trusts, and of the construction of wills, and felt himself most fully at home in their discussion." His name is identified with the leading cases of this character in the New York Courts during his time, in the learned arguments of which he bore a distinguished part. His "Points" and "Briefs" were models of compact, clear, and close reasoning, and were enriched by full citations of sustaining authorities and decisions. He argued every question on principle. He was a legal philosopher and reasoner, and was so familiar with the principles that when a case was stated to him he rarely hesitated in pronouncing the law that governed it; and his knowledge of the leading decisions was so

ample that he was generally prepared to cite them from memory. He loved the law, and he practised it not for lucre, or even for fame, but as a science of which he was an ardent votary. He regarded its majesty and sovereignty with reverence. Such was his sense of the duty of administering it in its exact integrity that had he been on the Bench he would have made little of that "bad law" which is said to spring from "hard cases," for he could no more pervert or warp or misrepresent the law than a mathematician could pervert or warp or misrepresent a mathematical demonstration. When on an argument he cited an authority, the Court had no occasion to examine as to the correctness of its presentation. He was wholly incapable of giving any colouring to a decision which he cited, other than that which it properly bore. He was a wise and sagacious counsellor, and possessed largely the gift of strong common sense. He had great vigour and clearness of mind, a strong sense of equity, and his whole life was marked by a purity and truth that knew no shadow of change. His reading beyond his professional studies was very large and

varied, and his conversation was illuminated and made charming by his familiarity with science and polite literature. One of his professional associates has left on record that, during a daily intercourse of thirty-four years, passed amid the trying cares and worry and annoyances of active practice, he never heard from Mr. Bidwell one syllable of petulance, impatience or irritability. He had unbounded faith in the Christian religion, the beauty and purity of which he illustrated by his daily life; and he was entirely happy in his reliance on the future which it held out to him.

It was often his expressed wish, and his often uttered prayer, that he might be spared an enfeebled condition of mind or body, and a lingering death. His wish and prayer were granted. On the afternoon of the 24th of October, 1872, while in the full possession of his faculties, and apparently in the enjoyment of perfect health, at the close of a cheerful and varied conversation in his office with one of his associates, followed by a playful and kind remark to another person, he instantly, without a struggle or a sigh, ceased to breathe.







Joseph Howe

## THE HON. JOSEPH HOWE.

"DURING the old times of persecution four brothers, bearing my name, left the southern counties of England, and settled in four of the old New England States. Their descendants number thousands, and are scattered from Maine to California. My father was the only descendant of that stock who, at the Revolution, adhered to the side of England. His bones rest in the Halifax churchyard. I am his only surviving son; and, whatever the future may have in store, I want, when I stand beside his grave, to feel that I have done my best to preserve the connection he valued, that the British flag may wave above the soil in which he sleeps."

Such is the account of his ancestry given by Mr. Howe himself, in the course of a remarkably eloquent and effective speech delivered by him at Southampton, in England, on the 14th of January, 1851. The father referred to in the foregoing extract was Mr. John Howe, a man of high intelligence and great benevolence of character, who, at the time of the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, resided at Boston, Massachusetts. In his boyhood he had learned the trade of a printer, but had subsequently developed into a newspaper writer, and connected himself with various enterprises, one of which involved the management and part proprietorship of a periodical known as the *Massachusetts Gazette*. Early in life he married a Miss Minns, of Boston, by

whom he had a family of five children. When the war broke out he remained true to the royal side, and was compelled to seek shelter beyond the limits of the revolted colonies. Like a host of his loyal compatriots, he repaired to Nova Scotia, which thenceforward continued to be his home down to the time of his death in 1835. A few years after his arrival in the Province his wife died. Some time afterwards he contracted a second marriage, with a widow, the daughter of a Captain Edes, who, with his wife and two children, came out to settle and carry on business at the South, but whose plans and prospects were marred by the breaking out of the Revolution. By this lady Mr. Howe had two children, a son and daughter. The daughter died at sea, on a return voyage from Peru, whither she had gone to join her husband, and was buried in Virginia. The son is the subject of the present sketch.

Within a short time after taking up his abode in Nova Scotia, Mr. John Howe was appointed to the offices of King's Printer, and Postmaster-General of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and the Bermudas. These offices he subsequently resigned in favour of Mr. John Howe, jr., his eldest son by his first wife. During the early years of the present century he resided in a pleasantly situated cottage on the North West Arm, about two miles from Halifax: and here, in

the month of December, 1804, was born his son Joseph, who was destined to play a part in the history of his native Province second to that of no man of his time.

The first thirteen years of Joseph Howe's life were spent at home. His educational opportunities during this period were few, the nearest school being at Halifax, fully two miles distant; and it may be said that he received little or no regular education. For a child, a walk of two miles over a rough road was only practicable in the summer time, and even in summer his attendance was frequently interrupted. During the wild weather which commonly prevailed there in the winter, daily, or even occasional, attendance was out of the question, and at such times the little fellow was wholly dependent upon his father for instruction. He seems to have done a good deal of desultory reading, as to the nature of which we have no definite information. He was endowed by nature with a rugged constitution, and with a good deal of poetic feeling. Both qualifications received much stimulus from the course of his early life, which was largely spent in the open air. His physical frame was built up by constant bodily exercise; while his fancy was fed by the wild and picturesque scenery of the district.

In 1817 he entered upon a term of apprenticeship to the printing business, in the office of the *Gazette*, at Halifax, which was owned by his brother, John Howe, jr. He served out his full term, and afterwards worked for several years as a compositor. During all this period he was an omnivorous reader, and though he did not devote himself to any particular line of study, he amassed a great fund of miscellaneous knowledge. He also trained his mind by the practice of poetic composition. Before his term of apprenticeship had expired he had written numerous little poems which were published in the *Gazette*; and a more ambitious effort, called "Melville Island," seems to have been

published in separate form, when he was seventeen years of age. Melville Island stands at the head of the North West Arm, in the neighbourhood of his birthplace, and was used as a receptacle for prisoners during the wars of the last century. Young Joseph Howe was familiar with its scenery, and with the poetic incidents in its history. We have not enjoyed the privilege of reading the poem, and can only pronounce upon it at second hand, but it is said to have attracted some attention; and this and several other pieces in prose and verse from the same hand which almost immediately followed seem to have given the author some local literary reputation. He also acquired a reputation for general intelligence and natural ability. He was clever, sprightly, and quick at repartee. On one occasion, during the early years of his apprenticeship, he was compelled to attend as a witness in one of the local tribunals. In the course of his evidence, the nature of his duties in the printing office was referred to. "So," remarked the judge, "you are *the devil*!" "Yes, sir," was the reply, "in the office, but not in the Court House." This, though the first, was not the last occasion in his life when he was able to turn the laugh from himself to the Judicial Bench. He had his due share of the hair-breadth escapes incident to an adventurous boyhood. One evening, while taking a solitary swim in "the Arm," he was seized with cramp, and felt himself sinking. He cast an agonized look around, and caught sight of the dearly loved cottage on the hillside, where his mother was just placing a lighted candle on the window-sill. The thought of the grief which would overshadow that mother's heart on the morrow inspired him with strength to give a last despairing kick. The kick dispelled the cramp, and, hastily swimming ashore, he sank down exhausted, but thankful for his deliverance. It was long before he could summon courage to acquaint his parents with the circumstance.

In 1827 he embarked in the newspaper business on his own account. Conjointly with his friend Mr. James Spike, he purchased the *Weekly Chronicle* newspaper, the name of which was changed to that of *The Acadian*, and he then for the first time came before the public of Nova Scotia as a general newspaper writer. "If not entirely unknown and unpractised," says Mr. Annand,\* "he was, as I have often heard him acknowledge, ignorant enough of everything that an editor ought to know. He had a cheerful spirit, however, a ready pen, and tact enough to feel his way and avoid the premature discussion of topics which he did not understand." His writings at this time are said to have been jejune and commonplace enough, and he made no attempt to deal with political questions. Towards the close of the year he sold his interest in the *Acadian* to his partner, and purchased the *Nova Scotian*, for the exceptionally high price of £1,050. For seven years he worked steadily on this paper. He at first had to encounter many difficulties, but in the end achieved a success beyond his hopes. "By dint of unwearied industry, a sanguine spirit, and great cheerfulness and good humour," says Mr. Annand, "all the difficulties which beset Mr. Howe's early career as a public journalist were met and overcome, and the *Nova Scotian* was established on a solid foundation. British, foreign, and colonial newspapers and periodicals, were daily read. The debates in the House of Assembly, and important trials in the courts, were reported by his own hand, and his position naturally brought him into familiar intercourse with nearly all the public men of the day. The establishment of agencies, and the transaction of business, in the interior, compelled him to travel over the inland

districts and to visit all the seaport towns. In these journeys many valuable acquaintances were made, and much information was acquired. Gradually he became familiar, not only with the people best worth knowing, and from whom anything could be learnt, but with the whole face of his native country, and with the political literature of all countries which expressed their opinions in the English language. Such leisure as he had was given to more serious investigations, or to the attractive novelties of the day. I have often seen him, during this period, worn out with labour, drawing draughts of refreshment alternately from Bulwer's last novel or from Grotius on National Law. His constitution was vigorous, his zeal unflagging. It was no uncommon thing for him to be a month or two in the saddle; or, after a rubber of racquets, in which he excelled, and of which he was very fond, to read and write for four or five consecutive days without going out of his house." Seven years of this kind of mental training, which preceded his first noticeable display as a public speaker, did much to repair a very defective education.

On the 2nd of February, 1828, he married. His wife was Catharine Susan Ann, only daughter of Captain John McNab, of the Nova Scotia Fencibles. It was a matter of course that a mind constituted like Mr. Howe's should sooner or later begin to interest itself in the political questions of the day. To do so, indeed, was an imperative necessity alike of his position and of his natural temperament. In 1830 he began to publish in his paper a series of "Legislative Reviews," which were written by himself, and continued from year to year. They criticized the acts of public men with great freedom, and their tone was not unlike that of Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie's contemporary diatribes in the *Colonial Advocate*. As time passed by, the writer gained confidence. His attacks upon public abuses became

\* See "The Speeches and Public Letters of the Hon. Joseph Howe;" edited by William Annand, M.P.P. Boston, 1858.

more frequent and more virulent, and he began to be looked upon as the champion of popular rights. The institutions of the Province afforded ample scope for the animadversions of such a writer, and the contempt with which those in authority at first professed to regard him soon began to be mingled with no inconsiderable measure of dismay. Responsible Government, in those days, had no place in the constitution of Nova Scotia, any more than it had in that of Canada. The cities were not incorporated, but were governed by magistrates holding their commissions from the Crown, and not subject to public control. As a corollary to such a state of things, there were neglect, corruption, and gross mismanagement of municipal affairs. In Halifax, long impunity had made some of the magistracy exceptionally culpable and careless of popular rights. Mr. Howe, in his paper, had several times commented with asperity upon the extortions and mismanagement of some of the officials. At last, on the 1st of January, 1835, he published an attack so sweeping and exasperating that he was indicted for libel. The attack was couched in the form of a letter addressed to Mr. Howe himself, and, though not written by him, he was of course responsible for its publication. Mr. Howe defended his own cause, and he did so with such power and acumen that he secured an acquittal at the hands of the special jury summoned to try him. The libel was so unmistakable that all the lawyers of Halifax who were consulted on the matter by Mr. Howe declared that any successful defence was out of the question. He was advised to make a humble apology, and to throw himself upon the mercy of the court. He was informed that his rejection of this advice would result in a heavy fine, and perhaps in a long term of imprisonment. "I asked the lawyers to lend me their books," said Mr. Howe, in describing the episode; "I gathered an armful, threw my-

self on a sofa, and read libel law for a week. By that time I had convinced myself that they were wrong, and that there was a good defence if the case were properly presented to the court and jury. Another week was spent in arranging the facts and public documents on which I relied. I did not get through before a late hour of the evening before the trial, having only had time to write out and commit to memory the two opening paragraphs of the speech. All the rest was to be improvised as I went along. I was very tired, but took a walk with Mrs. Howe, telling her as we strolled to Fort Massey that if I could only get out of my head what I had got into it, the Magistrates could not get a verdict. I was hopeful of the case, but fearful of breaking down, from the novelty of the situation and from want of practice. I slept soundly and went at it in the morning, still harassed with doubts and fears, which passed off, however, as I became conscious that I was commanding the attention of the court and jury. I was much cheered when I saw the tears rolling down one old gentleman's cheek. I thought he would not convict me if he could help it. I scarcely expected an unanimous verdict, as two or three of the jurors were connections, more or less remote, of some of the justices, but I thought they would not agree. The lawyers were all very civil, but laughed at me a good deal, quoting the old maxim, that 'he who pleads his own case has a fool for a client.' But the laugh was against them when all was over." The trial took place before Chief Justice Sir Brenton Halliburton. His Lordship's charge to the jury embodied a luminous exposition of the law of libel, but necessarily bore somewhat hardly upon Mr. Howe. But all was of no avail. It would it have been for the liberties of the people of Nova Scotia if Joseph Howe had been convicted of libel. His address to the jury occupied six hours and a quarter. The jury were out only ten

minutes, and returned with a verdict of "Not Guilty." On leaving the Province Building Mr. Howe was borne by the crowd to his home, amidst deafening acclamations. Throughout the city there was high carnival, and that night, speaking from the window of his house, Mr. Howe struck the popular chord when he enjoined upon his audience to teach their children the names of those jurymen who had established the Freedom of the Press.

Mr. Howe's triumphant acquittal was immediately followed by the resignation of all the Halifax magistrates; but the old system, though it had received its death-blow, was not yet quite dead. Other magistrates were selected, and a gentleman learned in the law was appointed Custos. In this way irresponsibility was kept up for several years longer; but it was easy to see that its reign was practically at an end. The people clamoured for an Act of Incorporation; and the clamour was augmented by the intelligence brought across the Atlantic by every mail of the growing agitation for municipal reform in England. We may here anticipate the course of events by saying that in 1840 Mr. Howe accepted office in the Provincial Cabinet, and that next year he had the satisfaction of seeing the old system swept away. Halifax became an incorporated city, and has ever since been ruled by its own elected Mayor and Aldermen.

From the time of his triumphant acquittal on the charge of libel, in 1838, down to the day of his death, in 1873, Joseph Howe, the sometime printer's boy, was the most noteworthy citizen of his native Province. In recognition of his public-spirited and fearless conduct, his fellow-countrymen resident in New York presented him with a handsome silver pitcher, bearing an inscription suited to the occasion. His popularity steadily increased, and soon extended far beyond the limits of Nova Scotia. Towards the close of the year which was signalized by the trial

for libel, his father, Mr. John Howe, already mentioned, died, at the advanced age of eighty-three. The affection which had subsisted between father and son was exceptionally deep and lasting, and the latter, both in his public speeches and in private conversation, made frequent tender references to it in after life. "For thirty years," said he, on one occasion, "my father was my instructor, my playfellow, almost my daily companion. To him I owe my fondness for reading, my familiarity with the Bible, my knowledge of old Colonial and American incidents and characteristics. He left me nothing but his example and the memory of his many virtues, for all that he ever earned was given to the poor. He was too good for this world; but the remembrance of his high principle, his cheerfulness, his child-like simplicity and truly Christian character is never absent from my mind."

In the month of November, 1836, Mr. Howe was for the first time elected to a seat in Parliament, having been returned, along with his friend and relative, Mr. William Annand, for the county of Halifax. He continued to sit in the Assembly, almost without interruption, until 1863, when he was appointed Fishery Commissioner. He from the first took a conspicuous part in the proceedings, and surprised all who heard him by the readiness he displayed in debate, and by the tact and boldness with which he encountered those who, up to his advent, were the acknowledged leaders of the Assembly. He laboured unceasingly on behalf of Responsible Government, and contributed more than any other man in Nova Scotia to bring it about. For the acquisition of Responsible Government, municipal institutions, and freedom of expression of public opinions, Nova Scotia must ever owe a deep debt of gratitude to the memory of Joseph Howe. But, though a thorough-paced reformer, his zeal for reform was tempered by patriotism and discretion. With the insurrectionary move-

ments in the sister Provinces he had no sympathy; and, though urgently importuned to ally himself with similar projects in his own Province, he declined to fight for freedom otherwise than by legitimate and constitutional means. He had faith in the mollifying influences of time, and frequently entered his protest against what he called attempts to "bully the British Government." He did not approve of accomplishing beneficent reforms by physical force; more especially where, as in the Canadas, there never was even a remote hope of accomplishing more than a temporary success by such means.

In 1838 he visited Great Britain and the continent, and in company with Judge Haliburton\* travelled over a large portion of Europe. During their passage across the Atlantic, having arrived within a few hundred miles of the Irish coast, the vessel on which they were embarked was overtaken by the *Sirius*, the pioneer trans-Atlantic steamship, which was then returning from her trial trip to America. There was no wind, and their brig could make but little headway. The mails were transferred to the *Sirius*, which steamed off in spite of the dead calm, and was soon lost to sight. This little episode was very suggestive to the minds of Mr. Howe and Judge Haliburton. They discussed the subject of ocean steam navigation daily until their arrival in England, by which time they had formed a plan upon which they at once acted. In concert with other colonists whom they encountered in London, they made strong representations to the Home Office in favour of a subsidy for the conveyance

of the mails across the Atlantic by steam. These representations were taken under consideration, and in due time tenders were invited. A few months later Mr.—afterwards Sir Samuel—Cunard, a native of Nova Scotia, secured the contract, and established the magnificent line of mail steamers which bears his name.

Mr. Howe returned home in November, 1838, and at once plunged into hard work. He devoted himself to obtaining the concession of Responsible Government, with what success has already been stated. The fight was a hard one, and was waged with fierceness on both sides. The Lieutenant-Governor was Sir Colin Campbell, an old soldier who, by the strange perversity of Canadian historians, has been identified with the great man who was subsequently raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Clyde. As matter of fact the whilome Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia came of a different family, and, so far as can be ascertained, had no affinity whatever with the hero of the Alma, Balaklava and Lucknow. The Sir Colin Campbell known to Nova Scotian history, previous to his arrival in the Province, had had a sufficiently creditable military career, and had seen gallant service in Spain and elsewhere; but his military training, and the natural bent of his mind, had been such as to unfit him for the post of a Civil ruler. As ruler of a country where despotism prevailed, he would have been a just-minded and most beneficent despot. He could never understand what "the common people" meant by talking about their "rights." What Sir Charles Metcalfe was in Upper Canada, such was Sir Colin Campbell in Nova Scotia—the obstructor of liberty, and the foe to constitutional progress. He knew nothing and cared nothing for politics. His statesmanship was on a par with that of Sir Francis Bond Head, and it was an absurd mistake on the part of the Home Government to appoint him to the position in

\* Not Sir Brenton Haliburton, who had presided at the trial for libel in 1835, but Thomas Chandler Haliburton, better known to the literary world by his pseudonym of "Sam Slick." The papers which made him famous first appeared in the *Nova Scotian*, during Mr. Howe's editorship of that periodical. Mr. Howe also published Mr. Haliburton's "Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," at considerable loss to himself.



which he now found himself. The history of his Nova Scotian Administration is simply a chapter in his life which every one would wish to see obliterated. Between him and Joseph Howe it was impossible that there should be much community of sentiment, and an antagonism arose between them immediately after the assumption of the Lieutenant-Governorship by the former. Sir Colin was wont to sneer at Responsible Government and its promoters, just as Sir Charles Metcalfe did in Upper Canada a few years later. The Liberal Party of Nova Scotia, however, steadily increased in number and influence, and won important concessions. The publication of Lord Durham's "Report" inspired them with high hopes. During the session of 1840 Mr. Howe introduced into the Assembly four resolutions directed against the Executive Council, and declaring that that Body, as then constituted, did not enjoy the confidence of the country. These resolutions, after a long debate, were sustained by a vote of thirty to twelve, and were then submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, who, however, declined to take any steps towards remodeling the Council, and persisted in ordering matters after his own fashion. The Assembly accordingly, on motion of Mr. Howe, adopted an address to the Crown petitioning for the Lieutenant-Governor's removal. He was soon afterwards recalled, and Viscount Falkland, a Lord of the Royal Bedchamber, and a son of William the Fourth by Mrs. Jordan, was appointed his successor. Soon after Lord Falkland's arrival, four members of the Executive Council who held no seats in either branch of the Legislature were informed that their services could no longer be retained, as their places were required in order that gentlemen who could bring to the support of Government popular qualities and influence might be called round the Queen's representative. Mr. Howe and another representative Reformer—Mr. McNab

—were invited to accept seats in the Council, and the invitation was complied with. It was evident that Responsible Government would now become an accomplished fact.

Sir Colin Campbell, though his statesmanship was not of a high order, was personally popular with all classes in the Province; and just before his departure he gave a signal proof that rancour and littleness had no place in his heart. He and Mr. Howe encountered each other at Lord Falkland's first levee. Many of the prominent public men of the Province availed themselves of the opportunity to bid a final farewell to the retiring Lieutenant-Governor, and to shake him warmly by the hand. Mr. Howe's opposition had been so unceasing, and so productive of important results, that he did not presume to personally address the man whom he had so signally worsted. He merely bowed to the latter, and was passing out. But Sir Colin was not the man to cherish ill-feeling against an honourable foe whose genuine manhood he was well able to appreciate. He called out to Mr. Howe, and extended his hand, saying, "We must not part in that way, Mr. Howe. We fought out our differences of opinion honestly. You have acted like a man of honour. There is my hand." Mr. Howe was not backward in accepting the tendered reconciliation, and thus was buried an enmity which, in smaller minds, would have rankled for years.

At the ensuing elections Mr. Howe and his friend Mr. Annand were again returned for the county of Halifax, the former making the declaration from the hustings that he and Mr. McNab, his colleague in the Council, held their places by the tenure of public confidence, and would tender their resignations to the Governor the moment that the support of the people's representatives was withdrawn. The contest, under the old law, lasted a fortnight, and four Reformers were triumphantly returned for the

metropolitan town and county. On the meeting of the House Mr. Howe was elected to the Speakership. It was during this session that the Act incorporating Halifax was passed. At the close of the session Mr. Howe paid his first visit to Canada, and was present at the opening of the first session of Parliament under the Union. He was cordially received by Lord Sydenham, and by the prominent politicians on both sides. He was very favourably impressed by what he saw of the country, and formed sanguine anticipations as to its future.

During the session of 1843, Mr. Howe, having accepted the appointment of Collector of Colonial Revenue, vacated by the death of the previous incumbent, resigned the office of Speaker of the Assembly, and was succeeded by Mr.—now Sir—William Young, the present Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. He retained his seat in the Assembly, and took a conspicuous part in the debates of the session. The most important of these, in consideration of its ultimate results, was on the subject of granting endowments to denominational colleges. Petitions were presented to the House asking for two such endowments. A series of resolutions was introduced by Mr. Annand, setting out that four denominational colleges already existed, all of which were largely dependent upon Government aid; that one good college, free from sectarian control, and open to all denominations, maintained by a common fund, and rallying around it the affections of the whole people, would be adequate to the requirements of the population, and sufficiently burthensome to the revenue; and that such an institution would elevate the Provincial character, remove existing difficulties, provide the youth with the blessings of a collegiate education, and attract students to its classes from the surrounding colonies. These resolutions received cordial support from Mr. Howe, and were carried by a majority of five; where-

upon a committee was appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill for the purpose of carrying them into effect. Mr. Johnston, the Attorney-General, who was the leader of the Tory Party, favoured the continuance of sectarian colleges, and he and Mr. Howe were thus brought into direct antagonism. Meetings, largely favourable to the Attorney-General's cause, were held throughout the Province, and, without consultation with Mr. Howe, Lord Falkland was induced by the other members of the Cabinet to dissolve the House. This proceeding on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor was not unnaturally regarded by the Reform Party as an unwarrantable exercise of the prerogative. Mr. Howe was reelected by acclamation. Soon afterwards, the Attorney-General's brother-in-law, who had no seat in either branch of the Legislature, and who was an unknown and untried man, was appointed a Member of Council, and this without any consultation with Mr. Howe or his Reform colleagues, Messrs. Uniacke and McNab. Those three gentlemen accordingly promptly resigned their seats in the Council, giving formal reasons, in writing, for doing so. An unseemly quarrel, provoked by the arbitrary conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor, followed. The House of Assembly discussed the situation for fourteen days, and when a vote was taken, mildly censuring the Governor for his departure from the principles of Responsible Government, Mr. Johnston found himself sustained by a very small majority. Later in the session, Mr. Howe moved a vote of want of confidence in the Executive, but the motion was defeated by a majority of three. Overtures were made to him and his two former colleagues to resume their seats in the Council, which they declined to do. The controversy running high, Mr. Howe, who had sold the *Nova Scotian* in 1841, returned to the editorial chair, having undertaken the charge of the *Nova Scotian* and also

of the *Chronicle*, which was owned by his friend Mr. Annand. Then began a newspaper war of almost unparalleled ferocity, which was kept up without intermission until the Lieutenant-Governor's influence in the Province was totally destroyed. Among the hundred or more lampoons hurled at him, the one which obtained the greatest notoriety was a doggerel effusion from the pen of Mr. Howe himself, which appeared in the columns of the *Nova Scotian*, and which was called "The Lord of the Bedchamber." Perusing it at this distance of time, it seems inconceivable that so contemptible a production should have wrought such an effect. The opening verse will give some idea of its tone and spirit:

"The Lord of the Bedchamber sat in his shirt  
(And D—dy the pliant was there),  
And his feelings appeared to be very much hurt,  
And his brow overclouded with care."

This probably does not strike the critical reader as being of excruciating keenness, yet it is a fair sample of the composition as a whole. Indeed, the crushing severity of this first stanza was particularly enlarged upon by the Attorney-General during a grave discussion of this weighty matter by a committee of the House. In replying to the Attorney-General, Mr. Howe said that it was the first time he had suspected that to hint that noblemen wore shirts was a grave offence, to be prosecuted in the High Court of Parliament by an Attorney-General. Had the author said that the Lord of the Bedchamber had no shirt, or that it stuck through his pantaloons, there might have been good ground of complaint. Such was Mr. Howe's method of defending himself before the potent, grave and reverend seigniors of Nova Scotia. We are insensibly reminded of Shakspeare's aphorism that

" Oftentimes, excusing of a fault  
Doth make the fault the worse by the excuse."

This, indeed, will apply to the general tone

of Mr. Howe's reply, which was very long and exhaustive, without being overpoweringly convincing. It must be confessed that in such banter as this the critical eye discerns more of rude horseplay than of serious statesmanship. Allowance, however, must be made for the time and occasion when it was indulged in. Mr. Howe was smarting under a sense of injustice, and he was taunted by his well-bred opponents, for whom there was much less excuse, in language as rude and gross as ever fell from his own lips. Nothing came of the discussion before the committee. The Lieutenant-Governor being unable to fill up the vacant seats in the Cabinet, Mr. Johnston struggled on with much difficulty. Public feeling ran very high. Mr. Howe continued to worry the Government both in and out of the House, and continued to stir up a general distrust of their policy. In July, 1844, the Provincial Secretary addressed a circular to Messrs. Uniacke, McNab, Huntington, Brennan and Smith, inviting them to accept seats in the Council, and informing them that Lord Falkland found it impossible to include Mr. Howe in the proposed arrangement. The invitation was not accepted, and a long and fierce debate followed, in the course of which Mr. Howe delivered two very able speeches. At the close of the session he moved his family into the interior, where they spent two years upon the head waters of the Musquodoboit. This removal was due to motives of economy. Mr. Howe possessed the power to make money, but very little power to keep what he had made. He was openhanded and lavish in his expenditure, and no impecunious friend ever applied to him in vain, either for money or money's worth. Being ever ready to confer benefits upon others, and being imprudent both in his style of living and in his general expenditure, he was frequently reduced to serious pecuniary straits. He did not scruple to contract debts,

and was often unable to meet his obligations. At the time of his removal to the head waters of the Musquodoboit he was, to use his own expressive but inelegant phraseology, "strapped." He was not in the least discouraged, however, by the state of his affairs. Referring to his two years' sojourn in the country at this time, he says: "They were two of the happiest years of my life. I had been, for a long time, overworking my brains and underworking my body. Here I worked my body and rested my brains. We rose at daylight, breakfasted at seven, dined at twelve, took tea at six, and then assembled in the library, where we read four or five hours almost every evening. I learned to plough, to mow, to reap, to cradle. I knew how to chop and pitch hay before. Constant exercise in the open air made me as hard as iron. My head was clear and my spirits buoyant. My girls learned to do everything that the daughters of our peasants learn, and got a knowledge of books which, amidst the endless frivolities and gossiping of city life, they never could have acquired. My boys got an insight into what goes on in the interior of their own country, which should be of service to them all their lives. I read the *Edinburgh Review* from the commencement, and all the poets over again; wrote a good deal, and yet spent the best part of every fine day in the fields or in the woods. My children were all around me, and in health; and, although I had cares enough, as God knows, I shall never, perhaps, be so happy again."

In the month of August, 1846, Mr. Howe had the pleasure of seeing the last of Lord Falkland as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. The position of this somewhat Lord of the Bedchamber had long been a most unenviable one, and the Home Ministry recognized the impropriety of continuing him in an office where he would reflect no credit either on himself or them. He

was recalled, and was soon afterwards appointed to the Government of Bombay. He was succeeded in Nova Scotia by Sir John Harvey, who had been Lieutenant-Governor respectively of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. During the following autumn an abortive attempt was made by the Government to form a Coalition Ministry, in which a portfolio was to be offered to Mr. Howe. The Opposition knew that their day of triumph was not far distant, and preferred a short delay to a coalition with men who were daily losing ground in public estimation. The day of triumph came early in 1848. On the 26th of January in that year a vote of want of confidence in the Ministry was passed by a majority of seven. Next day the Executive Council resigned, and Mr. Uniacke was applied to to form a Government. This he succeeded in accomplishing, and on the 2nd of February the names of the members were announced. Among them was that of Mr. Howe, who became Provincial Secretary. Upon returning to his constituents in the county of Halifax for reelection he was returned by a majority of 832 votes.

Responsible Government being now established, the new Government devoted itself to the development of the resources of the Province. The railway era set in, and the building of a road from Halifax to Quebec was adopted by the Government as part of their policy, but the scheme fell through for the time, owing to the refusal of the Imperial Government to contribute towards the cost of carrying it out. The railway from Halifax to Windsor—an enterprise which Mr. Howe had for years had at heart—was undertaken wholly as a Provincial work. In 1850 Mr. Howe was sent to England, chiefly on railway matters, distinguishing himself there by several speeches, the most noteworthy of which was that delivered at Southampton, and already quoted from

in the opening paragraph of this sketch. In the following year, accompanied by Mr. Chandler, in the interest of New Brunswick, he paid another visit to Canada, and delivered speeches in Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, and elsewhere, in which he dwelt strongly upon the necessity of the several Provinces uniting in one Government and constructing the Intercolonial Railway.

Among all his multifarious pursuits, Mr. Howe's turn for poetry never wholly deserted him. He loved his native Province with a fervour and devotion such as the mere politician never knows, and some of his best poetical effusions were poured out in her honour. His compositions were always more noticeable for their genuine poetic inspiration than for elegance of diction. Many of them found an echo in the hearts of his countrymen, and are still sung by the rustic fireside on long winter evenings. One of the best known is his "Song for the Centenary," published in June, 1849, and written for the centennial celebration of the settlement of Halifax by Governor Cornwallis a century before. It was forthwith set to appropriate music, and has ever since been honoured as the natal song of Nova Scotia.

During the session of 1850 Mr. Howe introduced and successfully carried through the House a Bill entitled "An Act to authorize Her Majesty's subjects to plead and reason for themselves or others in all Her Majesty's Courts within this Province." It was in effect a Bill enabling any layman to act as counsel at the Bar, whether he had ever studied law or not. The introduction of such a measure caused no little excitement among the lawyers in the House, and a good deal of amusement to the country at large. Various opinions were held at the time as to its origin. Some believed that Mr. Howe had been annoyed by the intrigues, jealousies, or unsteady support of some of the professional adhe-

rents of the Government, and wished to teach them a lesson and reduce them to discipline; while others thought that the Bill was brought in from a sincere conviction of its utility. Whatever the motive may have been, the measure was introduced, advocated, and fought through, with becoming gravity, and became the law of the land, though it was subsequently repealed. We have referred to it for the express purpose of making some random quotations from Mr. Howe's remarks in its defence—remarks in which horseplay and sound argument are curiously intermingled, and which are as characteristic of the man as any utterances that ever fell from his lips. They will give the reader a better idea of one phase of Mr. Howe's oratory than the most laboured descriptive analysis could possibly afford. It was urged by professional members in the House that no man is fit to conduct a forensic argument until he has undergone a long and severe mental discipline, and until he has spent a more or less prolonged term in a lawyer's office. To this argument Mr. Howe replied: "I could point to six or seven barristers, who have gone through this ordeal, and have been admitted to the Bar of Nova Scotia, who are hardly a grade above the idiot, or fit to herd geese upon a common. . . . It will be admitted that Demosthenes was a pretty good lawyer, and one of the best orators known in the annals of history. At the age of seventeen, he walked into the courts of his country, and won back his inheritance from the guardians who were mismanaging his estate. But Demosthenes was never cooped up in an attorney's office for five years, poring over old musty volumes of almost forgotten lore. . . . There was Cicero. Nobody will deny that he was nearly as great a lawyer and orator as any we have in Nova Scotia. . . . But it is said, a layman can never study and comprehend the laws. Why not? What is there so abstruse

and difficult in our common and statute law? Take the laws of nations, which have to form the basis of all diplomacy. These are handed over generally to a body of men who are not lawyers, but yet who arrange and manage treaties, with all their mighty interests, and infinity of detail, to the satisfaction of their respective nations. So, take commercial law. Merchants master but cannot practise it. I need not go out of this street to find a man who understands commercial law as well as any lawyer in the country, and whose opinion I would rather take; but I cannot ask his opinion; he cannot go into our courts and plead a case. Now take, again, the divine law. Any blockhead may go into a pulpit, shatter the nerves of a whole congregation, discourse of things temporal and things eternal, and dispose not of our estates, but of our souls; and yet the most accomplished statesman, who is not a lawyer, cannot go into one of Her Majesty's courts and sue for a ten-pound note, or seek restitution of a poor widow's rights. I sustain this Bill then because I believe all monopolies are bad. Suppose we were to secure in this city to-morrow a monopoly of commercial business, that we should take a hundred men and confide to them the whole foreign commerce of the country, and let no others send ships to sea. Enterprise would be cramped, trade would languish, our mercantile character would be lowered, and the community much less prosperous and contented. Take the sciences of chemistry, astronomy, are they not as abstruse, as perplexing, as law? Like law, they are progressive sciences. Why have they improved so much and law so little? How is it that we can measure Jupiter, but cannot frame a reliable plea or indictment? Take Mrs. Somerville's mechanism of the heavens. Put it into the hands of the lawyers of Nova Scotia, and I doubt if five of them will understand it. . . . The honourable

member from Sydney told me that I went into court once and made a pretty long speech.\* And so I did. I got then a pretty good idea of how things are done. The lawyers do not take three meals a day of law with perfect gusto. They study a little when young, and after that they jostle about in the profession and take their chance. Now and then, there is a fellow who studies very deeply, and he drops off before his time. Our present venerable Chief Justice stepped out of the ranks of the army, and I believe that all his books might have been carried on a wheelbarrow when he was elevated to the Bench; he devoted but a short time to the study of law, and a capital judge he has made ever since. It was my fortune to study the law of libel once, and in three weeks I think I read more of it than any lawyer ever did in Nova Scotia. The Speaker laughs; but, sir, the proof of the pudding is in the eating of it. And while my law was accepted as sound, the law of the Bar, and of the judges too, was voted absurd by the jury. I ask any man to go into our courts of law, and ask himself if he could not take from a dozen different walks of life those who would shed more honour and intelligence than many of those who sit behind the Bar? . . . I was amused with an argument of the honourable member for Cumberland. He says, the Bill ought to go farther and admit the ladies into the courts of justice. Why not? They would make eloquent pleaders. Does he remember that celebrated scene where two females rushed into court with a case, reported in an imperishable volume—a case, where a layman was the judge, and ladies the only orators? With their maternal feelings excited, the mothers rushed into court without being accompanied by two lawyers who had studied for five years, and both claimed the child! King Solo-

\* The reference here is doubtless to the trial for libel in 1835.

mon, who was, perhaps, nearly as wise as the judges in Nova Scotia, repelled them by no forms, asked for the aid of no counsel learned in the law. But he had studied the laws of nature, and sounded the depths of the human heart. With a glance he detected the rightful owner, and gave a judgment which has never been reversed."

A minute record of Mr. Howe's proceedings during the next few years would involve the writing of hundreds of pages. This was probably the busiest interval of a life that was never idle. In July, 1851, he retired from the representation of the metropolitan county of Halifax, finding the burden of such representation, in conjunction with his position as a member of the Government, too heavy for his shoulders. It was necessary that he should find a constituency less exacting, and having fewer and less important local interests requiring attention. He offered himself as a candidate for the county of Cumberland, and was returned. A year or two later he was again sent to England, and coöperated with Mr. Hincks and Mr. Chandler in carrying out important railway negotiations. In 1854, having been appointed Chairman of the Railway Board, he resigned the office of Provincial Secretary, and a reconstruction of the Administration followed. During the session of 1855 he vehemently opposed a measure introduced by the Hon. J. W. Johnston for the prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. His speech on the second reading of the Bill was singularly illogical, but it was humorous and eloquent, and the measure was defeated. In 1855 there was a general election. The heaviest contest of the campaign took place in Mr. Howe's constituency in Cumberland. Mr. Howe was opposed by a young man who then for the first time offered himself as a candidate for Parliamentary honours, and who subsequently won a wide reputation—the present Sir Charles Tupper. Sir Charles was then

a medical practitioner at Amherst, and was both then and for many years afterwards known as "Doctor" Tupper. The contest was one of almost unexampled keenness, and resulted in the defeat of both Mr. Howe and his coadjutor in the representation of Cumberland. This was a serious blow to the Government, which had already begun to exhibit signs of weakness. Next year, on the promotion to the Bench of Mr. Wilkins, the member for Windsor, Mr. Howe was returned for that constituency by acclamation. The Government, however, had only a small working majority, and the position was not improved by the publication of a letter from Mr. Howe's pen which appeared in the *Halifax Chronicle* towards the close of the following December, and which gave great offence to the Roman Catholics. Next March the Government was defeated, and Mr. Howe resigned his position as Chairman of the Railway Board. A Conservative Government succeeded, under the leadership of Mr. Johnston, in which Dr. Tupper became Provincial Secretary. It remained in power until 1860, when it was once more displaced by a Liberal Government under Mr. Young, in which Mr. Howe succeeded to Dr. Tupper's portfolio. Upon Mr. Young's elevation to the Bench during the same year Mr. Howe became Premier, and so continued until 1863, when the Liberal Government was once more defeated. Twice during his tenure of office as Premier he visited England on railway matters. Soon after the resignation of his Government in 1863 he was appointed Imperial Fishery Commissioner, and was thus debarred from taking a very active part in the Union movement until the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 put an end to his official duties. There had been a steady and persistent hostility between him and Dr. Tupper, who had been a rising politician ever since his first entry into public life in 1855. It is not impossible that Mr. Howe's opposition to Dr. Tupper

may have prompted the former to take the stand he did on the question of Confederation. To that project he was utterly opposed, and the dogged resistance he displayed in opposing it was truly formidable. When the result of the Quebec Conference of 1864 was published to the world, the Maritime Provinces, alone among the colonies of British America, expressed opposition to Confederation. For a few days there was much speculation as to which side of the controversy Mr. Howe would espouse. "At first," says Principal Grant, "it was taken for granted that he who had spoken so many eloquent words, all pointing to the magnificent future of British America, all tending to inspire its youth with love of country as something far higher than mere Provincialism, would now be among the advocates of Confederation, and the wise and loving critic of the scheme to be submitted to the Legislatures. But by-and-by it was rumoured that he was talking and writing against it, and before long he came forth as the crowned head of the Opposition.\* He "stumped" the Province from end to end, delivering telling speeches wherever he went, and with such success, that of the whole number of Nova Scotia candidates favourable to Confederation, the only one returned to Parliament was Dr. Tupper himself.

The author above quoted from is of opinion that if Mr. Howe had gone to Charlottetown and Quebec, as one of the delegates, he would have thrown himself heartily into the project, and made his mark on the proposed constitution. He was ready to go, it appears, but his duties as Fishery Commissioner took him away for two months just at the critical moment. The Admiral declared that he could not give him a vessel at any other time, and the other delegates did not dream that his presence was indispensable. The next thing he heard was

that the Quebec scheme had been completed to the minutest detail and published to the world. "The egg had been hatched, not by the hen that laid it, but by some fancy steam process. The ship had been launched without the presence of the designer." From that moment he resolved to oppose Confederation, and never in the whole course of his active life did he fight with more vigour and resolution. He made two more journeys to England, but failed wholly in obtaining encouragement from the Imperial Government. During his stay in London he wrote a pamphlet entitled "Confederation considered in relation to the interests of the Empire," in which the opinions expressed were widely at variance with the views formerly advocated by the author. The arguments employed were evidently the result of a great strain on the writer's conscience, and they lacked logical coherence. Dr. Tupper, who, with several other gentlemen, had gone to England to advocate the scheme to which Mr. Howe was so much opposed, wrote a reply to this pamphlet, in which the many and serious inconsistencies were clearly pointed out, and this in a calm and statesmanlike spirit. So that, as Principal Grant says, in the article already quoted from, "he had to fight Howe as well as Tupper." The contest was unequal, and Mr. Howe had to yield. At the first general election after Confederation he was returned to the Commons for the county of Hants. He then set himself to work to get the best terms he could for his Province; and having obtained a readjustment of the terms agreed upon at the London conference, he accepted the situation, and subsequently, on the 19th of January, 1869, took office in the Dominion Government as President of the Council. Upon presenting himself to his constituents for reelection he was returned by acclamation. He retained his position as President of the Council exactly ten months, when (on the 19th of November) he was appointed

\* See a remarkably well written paper on Mr. Howe in the *Canadian Monthly* for August, 1875.



Secretary of State for the Provinces and Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs. His visit to Manitoba, and his unfortunate utterances while there, took place during his tenure of office as President of the Council.

Several years before this time Mr. Howe's health had begun to fail. He was subject to repeated attacks of bronchitis; and his life of turmoil and excitement had seriously unhinged his nervous system. It is fairly conjecturable, however, that his infirm health was due as much to disappointment, and the consciousness of not having been true to himself, as to any bodily ailment. He was no longer universally popular among Nova Scotians, and he felt this very keenly. During the progress of the session of 1872 he was compelled to leave his work and take a trip southward, with a view to regaining his strength. He spoke but little during that session and the following one; and when he did speak it was evident that his physical powers had been very much weakened. In May, 1873, he was appointed to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Nova Scotia, and it was hoped that rest would do much for his failing powers. For a short time previous to his appointment he had been suffering from a complication of disorders—among others from an affection of the liver. On the day when he was sworn into office he took up his residence at Government House, Halifax, where he was destined to spend the short span of life that yet remained to him. He had not been many hours in residence when an old supporter, and a former friend of his father's, called to pay his respects. "Well, Joseph," said Mr. Howe's interlocutor, "what would your old father have thought of this?" "Well," was the answer, "it would have pleased the old man. I have had a long fight for it, and have stormed the castle at last. But now that I have it, what does it all amount to? I shall be here but a few days; and instead of playing Governor, I

feel like saying with Wolsey, to the Abbot of Leicester—

'An old man, broken with the storms of State,  
Is come to lay his weary bones among ye;  
Give him a little earth for charity.'

The quotation was prophetic; though for several weeks afterwards his health seemed to be improving, his only inconvenience arising from a severe pain in the chest, which occasionally troubled him. The weather was fine, and tempted him to take frequent carriage drives. On Thursday, the 29th of May, he took a longer drive than usual, going seven miles eastward of the city, to a well-known wayside inn. When he returned he was a little fatigued, but otherwise appeared well. The pain in the chest troubled him, and he did not go out. On Friday and Saturday the pain continued. He got little rest and suffered much; yet he had often before had such attacks, and his friends did not think him in danger. The opinion of eminent physicians, and his apparent enjoyment of the rest and recreation his new position afforded him, encouraged the hopes entertained by his friends of an improvement in his condition. On Saturday, the 31st, he appeared nervous, and would not allow his wife or his son William, his private Secretary, to be absent from his side for a moment. On Saturday night he remained with them in his study, and being unable to lie down he paced the room, evidently suffering great pain. All this, however, was a not uncommon state of affairs, and excited no alarm. About half-past four o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 1st of June, Mrs. Howe induced him to rise from the chair in which he had been sitting for a little while, and to try to sleep in his bed. He passed out of the study and entered his room. Before he reached the bedside he staggered, and would have fallen to the floor, but for his son, who caught him in his arms. Even yet his life was not thought to be in danger. His wife and son

remained by his side, and he conversed with them a little. He complained of intense pain. After a few minutes his voice became weaker. Ten minutes after he entered the room he was dead. He was quite conscious to the last, and from the few words he spoke before he died, it seemed that he believed the end was at hand.

The announcement of his death caused a profound feeling in the city, and it was referred to in most of the churches. The shipping in port, the public and many private buildings displayed flags at half-mast. Everything indicated a consciousness on the part of the people of the city that a great man had passed away. Indications of a still gentler nature were not wanting. On the morning following the Lieutenant-Governor's death, a Halifax merchant who had been a warm friend of the deceased was entering his place of business, when he saw a farmer or drover, one well known for "homespun without, and a warm heart within," sitting on a box outside near the door, his head leaning on his hand, his foot monotonously swinging to and fro, looking as if he had sat there for hours, and had no intention of getting up in a hurry. "Well, Stephen, what's the matter?" "Oh, nauthin'," was the dull response. "Is it Howe?" was the next question, and in a softer tone. The sound of the name unsealed the fountain. "Yes, it's Howe." The words came with a gulp, and then followed tears, dropping on the pavement large and fast. He did not weep alone. And in many a hamlet, in many a fishing village, in many a nook and corner of Nova Scotia, as the news went over the land, Joseph Howe had the same tribute of tears.\*

Mr. Howe was a many-sided man, and it is not easy to sum up his character in few words. Perhaps the most conspicuous things

about him were his genuine earnestness, his ardent love for Nova Scotia, and his largeness of heart. That he was sometimes earnest on the wrong side may be admitted; but he was no mere politician, and on more than one occasion in his public life he demonstrated himself to be the possessor of a high measure of statesmanship. Towards Responsible Government he bears the same relation in the history of Nova Scotia that Robert Baldwin bears in that of Upper Canada. His patriotism, and more especially his devotion to his own Province, are proved by every important act alike of his public and private life. As a natural orator it is no exaggeration to say that he has never had his peer among the public speakers of this Dominion. Those who remember his famous speech before the International Commercial Convention at Detroit, in 1865, are still accustomed to speak of it as one of the most wonderful orations ever called forth by such an occasion. Whatever he felt, he felt intensely, and whatever he did, he did with all his might. His language, when he was fairly in earnest, literally carried everything before it. In nothing was his greatness more signally displayed than in his power of bending others to his own will. "Men followed him against their own interests, against their own Church, against their own prejudices and convictions. Episcopals fought by his side against the Church of England; Baptists fought with him against the demands of the denomination; Roman Catholics stood by him when he assailed the pretensions of their Church." One who could exercise such magnetism as this, and who never seriously abused his power, is entitled to a verdict in his favour from posterity; and such a verdict, in so far as we are capable of pronouncing it, is hereby rendered on behalf of the Honourable Joseph Howe.

\* See the *Canadian Monthly*, *ubi supra*.

## THE HON. FRANCOIS GEORGE BABY,

*MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE.*

MR. BABY is descended from one of the oldest French families on this continent. Its first Canadian representative was Jacques Baby de Rainville, an officer in the celebrated regiment of Carignan-Sallières, who first settled in what is now the Province of Quebec more than two hundred years ago. Various descendants of the Seigneur de Rainville have figured conspicuously in our history, and some of them have rendered distinguished services to the State. At the present day the family name is creditably represented in every Province of the Dominion. The paternal grandfather of the subject of this sketch was the Hon. Francois Baby, an Executive and Legislative Councillor and Adjutant-General for the Province of Quebec. His father, the late Mr. Joseph Baby, was also a well-known Member of Parliament, who early in life married Miss Caroline Guy, a daughter of the late Hon. Louis Guy, King's Notary, and a Legislative Councillor for the old Province of Quebec. The present representative is one of the fruits of that marriage, and was born in the city of Montreal, on the 26th of August, 1834. After some time spent at St. Sulpice College, Montreal, where he diligently prosecuted his studies, Mr. Baby was sent to the College of Joliette, to finish his education. Here he soon made a name for himself as a student of good attainments, and succeeded in carrying off several of the higher prizes

in the various departments of learning. At the conclusion of his college career, he chose the profession which peculiarly suited the bent of his mind, and set himself vigorously to the study of the law. When twenty-three years of age he was called to the Bar of Lower Canada. In 1873 he was created a Queen's Counsel, an honour which attested the quality of his legal acquirements. For several years he was a clerk in the Civil Service of Canada, a position which provided him with the means of gathering a vast amount of information which has proved of incalculable value to him in later life. He has frequently been elected Mayor of the town of Joliette, is one of the founders of the Historical Society of Montreal, an associate of the Montreal Antiquarian and Numismatic Society, and an honorary member of *L'Institut Canadien de Quebec*. In July, 1873, he married Marie Hélène Adelaide Berthelet, daughter of the late Dr. Berthelet. His political career dates from 1867, when, at the general election of that year, he was a candidate for the House of Commons for Joliette county. He was defeated on that occasion, however, but at the general elections of 1872, he was returned to Parliament by acclamation for Joliette. He seconded the reply to the address at the second session of Parliament on the 27th October, 1873—that famous short session which opened on the 23rd of October and rose from its labours on the

7th of November. The address was rejected in the Lower House, but adopted as it stood in the Senate. The Macdonald administration resigned without allowing the question at issue to come to a vote. Mr. Mackenzie formed a new Government, and an appeal was made to the people in 1874. Mr. Baby was re-elected by his constituency, but was unseated on petition on the 28th of October. On the 10th of December he was again returned, and also at the last general election of the 17th of September, 1878. The Mackenzie Government on that occasion experienced defeat, and on the new Admin-

istration of Sir John A. Macdonald being formed, Mr. Baby was invited to take a portfolio. He complied with the request, and on the 26th of October he was sworn of the Canadian Privy Council, and appointed Minister of Inland Revenue. On going back to his county for re-election, in November, he was returned without opposition. In the same month he was entertained at a public banquet by the leading citizens of Joliette, on the occasion of his elevation to a seat in the Executive. He is a ready and effective debater, and an efficient departmental officer.





*J. M. Dawson*

## JOHN WILLIAM DAWSON, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., &c.,

*PRINCIPAL OF MCGILL COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.*

WE have other names in Canada of more or less eminence in the scientific world, but Principal Dawson is one of the very few living Canadian scientists who can justly claim a place in the front rank. As a naturalist, and more especially as a geologist, his reputation has long been established on two continents, and at the present day is as wide as civilization itself. The works embodying the results of his patient labours are in the hands of every scholar who pretends to keep abreast of the scientific thought of his time. They have done much to stimulate and sustain original inquiry, and have opened up new fields of thought in quarters which once were barren. They have made the author's name known to and respected by persons who know nothing of Canada beyond the fact that it is the abode of Professor Dawson. It is noteworthy, too, that Professor Dawson is one of the few scientific men of universally acknowledged eminence who find no necessary antagonism between the teachings of science and the teachings of the Bible. Since the death of Professor Agassiz, he is one of the most formidable opponents of the doctrine of evolution, as propounded by Darwin and Herbert Spencer. The great facts of geology, according to Professor Dawson, furnish no argument for the rejection by the scientific world of the Mosaic account of the Creation. The conflict between religion and science, of which we have heard so much during the

last few years, is, in the Professor's opinion, rather a conflict between opposing schools of thought, and is no necessary or legitimate result of conscientious scientific inquiry. The Bible, he tells us, has nothing to dread from the revelations of geology, but much to hope, in the way of elucidation of its meaning, and confirmation of its truth. That a scholar whose training has been exceptionally thorough and comprehensive, and whose natural powers of mind are confessedly of a very high order; whose original researches in his own particular department have been second to those of no investigator of his time; and whose purpose has always been to arrive at the truth: these facts afford sufficient proof that the doctrine of evolution is not, as many of its votaries claim for it, a demonstrable proposition. The Professor's arguments on this important question were first given to the world many years ago. They have been sharply criticised, but it may at least be said that they have not yet been demolished. They have since been repeatedly reiterated and enlarged upon, and have lost none of their force by repetition. It is a good sign when a man's mind continues to grow after he has passed middle life, and Professor Dawson's most recent works furnish abundant evidence that their author's mind has never been more keenly progressive than now.

His life has been one of remarkable diligence and mental activity. He is of

Scottish origin. His father, the late Mr. James Dawson, was a younger son of a Scottish farmer in comfortable circumstances, who emigrated to Nova Scotia during the early years of the present century, and embarked in business at the seaport town of Pictou. Here the subject of this sketch was born on the 13th of October, 1820. His father was a man of cultured mind, with a taste for scientific pursuits, and to this predilection the Professor is doubtless in some measure indebted for the direction given to his own studies. The latter received his primary education at the Grammar School and College of his native town. The latter institution enjoyed a deservedly high reputation throughout the Maritime Provinces, and was then under the direction of the late Principal McCulloch. The boy was father to the man, and was an indefatigable student of natural history. When he was only twelve years of age he began to make a collection of fossil plants of the coal period. From the College at Pictou he proceeded to the University of Edinburgh, where he devoted special attention to natural history and practical chemistry. After a winter's study he returned to his native Province, and devoted himself with ardour to geological research. He was the companion of Sir Charles Lyell during that eminent man's tour in Nova Scotia, in 1842, and followed up his researches by studies of the Carboniferous rocks of Nova Scotia, on which he contributed two important papers to the Geological Society of London. In the autumn of 1846 he returned to Edinburgh, and remained there until he had completed his University course. On returning he pursued his geological investigations with renewed energy. The results of these investigations were from time to time published in scientific periodicals, and attention soon began to be directed towards the author. He was requested by the authorities of Dalhousie College, Halifax, to deliver a course

of lectures on natural history in the Nova Scotian capital. His compliance was the means of establishing his reputation as a lecturer, and from that time forward he has been pretty constantly before the public in that capacity. Of his platform style, it has been said that "Language, with him, seems to wait upon thought; and no matter whether the occasion be trivial or important, the right word always appears to be ready to fill the right place."

In 1850 he was appointed by the Government of Nova Scotia to the then newly-created office of Superintendent of Education for that Province, an office which he held for over three years, during which he rendered valuable service to the Province at a time of special interest in the history of its schools and educational institutions. He also took an active part in the establishment of a Normal School in Nova Scotia, and in the regulation of the affairs of the University of New Brunswick, as a member of the commission appointed by Sir Edmund Head. In connection with these educational labours he published several elaborate Reports on the Schools of Nova Scotia, and a work on Agricultural Education entitled "Scientific Contributions toward the improvement of Agriculture," which went through two editions, and was of much practical utility. His special work in connection with the University and the Normal School took up much of the time which would otherwise have been devoted to his favourite pursuits.

In 1855 he was called to the position of Principal and Professor of Natural History in McGill College and University, which he has ever since retained. At the time of his appointment the affairs of the University were in a state of much confusion. Its Medical Faculty was the only one which could be said to be in a flourishing condition. The Faculties of Arts and of Law were in their infancy. There were,



however, a number of enterprising and influential men in Montreal, who, by their efforts and their wealth, nobly aided in raising the University to a position of assured usefulness. It has prospered under his management amazingly, and has long since outgrown the effect of the depressing influences under which it laboured at the time of his appointment. He from the first laboured to secure in the University that recognition of Science as an element of liberal culture which its own essential character and the needs of modern life demand. "His lucid and interesting lectures," says a contemporary writer, "as well as his personal popularity, have won for Natural History a place and an importance in McGill not usually accorded to it in University culture." A School of Civil Engineering was established in 1858, which, after a struggling existence of five years, succumbed to unfriendly legislation. This school was resuscitated and placed on a more comprehensive basis in 1871 as the Department of Practical and Applied Science. In this portion of his work Principal Dawson has taken deep interest, and it must be matter of great satisfaction to him to see that its increased efficiency attracts year by year an increasing number of students, and that its success is now fully assured. Those who are most intimately acquainted with the history of the University during the past twenty-five years feel most strongly the importance of the wise and arduous labours of Principal Dawson.

At the time of his appointment to the position of Principal of the University, one of the great drawbacks to its success was the want of efficient elementary and superior schools to prepare pupils for matriculation. In co-operation with the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Province of Quebec, and aided by the influence of Sir Edmund Head, then Governor-General, Dr. Dawson secured the establishment, in 1857,

of the McGill Normal School, a training school for Protestant teachers. In addition to his arduous and engrossing duties in the University, he assumed the position of Principal of this institution, and continued for thirteen years to preside over its work, and to lecture to its pupils. Though compelled to withdraw from his position in 1870, he has ever since maintained an active supervision of its affairs as Chairman of the Normal School Committee of the Corporation of the University.

During the last eight years, Dr. Dawson has been a valued member of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the city of Montreal. He is also a member of the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec, and took an active part in devising the measures adopted by that body several years since, with a view to securing an effective inspection of the schools of the Province. He is an M.A. of the University of Edinburgh, and an LL.D. of the University with which he is immediately connected. He is also a Fellow of the Geological Society of London (since 1854), and of the Royal Society (since 1862), and is a member of an exceptionally large number of learned societies, both at home and abroad.

Dr. Dawson is perhaps best known to the general public of this country through his success in the organization and management of educational institutions. His reputation abroad, however, rests mainly on his geological investigations and discoveries, more especially in relation to the Carboniferous and Post-pliocene formations, to fossil plants and the fossils of the Laurentian rocks. On these subjects he is the author of a number of memoirs in the proceedings of various learned societies, in scientific journals, and in official reports. He is also the author of a number of standard works, covering a large field of scientific elucidation, and more especially relating to the

earliest known fossil remains, and to the discovery and nature of the now celebrated *Eozoön Canadense*.

A review of his more important scientific labours proves how much may be done even in the midst of engrossing educational occupations, by a man of active mind, when his heart is in his work. In 1841 he contributed to the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh his first scientific paper, on the species of field-mice found in Nova Scotia. In 1843 he communicated a paper on the rocks of Eastern Nova Scotia to the Geological Society of London; and this was followed in 1844 by a paper on the newer coal formation. In 1845, besides exploring and reporting on the iron mines of Londonderry, Nova Scotia, he published a paper on the coal formation plants of that Province. During the winter of 1846-47, while studying in Edinburgh, he contributed to the Royal Society of that city papers on the "Formation of Gypsum," and on the "Boulder Formation," and an article to Jameson's *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, on the "Renewal of Forests destroyed by Fire." From 1847 to 1849 we find him pursuing his geological researches, and giving the results to the world in frequent papers. The most important of these are: "On the Triassic Red Sandstones of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island;" "On the Colouring Matters of Red Sandstones;" "On Eretic Calamites found near Pictou;" and "On the Metamorphic Rocks of Nova Scotia." He also published his "Handbook of the Geography and Natural History of Nova Scotia," and delivered courses of lectures on Natural History and Geology in the Pictou Academy, and in Dalhousie College, Halifax, and reported to the Nova Scotia Government on the coal-fields of Southern Cape Breton.

In 1852, in company with Sir Charles Lyell, he made a re-examination of the "Joggins" section, and visited the remarkable deposit of Albertite at Hillsborough,

New Brunswick. A memoir soon appeared on the former district, giving a full exposition of the structure and mode of formation of a coal-field. The Albert Mine was also made the subject of a paper. In the further study of the "Joggins" section, microscopic examinations were made of coal from all its beds, as well as of coal from other sources, the results being published in papers on the "Structures in Coal," and on the "Mode of Accumulation of Coal." It was during the visit to the "Joggins," just referred to, that the remains of *Dendroperpeton Acadianum* and *Pupa vetusta* were found. With the exception of *Baphetes planiceps*, which Dr. Dawson had discovered in the previous year at Pictou, but had not described, *Dendroperpeton Acadianum* was the first reptile found in the coal formation of America; and *Pupa vetusta* was the first known Palaeozoic land snail. These discoveries were followed by the finding and describing of several other reptiles, and of the first carboniferous millipede (*Xylobius sigillarius*). About this time, also, a second report on the Acadia Iron Mine was prepared, and an elaborate series of assays of coal made for the General Mining Association.

In 1855 he published the first edition of his "Acadian Geology," a complete account, up to that date, of the geology of the Maritime Provinces of British North America. In 1856, though trammelled by the arduous duties incumbent upon the Principal of a University, he still continued his geological work in his native Province, and prepared a description of the Silurian and Devonian rocks. During the same summer he visited Lake Superior, and wrote a paper and report on the copper-regions of Maimansee and Georgian Bay, in which he discussed the geological relations of the then little known copper-bearing rocks of the North Shore of Lake Superior, and the origin of the deposits of native copper. In the two

following years he made a number of contributions to the *Canadian Naturalist* and the *Journal of the Geological Society*, and commenced the study of the Post-pliocene deposits of Canada. In 1859 his "Archæia, or Studies of Creation in Genesis," appeared, a work showing not only a thorough knowledge of Natural History, but also considerable familiarity with the Hebrew language and with Biblical Literature. In 1860 he issued a supplementary chapter to his "Acadian Geology." He also continued his work in fossil botany and in the Post-pliocene, publishing several papers on these subjects, as well as desultory researches on such subjects as the "Flora of Mount Washington," "Indian Antiquities at Montreal," "Marine Animals of the St. Lawrence," "Earthquakes in Canada," "Classification of Animals," etc.

In 1863 he issued his "Air-Breathers of the Coal Period," a complete account of the fossil reptiles and other land animals of the coal of Nova Scotia. This publication was followed, in 1864, by a "Hand-book of Scientific Agriculture." It was in 1864, also, that Dr. Dawson made what may be considered as one of the most important of his scientific discoveries—that of *Eozoon Canadense*. This fossil had already been noticed by Sir William Logan, but Dr. Dawson, to whom Sir William submitted his specimens, was the first to recognize its Foraminiferal affinities, and to describe its structure. Previous to this time the rocks of the Laurentian age were looked upon as devoid of animal remains, and called "Azoic." Dr. Dawson now substituted the term "Eozoic." In 1865, at the meeting of the British Association at Birmingham, he gave illustrations of his researches on the "Succession of Palæozoic Floras," the "Post-pliocene of Canada," and the "Structure of Eozoon."

In 1868 appeared the second edition of "Acadian Geology," enlarged to nearly 700

octavo pages, with a great number of illustrations from the author's drawings. This still remains the standard work on the geology of the Maritime Provinces, while it also treats of many of the more difficult problems of geology generally.

While in England, in 1870, Dr. Dawson lectured at the Royal Institution. He also read a paper on the "Affinities of Coal Plants" before the Geological Society, and one on the "Devonian Flora" before the Royal Society. The same year his "Hand-book of Canadian Zoology" appeared, being followed in 1871 by a "Report on the Silurian and Devonian Flora of Canada," and a "Report on the Geological Structure of Prince Edward Island." His studies of the Devonian plants were begun as early as 1858, and Gaspé, St. John's, and Perry in Maine, were twice visited in order to collect material to aid in their prosecution.

His "Notes on the Post-pliocene of Canada" were published in 1873. From them we learn that the number of known species of Post-pliocene fossils had been raised, principally by his labours, from about thirty to over two hundred. We also find that Dr. Dawson is still what he has always been, a staunch opponent of the theory of general land glaciation. "The Story of the Earth and Man," issued in 1873, was a republication of papers published in the *Leisure Hour* in 1871 and 1872. It gives a popular view of the whole of the Geological ages, presented in a series of word-pictures, and with discussions of the theories as to the origin of mountains, the introduction and succession of life, the glacial period, and other controverted topics. A report on the "Fossil Flora of the Lower Carboniferous Coal Measures of Canada," and communications to the Geological Society of London, on the probable Permian age of beds overlying the coal-measures of Nova Scotia, and also occurring in Prince Edward Island; on recent facts as to the mode of occurrence of

Eozoon in the Laurentian rocks, and on the Phosphates in the Laurentian rocks, are still more recent labours. A course of six lectures delivered in New York in the winter of 1874-75 has been largely circulated both in America and England, under the title "Science and the Bible;" and in 1875 there also appeared in London and New York, a popular illustrated *résumé* of the facts relating to Eozoon and other ancient fossils, entitled "The Dawn of Life." At the Detroit meeting of the American Association, Prof. Dawson, as Vice-President of Section B, delivered an address in which he vigorously combated the doctrine of evolution as held by its more extreme supporters.

In 1877 appeared his "Origin of the World," which may be regarded as a modernized and in great part re-written edition of his former work "Archæia." A still more recent work, "Fossil Men," applies the history, manners and customs of the aborigines of America in illustration of the questions agitated respecting prehistoric man in Europe; and a popular work, intended to give a clear view of the actual succession of life as known to geologists, is to appear in London in the present year with the title "The Chain of Life."

Dr. Dawson married on the 19th of March, 1847, Miss Margaret A. Y. Mercer, of Edinburgh. They have five surviving children, the eldest of whom, Dr. George M. Dawson, has followed up his father's pursuits. He graduated as Associate of the Royal School of Mines, London in 1872, taking the highest distinction, as Edward Forbes Medallist, and after spending two years as geologist of the Boundary Commission, and preparing an elaborate Report on the Geology of the 49th Parallel, was appointed on the geological survey of Canada. Of this he is now one of the Assistant Directors, with special charge of the survey of British Columbia, on the geology and resources of which he has issued several reports, besides occasional papers in the *Journal of the Geological Society* and the *Canadian Naturalist*. He is a Fellow of the Geological Society, and has received the Degree of Doctor of Science from the University of Princeton. Professor Dawson's second son, Mr. W. B. Dawson, after graduating in honours at McGill, entered the celebrated Ecole des Parts et Chaux in Paris, and after studying for three years, had the honour of graduating at the head of his class. He is now in practice as a civil engineer.





Wm. Loomis

## THE HON. ADAM CROOKS.

THE present Minister of Education for Ontario was born at "The Homestead," in the Township of West Flamboro', in the County of Wentworth, on the 11th of December, 1827. His father, the Hon. James Crooks, was a well-known resident of this Province, who, during the greater part of his long and useful life, took a prominent part in public affairs, and enjoyed the highest confidence and respect. A few facts relating to the career of the late Mr. Crooks will form a suitable prologue to a more extended notice of the life of his son. The family is of Scottish origin, and has been connected with various branches of industry in Ayrshire ever since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The late Mr. Crooks was born at Kilmarnock, in 1778, and well remembered the publication, by an obscure printer of that town, of a little book which was destined to make the name of Kilmarnock more widely known than all its other manufactures, from the time of Robert Bruce downwards. This volume made its appearance in 1786, when James Crooks was only eight years old. Its title was "Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect," and its author was a thriftless young fellow named Robert Burns, upon whom the well-conducted folk of that neighbourhood were wont to look with no favourable eyes. Mr. Crooks and his parents emigrated from Scotland to Western Canada in 1794, when James was just emerging from boyhood.

He settled at Niagara, and embarked in the fur-trade and such other commercial enterprises as those times afforded. He established a grist mill, and purchased grain from the settlers in the district. Things prospered with him. He became a man of substance, and one of the leading merchants of the Niagara peninsula. He is reported to have despatched the first load of wheat and the first load of flour which ever found their way from Upper Canada to Montreal. Early in the present century he married a daughter of James Cummings, of Chippewa, a U. E. Loyalist, who had emigrated to Canada from Cherry Valley, in the State of New York, shortly before the massacre which has unjustly been attributed to Captain Joseph Brant. Upon the breaking out of the war of 1812 James Crooks promptly responded to his country's call, and took the command of a flank company of Lincoln militia, at the head of which he fought at Queenston Heights and elsewhere along the Niagara frontier. His company formed part of the reinforcement to General Brock which proceeded under General Sheaffe from Niagara to the scene of action on the news of the crossing of the enemy at Queenston. The enemy were completely defeated, and the American Generals, with officers and nine hundred men, surrendered to General Sheaffe, in whose despatch Captain James Crooks was named with other Militia officers as having "led their men into action

with great spirit." Soon after the cessation of hostilities he removed to West Flamboro', where he continued to reside down to the time of his death. He also took his share in the putting down of the rebellion of 1837-8. He was a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada and Canada respectively for more than a quarter of a century, and occupied that position at the time of his death. As a politician he was a man of moderate and consistent views, who disapproved public measures on their merits, and not from a partisan point of view. During his residence in West Flamboro' he established the first paper mill in this Province, and for many years the supply from this source, small as it must necessarily have been, was found quite equal to the demand. He had retired from business of every kind for some time before his death, which took place at his residence on the 2nd of March, 1860, when he was in the eighty-second year of his age. He left behind him a numerous family, of whom the fourth son, Adam, is the subject of this memoir.

After attending the public schools in the neighbourhood of his home, and afterwards at Hamilton, Adam Crooks, when in his twelfth year, entered as a student at Upper Canada College. He entered the preparatory school, and passed through the usual collegiate course with much credit, gaining the examination prize, and standing first in each form from the first to the seventh. He was highly commended by his tutors, alike for his diligence and for the quickness of his parts. When eighteen years of age he matriculated at King's College, now the University of Toronto, standing first in Classics. The institution was then under the control of the Church of England, and students were compelled to attend chapel and denominational lectures under Dr. Beaven, who was then the Theological Professor. Mr. Crooks had been brought up

as a Presbyterian, and a dispensation was granted which relieved him from the necessity of taking part in them. His whole University career was one of exceptional brilliancy. At the second year's examination he won the Wellington scholarship. In 1849 he passed the B.A. examination, taking the gold medal in Classics and the first silver medal in Metaphysics, for which latter branch no gold medal was awarded in those days. His close application to his studies had affected his health, and, although all his examinations had been passed, he did not present himself for, and did not actually receive his bachelor's degree until 1850. When the change effected by Mr. Baldwin's Act came into operation: that is to say, when the University became a Provincial, instead of a sectarian institution: Mr. Crooks, by virtue of his degree of B.C.L., became a member of the convocation, and was elected Pro-Vice-Chancellor. He had studied law concurrently with his course at the University, and he was called to the Bar of Upper Canada during Trinity Term, 1851, before he had completed his twenty-fourth year. He opened an office in Toronto, where his abilities and connexions soon won for him an excellent practice and a prominent position at the Equity Bar. The degree of M.A. was conferred upon him by the University in 1852. On the 4th of December, 1856, he married Emily, youngest daughter of the late General Thomas Evans, C.B., of Montreal, a distinguished officer who fought at Lundy's Lane and elsewhere in this Province during the war of 1812. This lady died at Toronto on the 5th of November, 1868. In 1863 Mr. Crooks obtained the degree of LL.B. His interest in his *alma mater* has by no means been confined to the period of his actual attendance there as a student. He was one of the founders of the Literary and Scientific Society, and was elected its first President. In 1864 he was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University,



and by means of four successive biennial elections continued to occupy that position until his resignation in 1872.

Mr. Crooks's professional career has been as brilliant as might have been anticipated from his successes at college and at the University. At the outset he devoted his attention both to the Common Law and Equity branches of jurisprudence, but he found the latter more congenial as well as more remunerative, and for many years past his practice has been almost wholly confined to Equity. His clients have been chiefly drawn from the wealthier classes and corporations, and he has been engaged in many of the most important suits which have ever come before the Court of Chancery and the Court of Appeal in this Province. In 1863 he was created a Queen's Counsel. During the years 1864 and 1865 he spent much of his time in England in connection with the appeal to the Privy Council there, arising out of the case of *The Commercial Bank vs. The Great Western Railway Company*. The points involved in this important suit, involving a million of dollars, are too abstruse to possess much interest for the general public. It will be sufficient to say that after long and elaborate arguments Mr. Crooks's contention was fully sustained, and he was successful in obtaining for his clients—the Commercial Bank—security for the full amount claimed.

For some years Mr. Crooks was one of the Examiners to the Law Society of Ontario, and was also Lecturer on Commercial Law and Equity. He had been appointed a Benchet of the Society, and had periodically acted in that capacity for many years, but, owing to certain ill-advised proceedings of the College of Benchers he resigned. The constitution of the College at that time permitted it to elect its own members, without reference to the legal profession generally. It was wont to exercise its rights somewhat capriciously, and not always with due regard

to the merits of candidates. Mr. Crooks's resignation was due to the rejection by the College of one of the most eminent professional men in the country, a personal friend of his own, and a gentleman well fitted for the highest honours in the power of the Society to bestow. Several other gentlemen whose position at the Bar was manifestly inferior to that of the rejected candidate were at the same time elected by the College. Mr. Crooks promptly signified his disapprobation of this proceeding by tendering his resignation. As will hereafter be seen, an Act, which is largely due to Mr. Crooks himself, has since been passed, whereby the constitution of the Society has been remodelled, and Benchers are now elected by the profession at large. The first election under the new order of things took place in 1871, when Mr. Crooks and the candidate who had previously been rejected were both elected by a large majority of votes. It may be noted that Mr. Crooks is now also a Benchet *ex officio*, from his having been Attorney-General of Ontario.

Mr. Crooks belongs to the Liberal side in politics. In the sketch of the life of the Hon. Edward Blake, we have seen that after the establishment of Confederation the Reform Party, by reason of the defection of some of its members, stood in need of reorganization and reinforcement. In the summer of 1867 the leading members of that party made overtures to Mr. Crooks to enter Parliament. In response to these overtures, and after due consideration, he allowed himself to be nominated as the Reform candidate for the West Riding of Toronto, in the Legislative Assembly, in opposition to the late Mr. John Wallis. His candidature on this occasion was unsuccessful, but four years later, in 1871, he again entered the field in the same Riding, and against the same candidate. Public opinion had meanwhile undergone a change, and he was returned by a large majority. Upon the meeting of

the House in December, the result of the debate was the downfall of the Ministry, and upon the formation of the new Cabinet, under Mr. Edward Blake, Mr. Crooks became Attorney-General. Upon returning to his constituents for reelection he was returned against Mr. Harman, the Opposition candidate. During the whole of the following session he retained the Attorney-Generalship. While holding that position he introduced and successfully carried through a measure which enables a subject to sue and obtain redress against the Crown in the same manner as against a private subject. A brief reference to several of the other important Acts for which he is responsible, will not be out of place here. The Act respecting Liens affords additional security for unpaid wages to mechanics employed in building operations; and a subsequent amendment makes the claims of such mechanics preferential, when the value of the property has been enhanced by the work done. The Act to extend the legal capacity of married women enables the latter to hold their individual property in their own right, and free from the control of their husbands. The Act respecting debts and choses in action makes such assets assignable at Law, as they previously were in Equity. Upon the reconstruction of the Cabinet under Mr. Mowat, in October, 1872, Mr. Crooks accepted the office of Provincial Treasurer, to which was added in 1876 that of Minister of Education. In the session of 1873 he introduced the University Amendment Act, whereby great changes were effected in the constitution of the Senate of the University of Toronto, and a share in the government of the establishment was conferred upon the graduates.

At the general election of 1875 he was an unsuccessful candidate for East Toronto, in opposition to the Hon. Matthew Crooks Cameron. He was soon after elected for South Oxford, the member-elect. Mr. Adam

Oliver, having been unseated on petition, and a new writ having been issued. He ceased to be Provincial Treasurer in 1877, surrendering that position to the Hon. S. C. Wood, the present incumbent, and has since found ample employment for his energies as Minister of Education. The duties in connection with that important department have for some years past been steadily increasing. Besides the large interests involved in the administration of the Public and High School system of the Province, the Minister of Education is responsible for all those duties which the Government has to discharge in relation to the Provincial University, comprising the University of Toronto and University College; also Upper Canada College, the various Mechanics' Institutes throughout the Province, the School of Art and Design, and the School of Practical Science. The reforms set on foot during his tenure of office have been many and important, and there is good ground for hoping that the Educational Department of Ontario, under his management, will not only meet the requirements of the Province, but ensure general satisfaction. He has not escaped criticism, but he has nevertheless pursued his course of reform with energy and consistency. His increasing reputation and influence as a public man afford the best reply to those who have disapproved of his policy.

The success achieved by the Canadian educational exhibit at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876, and at the Paris Exposition of 1878, is something of which we, as Canadians, may justly feel proud, and to Mr. Crooks, as actual head of the Education Department, the result must have been a matter peculiarly gratifying. It is undeniable that to the excellent system inaugurated by him, and to the care, prudence and good management of himself and his coadjutors, the result was largely due. At Paris the Education Department of Ontario

exhibited in five different classes, and received an award in each class. It received, in short, a greater number of awards than Great Britain and all her other colonies put together. In addition to these, decorations of the Order of the Palm Leaf were conferred upon the Honourable Adam Crooks, the Reverend Dr. Ryerson, and Dr. Hodgins, as officers of Public Instruction; and upon Dr. May, as an officer of the Academy. Academic honours were not conferred on representatives of England or her other Colonies, and only two of these decorations were given to the United States. The Department may feel justly proud of the decorations, which are only conferred after a minute examination of those who have rendered real services to science, literature and fine arts, and are worn by the most illustrious members of the Institute of France. In the same manner as the Emperor Napoleon I. replaced the ancient order of St. Louis by the Cross of the Legion of Honour, he also replaced the ancient order of St. Michael by that of the Palm Leaves.

The decorations were bestowed upon the above named gentlemen for actual benefit derived by the French from the excellence of the school system of Ontario. The city of Paris is now founding a Museum on the same plan, and in imitation of the Museum of the Education Department of Ontario at Toronto.

To Mr. Crooks belongs the distinction of being the first Canadian who was ever elected a Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute, and of reading the first paper on a Canadian subject ever read before that body. This paper was read at a meeting of the Society held on the 31st of May, 1869, and was entitled: "On the Characteristics of the Canadian Community." It was regarded by the Society as a most important contribution, and was printed for general circulation.

Mr. Crooks is a member, *ex officio*, of the Association of Agriculture and Arts, and of the Senate of the University; and also an honorary member of the Ontario Society of Artists.

## TECUMSEH.

MOST writers on the early history of the Western Continent have exercised their ingenuity in finding parallels between the singular mythologies of the aboriginal tribes of America and those of the Egyptians, the Tartars, the Israelites, and other Eastern nations of antiquity. That such parallels are to be found—nay, that they are numerous—is not to be denied; and the many ingenious hypotheses which have been advanced as to a common origin are less fanciful than are some other historical parallels of more modern date. In the customs and traditions of the Aztecs there were many features of resemblance to those of the Children of Israel, and the analogy is sometimes wonderfully exact. The Toltecs also seem to have had certain usages marvelously akin to those of the Egyptians. Some of the rites of the ancient Ghebers were perpetuated in Peru at the time of Pizarro's invasion in the sixteenth century. Looking farther north, we find that the Narragansetts and Mohegans had their legends about a far-away time when their ancestors dwelt in a distant country beyond the salt water, and where the Great Spirit used to commune with their sachems on the top of a high mountain which belched forth fire and smoke. The Shawnees, with whom this sketch is more immediately concerned, cherished a tradition that their forefathers once dwelt in a foreign land where they were subjected to cruel persecutions at the hands

of a more powerful tribe; that their forefathers assembled their people together and marched to the seashore with a view to abandoning the country; that upon their arrival at the shore the water parted, leaving the bed of the ocean dry; that they passed westward along the bottom of the sea until they reached the land known to us by the name of America; and that immediately upon the completion of their journey the waters came together again. Indeed there was scarcely a tribe but had its legendary lore, an examination of which opens a wide and fruitful field of inquiry for those who are enthusiastic about such matters. Such inquiry, however, has its limits, and must perforce be unsatisfactory to those unlearned in mythic lore. The pursuits of the nineteenth century are too busy and practical to admit of general readers paying much attention to mythic history. For most of us, authentic history suffices; and those who carefully peruse the authentic histories of the struggle of the American red men with the pale-faces will be able to understand the feelings of that unhappy clergyman who, when reading the Old Testament account of the battles of the Israelites with their less favoured adversaries, was shocked to find that his sympathies invariably went with the Philistines. The poor Indian, like the Philistine, had to struggle with an invincible foe; with a foe whose invincibility was not entirely due to his

own innate merits. Struggle as valiantly as he would, the fate of the red man, like that of the Philistine, was a foregone conclusion. The fiat had gone forth, and the most that he could do was to expend his valour and his life in a hopeless cause.

The Shawnees, of whom mention has been made, were from time immemorial an active, a warlike and a wandering race. Almost every habitable part of North America has at one time or another been their temporary place of abode. There is authority for believing that they were represented beneath the spreading branches of the celebrated Kensington elm, a few miles above the present site of Philadelphia, when that memorable treaty between William Penn and the Indians was made in the year 1682; that treaty which, as Voltaire said, was the first treaty made between Pagans and Christians which was not ratified by an oath, and which was also the first that was never broken. Inhabiteness would seem to have been but slenderly developed in the Shawnee organization. They never remained long in any one place, and when any pretext could be found for quarrelling with their neighbours they were ever ready to avail themselves of it. Notwithstanding these facts—perhaps in consequence of them—no aboriginal race has produced so many men famous in history. Eminent among these stand the names of Blue Jacket, Cornstalk, and Logan. Towering far above all predecessors and competitors stands the subject of this sketch, whose name, according to strict Indian orthography, was Tecumtha, but who is much better known to English-speaking people by the name of Tecumseh.

The exact time and place of birth, as well as the parentage of Tecumseh, are involved in some obscurity. The precise date of his birth cannot now be ascertained. The most that can be said with certainty is that he was born sometime in 1768 or within three years afterwards—the date generally as-

signed being 1771—in the Miami Valley, not far from Springfield, Ohio, and within the limits of Clark County. He was one of seven children, two of which were brought into the world contemporaneously with himself. Even the significance of his name is a matter as to which there is a diversity of authority. "Tecumseh" is variously translated "The Shooting Star," "The Flying Tiger," and "The Wild-Cat Springing Upon His Prey." The first translation is the one most commonly accepted, and is probably the correct one. It is claimed by some that his paternal grandfather was a white man, and that his mother was a squaw belonging to one of the southern tribes, who had become domesticated with the Shawnees. Others represent him as being a full-blood Shawnee. All that can be definitely ascertained about his parentage is that his father was a Shawnee chief called Pickeshinwa, who was killed in battle when Tecumseh was a mere child; and that his mother was an Indian woman named Methoataske. Of the two brothers who were born at the same time, one, Kumskaukan, did nothing to distinguish himself. The other, Elskwatawa the Prophet, was destined to exert an extraordinary influence over the varying fortunes of his tribe, and to acquire a notoriety second only to that of Tecumseh himself.

Tecumseh went out on his first war-path at a very tender age, and took part in a battle between the Shawnees and a party of Kentuckians, on the banks of the Mad River, near the site where Dayton now stands. In our sketch of the life of Brant we have seen that that great warrior was so terrified at the first battle in which he took part that he was compelled to seize hold of a sapling to preserve himself from falling down in sheer terror. Tecumseh's first passage of arms was equally trying to his nerves. It is said, and we believe with truth, that he wheeled about and ran at the first fire of the enemy. As in the case of

Brant, however, it was only the first step that was difficult. The number of battles and skirmishes in which Tecumseh subsequently took part may be numbered by hundreds. And from that day when he fled in childish fear from the banks of the Mad River, to that disastrous fifth of October when he fell, covered with glory and wounds, at the battle of the Thames, no enemy ever saw his back.

Not long after the skirmish at Mad River he began to devote himself with great assiduity to the chase, and soon became known throughout the hunting-grounds of the west as a marksman of uncommon skill. On one occasion a number of young Shawnee hunters proposed to him a three-days' hunting expedition for a wager. Tecumseh readily accepted the proposal, and the contestants all took to the woods in different directions. At sunset of the third day they returned to their headquarters almost simultaneously. One of them exhibited twelve deerskins as the result of his expedition. None of the others—save one—could produce more than ten. Tecumseh quietly unfolded thirty-three; and from that time his supremacy as the greatest hunter of his tribe was universally admitted. But graver pursuits soon claimed his attention, and in conjunction with his brother Elskwatawa he gradually began to mature the scheme with which both their names are inseparably identified. It is not our purpose to follow him through the numerous marauding expeditions and petty campaigns in which he figured in his youthful days. We may mention however, that he took part in the battle between the combined Indian forces and the Americans under General Wayne, on the 24th of August, 1794; and that in the summer of the following year he began to style himself a chief, and to organize a party on his own account. But the series of events which have transmitted his name to posterity may be said to have commenced

about the year 1805, when he first began to devote himself to what he doubtless regarded as his "mission."

This mission, as most readers are aware, had for its object the uniting of the various Indian tribes into one grand confederacy for the purpose of resisting the steady encroachments of the whites. The inception of the scheme did not originate with Tecumseh. Pontiac, the great Ottawa sachem, had conceived a similar design more than forty years before, which design had been frustrated by the battle of Bloody Run and by the subsequent vigilance of General Bradstreet. The scheme of Tecumseh and his brother, however, was much more comprehensive in its details; and though its success was of course utterly out of the question, it furnished for some years a formidable problem for the solution of the Government of the United States. Its details comprehended, first, the recovery of the entire valley of the Mississippi; second an advance eastward, and the subjugation of the white races settled on this continent; and third, the utter extermination of the latter by driving them into the Atlantic.

To bring about a general confederation of the western tribes was, as both Tecumseh and his brother well knew, a task of extreme difficulty. The concurrence of those tribes in so gigantic a scheme was not to be secured by arguments addressed simply to their reason. The most effective and certain method of gaining their coöperation was evidently to appeal to the highly-developed superstitious element within them; and this course it was determined to adopt. Tecumseh himself was of a vigorous constitution, capable of enduring great hardships. He was enthusiastic, ambitious, eloquent, and of great mental and physical activity. These qualifications admirably fitted him for the part which he now undertook to play. Upon him devolved the task of going about from place to place for the purpose of arous-

ing in the hearts of the chiefs of the scattered tribes an enthusiasm in some measure corresponding with that which fired his own. To this occupation he imparted all the indomitable energy for which, whether in the council or the field, he was always so eminently distinguished. He seemed almost to be endowed with the power of ubiquity, and by the rapidity of his movements seemed to annihilate time and space. One day he would be found in conference with the Wyandots. In an inconceivably short space of time thereafter his eloquence would be heard at the camp-fires of the Pottawatomies. He was familiar with the contents of the various treaties which from time to time had been made between the whites and the tribes of the northwest; and one of his primary objects was to prove to those whom he hoped to convert into his allies that these treaties, one and all, had been procured by fraudulent representations on the part of the whites, and assented to by native chiefs who had never been properly authorized to do so on behalf of all the tribes. There was doubtless a considerable substratum of truth in these assertions; and the aggressions of the whites, if justifiable at all, can only be justified on the ground of utility. Wherever he went, he reviewed these various treaties with all the unsparing bitterness and scorn which, in enthusiastic natures like his, are the result of honest and inborn convictions; and he never ceased to enlarge upon the marvellous mission which had been entrusted to his brother Elskwatawa, the Prophet, of whom it is now time to give some account.

We have seen that Elskwatawa was born contemporaneously with his more celebrated brother. In his childhood and early youth he did nothing to distinguish him from other youths of his tribe, and had it not been for the vaulting ambition of Tecumseh he would probably have gone down to his grave unhonoured and unsung. He is said

to have been so timid by nature as to have brought upon himself the imputation of positive cowardice; and it is certain that before he reached maturity he had seriously impaired his constitution by continued indulgence in the cup that cheers—and likewise inebriates. Contrary to what more than one American writer has said of him, however, he possessed mental endowments of a high order, with a ready wit, and a command of language that occasionally rose to eloquence. He seems to have been ambitious, in a listless, indolent sort of way; but his ambition was not supported by the fire and earnestness which characterized his brother. He was, moreover, cruel, relentless in his revenge, and utterly unscrupulous. A more shameless and abandoned liar does not figure even in the history of Indian warfare. His countenance and demeanour were singularly unprepossessing, and the loss of his right eye by an accident from an arrow in the early years of his life did not tend to beautify an expression of face which no art or disguise could have rendered other than diabolical. He had, withal, an innate love for whatever smacks of the marvellous, and was much given to tricks of legerdmain and sleight of hand. Notwithstanding his unpromising exterior, and the various other disadvantages under which he laboured, he was cunning and plausible enough to impress all with whom he came in contact with the idea that he possessed extraordinary powers of mind; and it is said that he seldom came out of any discussion without having risen in the estimation of others who had taken part in it.

In a character so peculiarly constituted as was that of Elskwatawa, Tecumseh discerned a powerful engine wherewith to work upon the superstitious credulity and untutored minds of the western barbarians. Accordingly, early in the year 1805, the "Open Door" (the English equivalent of "Elskwatawa") began to be a dreamer of

strange dreams, and a seer of uncanny visions. The first exhibition of his occult powers was given under the following circumstances: One day, while engaged in quietly lighting his pipe, his one eye suddenly became transfixed, and in another moment he fell down upon the ground. The medicine man of the tribe was called, who, after examining him carefully, pronounced him dead. It would have been as well for western mankind if the leech's opinion had been borne out by fact. Just when his friends were about to remove him for burial, however, his stiffened muscles relaxed, and he rose to his feet. He then told a long and ingenious story about how he had been in the Land of the Blessed, and had had a personal conference with the Master of Life, who had delegated him to expound the true faith to the benighted Indians of the West. The true faith, as then expounded by the Prophet, was right and reasonable enough, and was such as no Christian minister could have found fault with. It simply inculcated sobriety, truthfulness, and honest dealing; and threatened grave penalties in case these injunctions should be disobeyed. Having got in the thin end of the wedge, however, the Prophet began to give more rein to his imagination. He began to see constant visions, and to hold almost daily intercourse with the Master of Life, whose budget of reform ere long assumed portentous dimensions. The Indians were enjoined to relinquish all the customs which they had learned from the pale-faces. They were to refrain from eating swine's flesh, beef, and mutton; the deer and the buffalo having been provided expressly for their food. They were to eat no more wheaten bread, but bread made from maize. They were not to wear linen or woollen garments, but were to clothe themselves with the skins and furs of animals, after the fashion of their ancestors. They were to abstain wholly from the pernicious fire-water of the pale-faces. They

were to unite for the rescue of the Western land from the power of the white men, who had cheated them out of it, and had caused them to forsake in a great measure the habits to which their forefathers had been accustomed. Above all things they were to hold no further communion with the pale-faces, and were to take no part in the religion, arts, or appliances of the latter, all of which were unsavoury to the nostrils of the Master of Life. In the event of all these precepts being strictly adhered to, he promised that the Indians should soon be the only inhabitants left on this continent, and that they should be restored to the comforts and happiness which they had enjoyed before they had become debased by contact with the intruders upon their rightful domain.

Such being the most noteworthy features of the new gospel according to Elskwatawa, what wonder if he succeeded in imposing upon the credulity of the untutored barbarians to whom it was expounded; more especially when his pretensions were backed by the great influence and unflagging zeal of his brother Tecumseh, in whose brain the scheme of imposture probably originated! From this time forward Elskwatawa devoted himself exclusively to the prophetic calling. His own intemperate habits were abandoned at once and forever, and by his constant diatribes against drunkenness he actually succeeded for a time in restraining that vice among his disciples. All the people of his tribe, except two or three chiefs who quietly held their tongues, had implicit faith in his visions; and the consequence of that faith soon began to be startlingly apparent. The white settlers in the West gradually became aware of the danger by which they were menaced, and began to emigrate eastward. Meanwhile Tecumseh was scouring the country from north to south and from east to west, haranguing the tribes to bestir themselves in the common cause. The Indians began to move



hither and thither in considerable numbers, and it was evident that mischief was brewing. It will be understood that the most important features of the intrigues of Tecumseh and the Prophet had not yet been fully made known, even to the Indians themselves; but by the spring of the year 1806 a sufficient inkling of their plans had got bruited abroad to create terror among the whites. About this time William Henry Harrison, who was then Governor of Indiana Territory, and who subsequently became President of the United States, deemed it advisable to interfere. He despatched a message to the leading Shawnee chiefs, warning them that the course they were pursuing would bring calamity upon them. The following extract from his letter will give an idea of its general tenor:

"Who is this pretended prophet who dares to speak in the name of the Great Creator? Examine him. Is he more wise or virtuous than yourselves, that he should be selected to convey to you the orders of your God? Demand of him some proofs, at least, of his being the messenger of the Deity. If God has really employed him He has doubtless authorized him to perform miracles that he may be known and received as a prophet. Ask of him to cause the sun to stand still, the moon to alter its course, the rivers to cease to flow, or the dead to rise from their graves. If he does these things you may then believe that he has been sent from God. . . . Clear your eyes, I beseech you, from the mist which surrounds them. No longer be imposed upon by the arts of an impostor. Drive him from your town, and let peace and harmony once more prevail among you."

No answer seems to have been vouchsafed to this missive. Meanwhile the Prophet continued to dream wonderful dreams, and to be made the medium of many supernatural communications from the Master of Life to the Indian tribes. During the sum-

mer of the year 1806 there was an eclipse of the sun. The Prophet contrived to obtain a knowledge of this beforehand, and announced that on that day he would spread darkness over the face of the earth.

"O, what authority and show of truth,  
Can cunning sin cover itself withal."

The day arrived, and the sun was eclipsed at mid-day. Even those who had been disposed to be sceptical were convinced by this occurrence, and the fame of the Prophet waxed greater and greater. The activity among the Indians continued unabated, and the air was electric with rumours of impending massacres. Tecumseh continued to carry on his crusade, and in April, 1807, assembled a great body of his adherents at Greenville. Red messengers ran hither and thither with pipes and belts of wampum, and it was evident that the plot was approaching its *dénouement*. Governor Harrison accordingly sent another message to the chiefs, denouncing the Prophet in still stronger terms than before, and enjoining them to disperse. To this message a conciliatory reply was dictated by the Prophet himself, and forwarded to Governor Harrison. All intention of creating a disturbance was distinctly repudiated, and it was claimed that the Indians had merely assembled together to hear the words of the Great Spirit.

In the spring of 1808 Tecumseh and the Prophet removed to a tract of land on the Tippecanoe River. Not long afterwards the Prophet personally visited the Governor at Vincennes, and so emphatically disclaimed any views hostile to the whites that he succeeded in convincing the Governor that his suspicions had been unfounded. In the latter part of April, 1810, however, it became known beyond doubt that the Prophet was instigating the tribes to acts of open hostility against the United States, and that the frontiers were no longer safe as places of

residence for the whites. After repeated messages to and fro, Tecumseh finally visited Governor Harrison at Vincennes, accompanied by four hundred armed warriors. A stormy conference, extending over several days, was the result. Tecumseh insisted on certain concessions being made—concessions for which he had always contended, and which involved the relinquishment by the United States of all claims to the territory claimed by Tecumseh on behalf of the Indians. The Governor finally promised to submit the matter to the judgment of the President at Washington. "Well," replied Tecumseh, "as the Great Chief is to determine this matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to give up this land. It is true he is so far off that he will not be injured by the war; he may sit still and drink his wine, whilst you and I will have to fight it out." At the Governor's request Tecumseh promised that in case of open war breaking out between his people and the United States, he would do his utmost to prevent the massacring of women, children and prisoners; and this promise he faithfully kept.

Further conferences followed in the course of the same year, but all to no purpose, as neither side would concede much to the claims of the other. The battle, so long delayed, took place at last at Tippecanoe, on the 7th of November, 1811. The victory was on the side of the United States, who, however, lost more men in the battle than did the Indians. It is to be remarked that this battle was brought about by the Prophet without Tecumseh's knowledge or consent, and that at the time when it took place the latter was far away from the scene of action. He was in the South, stirring up disaffection among the tribes there, and his scheme was not sufficiently matured to justify him in hazarding a battle. When intelligence of the defeat came to his ears he was greatly cast down, and for a time al-

most yielded to despair. His hopes soon revived, however, and from that moment he became a firm ally of Great Britain. It may further be remarked that with the battle of Tippecanoe the influence of the Prophet received its death-blow. He had confidently promised success to the Indian arms. He had assured the warriors that the Great Spirit would paralyze the American soldiery, whose bullets would fall harmless at the feet of their foes, and that the Indians would have the advantage of the light of the sun, while the Americans would grope in thick darkness. He experienced the fate of all pretenders who "protest too much." His sacred character was gone forever, and the part subsequently played by him in history was insignificant.

Then followed the war of 1812, between Great Britain and the United States. Tecumseh, having cast in his lot with the former, proved a potent ally, and played the part previously enacted by Brant in the war of the Revolution. It is not to be supposed, however, that Tecumseh cooperated with us on account of any special love which he bore us. He chose us as the least of two evils, and assisted us in fighting his old enemies merely because he hated the latter with all the venom which long and bitter feuds had engendered within his breast. He did us good service, and died bravely fighting for our cause. Such being the case, he has deserved well at our hands; but those enthusiastic hero-worshippers who have so persistently held him up to our admiration as the warm and affectionate friend of British ascendancy on this continent know little of the man and his motives. The simple truth is that Tecumseh would cheerfully have tomahawked every white man in America with his own hand had any opportunity of doing so been afforded him. It would be most unjust, however, were we either to blame him for feeling as he undoubtedly did feel, or to undervalue

the great services which he rendered us. Any true Indian, trained in the school in which Tecumseh was trained, and believing as he believed, would have been either a fool or a mean-spirited craven if he had felt otherwise. As for his zeal in our cause, it deserves a fitting tribute; and the fact that no monumental stone has been erected to mark the spot where he fell, is a standing reproach upon our national character; a reproach, however, which we hope to see removed.

It is neither necessary nor desirable that we should chronicle every event of his career from the time when he enlisted in our service. A very brief outline of the events intervening between the outbreak of hostilities and the battle of the Thames will suffice. On the 18th of June, 1812, the American Congress declared war against Great Britain, and in the following month of July, General Hull passed over the Detroit River into Canada. Tecumseh was then at Malden, on the eastern side of the river, together with a handful of his warriors. At Brownstown, on the opposite side, were a number of Indians resolved upon standing aloof from the conflict altogether. These latter sent a deputation to the great Shawnee, inviting him to join them. His reply was terse, emphatic, and to the point. "No," said he, indignantly, "I have taken sides with my father the King, and my bones shall bleach upon this shore before I will re-cross that stream to join in any council of neutrality." A few days afterwards he and his followers assisted the British in frightening Hull back into Michigan. Upon the surrender of Detroit, on the 16th of August, General Brock requested Tecumseh, who was in command of the Indians, not to permit his men to injure the prisoners. "No," was the reply; "I despise them too much to meddle with them."

Before crossing the Detroit river, General Brock, who was not familiar with the coun-

try thereabouts, asked Tecumseh to give him some account of it. Tecumseh knew the whole of the country much better than he knew his alphabet. He took a piece of elm bark, stretched it out upon the ground, and with the point of his scalping-knife rapidly traced upon the bark a rough but accurate plan, showing the whole face of the surrounding country. Brock was much pleased at this unexpected display of skill on the part of his brave ally, and forthwith divested himself of his crimson sash, which he placed with his own hands around Tecumseh's spare and athletic frame. Next day, seeing the warrior walking about without this adornment, the General asked for an explanation. Tecumseh replied that he had transferred the sash to one more deserving to wear it, and that he had himself placed it around the waist of Roundhead, a valiant chief of the Wyandots. General Brock approved of the transfer, and commended Tecumseh for his magnanimity. The General's estimate of Tecumseh's character was very high, in proof of which he has left the following record: "A more sagacious and gallant warrior does not, I believe, exist. He is the admiration of every one who converses with him. From a life of dissipation he has not only become in every respect abstemious, but he has likewise prevailed on all his native, and many of the other tribes, to follow his example." General Brock had been misinformed about Tecumseh's dissipation. There is no evidence that he was ever intoxicated in his life, except once, and that was when he was a very young man, before he had begun to devote himself to his great project. The General had probably confused Tecumseh with his brother, the Prophet, who before he commenced his prophetic career was more often drunk than sober.

Passing over the siege of Fort Meigs in the following year, where Tecumseh bore himself with his customary intrepidity, and

where by his firmness and vigilance he prevented a massacre of prisoners by the Indians, we come to the closing scenes of the life of this enterprising and dauntless warrior. General Proctor, who was in command of the British fortress at Malden, purposely concealed from Tecumseh the fact of Perry's victory on Lake Erie, which victory encouraged Harrison to invade Canada. The reason assigned by Proctor for this concealment was his fear lest the Indians might withdraw their support. The suspicion was worthy of Proctor, but did great injustice to Tecumseh, who had little in common with the proverbial rat that deserts the sinking ship. Of this man, Proctor, it is difficult for a British subject to write with a cool hand. A more arrant coward and poltroon never, it is to be hoped, wore the uniform of a British officer. Tecumseh had seen enough of Proctor's generalship to satisfy him that that officer was incompetent, and a coward to boot. He moreover detected Proctor in numerous falsehoods, and reasonably enough came to the conclusion that he was not to be trusted. He continued to fight under his wing, but there were several occasions when the impetuous Indian could not restrain his contempt. When he saw that Proctor was preparing for a retreat from Malden, he asked for an explanation. Proctor replied that he was merely about to send their valuable property up the Thames for safety. Tecumseh was not to be deceived by such a shallow representation, and could no longer refrain from speaking his mind. It was then that he made his celebrated speech, the authenticity of which is beyond question, for Proctor had it translated and exhibited to his officers for the purpose of showing up Tecumseh's insolence. The translation was found stowed away among Proctor's baggage, after his inglorious retreat from the battle of the Thames. It has been often quoted, but a part of it will bear quoting again :

*"Father, listen ! Our fleet has gone out ; we know they have fought ; we have heard the great guns ; but we know nothing of what has happened to our father with the one arm (Captain Barelay). Our ships have gone one way, and we are much astonished to see our father tying up everything and preparing to run the other way, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here to take care of the lands. You always told us you would never draw your foot off British ground ; but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father do so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat dog that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted it drops it between its legs and runs off. The Americans have not yet defeated us by land, neither are we sure that they have done so by water. We therefore wish to remain here and fight our enemy should he make his appearance. If they defeat us, then we will retreat with our father. . . . You have got the arms and ammunition which our great father, the King, sent for his children. If you have an idea of going away, give them to us, and you may go and welcome for us. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our lands, and if it be His will, we wish to leave our bones upon them."*

Proctor, however, was not to be deterred. He commenced his retreat northward and along the Thames ; General Harrison, who had crossed over into Canada, following rapidly in pursuit. On the 4th of October the latter came up with the rear guard of the British, and captured the stores and ammunition, together with about a hundred prisoners. It was evident that a conflict could no longer be delayed, and on the 5th Proctor very reluctantly took up his position at Moravian village, on the right bank of the Thames. The river, along the north

bank of which runs the road to Detroit, forms the southern boundary of the battlefield. Several hundred yards to the north of the river was a morass, which has long since been drained and brought under cultivation. Beyond this was a narrow strip of solid ground flanked on the north by a large swamp. Along the edge of this latter, extending in a long line from east to west, and concealed behind trees and bushes, was posted the main body of Indians, under the leadership of Tecumseh. The British line, composed of a part of the Forty-first regiment, was posted in a broken semicircle round the east end of the small swamp, and extended all the way from the large swamp to the Detroit road, in the centre of which was the artillery. The American forces were posted to the north-west, west, and south of the small swamp. A body of Indians, who had espoused the American side of the quarrel, together with some regulars under Colonel Paul, were stationed between the river and the Detroit road, with a view to capturing the British artillery. Proctor's idea was to entrap the Americans into an ambush, so that when the engagement between the British and Americans had fairly commenced, Tecumseh and his Indians might swoop down upon the latter in their rear.

In consequence of the conflicting statements, official and otherwise, it is impossible to do more than approximate the number of men engaged in the battle of the Thames. It is probable, however, that the Americans had between three and four thousand regulars, besides the small body of Indians under Colonel Paul, while Proctor had not more than seven hundred British troops—worn out by fatigue—in addition to about five or six hundred Indians under Tecumseh. The signal for attack was given by General Harrison. There is no need for going into the minutiae of the conflict, the result of which, with such odds, and under such generalship, might easily have been

foreseen. The Kentucky riflemen, used to fighting in the bush, saw the dark eyes of the Indians gleaming through the trees which skirted the edge of the large swamp. They charged impetuously through the smaller morass, sprang from their saddles, and engaged in a desperate hand-to-hand conflict with the barbarians. At the same moment the American cavalry charged the British line, and a few minutes sufficed to fix the fortunes of the day. The British troops were thrown into a disorder from which they were unable to rally.

Tecumseh seems to have had a prevision that this would be the last engagement in which he would take part. When he had posted his Indians along the edge of the swamp, a few hours before active operations began, he turned to the native chiefs beside him and said: "Brother warriors! we are now about to enter into an engagement from which I shall never come out. My body will remain upon the field." Then, unbuckling his sword, he delivered it to Wasegoboah, his brother-in-law, saying: "When my son becomes a noted warrior, and able to wield a sword, give this to him." He then laid aside his military dress as a Brigadier-General of the British army, and took his place among his men, dressed in the ordinary deer-skin hunting shirt which he had been accustomed to wear before allying himself with the British. His military garb had never sat comfortably on his shoulders. It added nothing to the dignity of his appearance, and in wearing it he had always felt like a daw in borrowed plumes. There was no room in his great heart for anything so petty as that fondness for tawdry finery which most Indian natures are wont to exhibit. When the Kentuckians rushed to the charge against the Indian line, Tecumseh sprang out upon the solid ground, and grandly cheered his men to stand firm, and to show themselves worthy of the brave sires from whose loins they had sprung.

Of personal danger to himself he seemed to have no thought. He ran hither and thither along the line, inspiring his men, and doing his utmost to infuse into their hearts a measure of that unflinching resolution which animated his own. Wherever the battle raged hottest, his own dauntless breast was seen in the van. Whatever human intrepidity and human intelligence could do to decide the fortunes of that day in favour of the British arms, Tecumseh did with all his might. The battle had not lasted more than five minutes, however, when he fell dead upon the turf. While he lived, the Indians gallantly seconded his efforts. And even when his voice was hushed forever; when it was no longer heard above the clash of arms, animating them to deeds of valour; when he had fallen, pierced by the bullets of his enemies; even then they continued to fight with the frenzy of despair, until they learned that the British had surrendered to their foes, and that further efforts on their part would be a simple throwing away of their lives. Then, and not until then, they abandoned all hope of success; and, moody and disheartened, flung down their arms and fled.

Meanwhile, where was Proctor? Had he, too, fallen at the head of his men, fighting gallantly in the cause of his king and country? Had he, too, left a sword behind him to be worn by his successor in remembrance of his valorous deeds? Alas, that the answers to these questions should be such that irony is utterly thrown away! The miserable story is well known, and presents too few attractions to induce us to linger over it. Suffice it to say that almost before Tecumseh had ceased to breathe, Proctor had skulked from the field, clambered into his carriage, and fled like the dastard that he was, as fast as his horses could draw him. Within twenty-four hours he was more than sixty miles on his road, and in full retreat. Being hotly pursued by

Major Payne, an American officer, he then abandoned his carriage, containing his wife's letters to her "dear Henry," and continued his flight on foot. When tried by a court-martial for his disgraceful conduct he added to his infamy by endeavouring to throw the blame upon his soldiers. In this ruse he for a short time succeeded; but for a short time only. He was finally sentenced to be publicly reprimanded, and suspended from rank and pay for six months. The court that pronounced this inadequate sentence was very properly censured by the Prince Regent for its mistaken lenity. The Prince at the same time expressed his regret that a British officer should have shown himself to be so wanting in professional knowledge, and so deficient in those qualities which are required of every officer. It was directed that the finding of the court should be entered in the general order book, and read at the head of every regiment in His Majesty's service. Such a sentence, and such a censure, added to the consciousness that both were richly deserved, would have killed some men. Proctor, however, survived them both for nearly half a century, and died in Liverpool in 1859. Better, far better, had he fallen manfully at the head of his troops by the side of his brave ally, instead of living to drag out a dishonoured old age, and to blast the name of his descendants for all time to come.

The question, "Who killed Tecumseh?" has given rise to much controversy, and still remains unsettled. A great many aspirants have from time to time put forward their claims to that distinction, which claims have been carefully weighed by more than one authority without any definite decision as the result. All that can be said on the subject with absolute certainty is that the great Shawnee warrior was really killed at the battle of the Thames, on the 5th of October, 1813. A strong claim has been put forward on behalf of Colonel Richard

M. Johnson, whose monument in the cemetery at Frankfort, Kentucky, chronicles the circumstance that he was the slayer of Tecumseh as an undisputed fact. Claims equally strong, however, have been advanced on behalf of Colonel Whitley and a Mr. David King. The matter is of little historical importance; but those who are desirous of investigating the evidence for themselves will find a careful analysis of it in the fifteenth chapter of Drake's "Life of Tecumseh."

The scene of the battle of the Thames is now a cultivated farm, the owner of which is a Mr. Dickson. The swamp through which Colonel Johnson charged on his way to the Indians was long ago drained of its moisture, and grain is annually grown on or very near the exact spot where Tecumseh fell. There are numerous indentations marking the graves of some of those who were slain in the battle. The County Council of Kent several years ago granted a small sum towards the cost of erecting a monument to the memory of Tecumseh, and there have been a few private subscriptions for the same purpose, but a sufficient sum has not yet been raised to carry out the project, which seems to have temporarily fallen to the ground. Our local Government might do worse than take the matter in hand. Although we cannot blind our eyes to the fact that Tecumseh cared little or nothing for the British, except in so far as they could be made subservient to his own designs, we cannot help remembering that he died like a brave man upon our soil, fighting in defence of our freedom, while our own officer in command skulked away in secret like a thief in the night. The actions of many of us, too, are apt to be influenced by our sympathies rather than by our settled convictions; and the name of Tecumseh is one which we have always delighted to honour. We are not ashamed to own that the name of that western bar-

barian who fought for us so bravely casts a glamour over our judgment to this day, and we should be much gratified if we could feel assured that this sketch might do something towards promoting the erection of a monument to his memory. We are even disposed to look with some degree of charitable complacency upon the proceeding of those over-zealous enthusiasts who made the supposed discovery of the great warrior's remains about four years ago, and whose explanations resulted in such a pitiful fiasco when the remains were subjected to the merciless scientific scrutiny of Professor Wilson and his collaborateurs. The Professor, it will be remembered, after establishing that the "remains" consisted of a miscellaneous hodge-podge of bones of dogs and other animals, together with portions of several human skeletons, gravely concluded his report by expressing his belief that the said remains were not those of Tecumseh. What really became of Tecumseh's body after the battle will probably never be known. Some one of the Indian corpses, from the thighs whereof the Kentuckians cut strips of skin which were afterwards converted into razor-strops, may or may not have been his. We fondly cherish the hope that old Pheasant's story was true, and that the Shawnee braves stole to the battle ground after nightfall and conveyed Tecumseh's body to the depths of the neighbouring forest, where they "buried it darkly at dead of night." The spot where he fell, however, can be easily ascertained, and that spot would be the most appropriate site for a monument. His memory at least deserves so much at our hands.

The character of Tecumseh is one eminently calculated to arouse the enthusiasm of all who make themselves acquainted with its many-sided features. It embodied all the most marked characteristics of his race, prominent among which were indomitable courage and fortitude. But it also embodied

much more. Unlike Brant, he enjoyed no advantages of early education or association with cultivated Europeans; and any particulars in which he differed for the better from an untutored savage are due to his innate moral and intellectual greatness alone. Regarded simply as a man of genius, there is no name among the Indians of North America worthy of being brought into comparison with his. His natural mental endowments, indeed, were such as would have made him a distinguished man in any age or nation. Those who have been accustomed to regard him as a mere barbarian have not read those impassioned and lofty flights of eloquence which Dechouset found so much difficulty in translating, and but a few of which have been preserved. The oratory of Tecumseh must have been something wonderful. Mr. Cass—himself an orator not unknown to fame—has pronounced the following eulogium upon it:—"It was the utterance of a great mind roused by the strongest motives of which human nature is susceptible, and developing a power and a labour of reason which commanded the admiration of the civilized, as justly as the confidence and pride of the savage. When he spoke to his brethren on the glorious theme that animated all his actions, his fine countenance lighted up, his firm and erect frame swelled with deep emotion which his own stern dignity could scarcely repress; every feature and gesture had its meaning, and language flowed tumultuously and swiftly from the fountain of his soul."

Long before his name was known beyond the limits of his own tribe, Tecumseh's generosity and humanity were such as to render him conspicuous among his young companions. He devoted much of his time to bestowing kindness and attention upon the aged and infirm, repairing their wigwams upon the approach of winter, and providing them with food and clothing. These qualities grew up with him in his

youth, and accompanied him through his manhood. His humanity, even to the whites, whom he hated, was so well known that the women of the frontier had no fears for themselves or their children when Tecumseh was in the neighbourhood. Repeated instances might be given in which he interfered to prevent the massacre of prisoners; but, so far as we are aware, no charge of cruelty has been made against him by any modern writer. He never mingled with the whites when he could avoid it, and never acquired sufficient knowledge of their language to carry on a conversation with Europeans without the aid of an interpreter. The name of "The Napoleon of the West," which has frequently been applied to him, is by no means so absurd as a superficial acquaintance with his character and history might lead one to suppose. Unless our estimate of him is erroneous, his natural genius was at least upon a par with that of the great Corsican, while his ambition was far higher and nobler. He was in the strictest sense of the word a patriot, who desired to save his people from the destruction that threatened them. He saw his race humbled and down-trodden, driven from the land which their forefathers had occupied, and scattered hither and thither, "like withered leaves in an autumnal blast." He saw their morals corrupted and their humanity debased. Who shall blame him for his hatred of the white man, who had brought this ruin and desolation upon his people, and whose gradual encroachments threatened at no distant day to leave the red men "Lords of their presence, and no land beside?" Who shall blame him for forming his grand scheme of a confederacy which should restore his race to their former state, and should drive the pale-faces into the sea? What matter that his project was unsuccessful? From its very inception there was never even a remote possibility of its success; but the idea was itself none the less grand and patriotic. Indeed the



utter impracticability of the scheme constitutes one of its most chivalrous elements. We have never been accustomed to abate one jot of our admiration of Leonidas because he was unsuccessful at Thermopylae. Light lie the ground over thee, thou matchless Indian!

In height, Tecumseh was nearly six feet. His frame was lithe, sinewy, and muscular, and was capable of enduring great bodily fatigue with impunity. His forehead was full, high, and rather narrow. His general appearance was grand and imposing, even when his face was not lighted up with enthusiasm. His strong prejudices against the customs of the pale-faces prevented his ever sitting to have his portrait painted. The portrait by which he is best known may be found in Lossing's "Field Book of the War of 1812." It is engraved from a pencil-sketch made by Pierre Le Dru, a young French trader, in the year 1808. The dress, which has been substituted for that of the original sketch, is that of a Brigadier-General, which was the rank held by Tecumseh in the British army at the time of his death. The medallion on his breast, exhibiting the head of George III., was presented to Tecumseh's father by Lord Dorchester, when that nobleman was Governor-General of Canada.

As it is impossible to fix the precise date

of Tecumseh's birth, it is of course impossible to give his exact age at the time of his death. Historians are in the habit of saying that he died in his forty-fifth year. We have seen that he was born either in 1768 or within three years thereafter, so that the age commonly assigned to him is not far wide of the mark. In his twenty-ninth year, in compliance with the wishes of his relatives, who desired the propagation of his race, he married a woman called Mamate, who was several years older than himself. She bore him a son, upon whom was bestowed the name of Pugeshashenwa. Not long after the birth of this son his mother died, and Tecumseh never contracted a second alliance. A few years ago the son was living with his tribe beyond the Mississippi, and was in receipt of a yearly pension from the British Government. His habits were dissipated, and no act of his life ever proved that he was worthy to wear the sword bequeathed to him by his valiant sire. We have never heard of his death; but he must have been born before the advent of the present century, and if still living, he has reached a more patriarchal age than persons of his dissipated habits generally attain. The Prophet Elskwatawa is also said to have enjoyed a pension from the British Government up to the time of his death, which took place many years ago in one of the western territories.

## THE HON. GEORGE ANTHONY WALKEM,

### *PREMIER OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.*

MR. WALKEM was born in November, 1834, in that part of the town of Newry which lies within the county of Armagh, Ireland. He is of English descent on the paternal side. His father, Mr. Charles Walkem, belongs to a family which has for several generations been settled near Saltash, at the head of Plymouth Sound, on the borders of Devon and Cornwall. The latter, who is still living, is by profession a surveyor, and at the time of the birth of the subject of this sketch was attached to the Royal Engineers' staff engaged in prosecuting the Royal survey of Ireland. While so attached he married Miss Boomer, a daughter of the late Mr. George Boomer, of Lisburn, County Down, by whom he has had a family of ten children, of which the subject of this sketch is the eldest. This lady's brother, the Very Rev. M. Boomer, is the present Dean of Huron. Another brother, the late Mr. A. K. Boomer, was a well-known merchant of Toronto until his death a few years ago. In the spring of 1844 the family emigrated from England to Canada, and after residing a short time at St. Catharines, and afterwards at Quebec, settled at Montreal. Mr. Walkem the elder, whose profession and military service rendered him liable to frequent changes of residence, came to this country with the late Colonel Esteourt, R.E., to assist in fixing the boundary between Canada and the United States under the Ashburton Treaty. He

subsequently became Chief Draughtsman on the Royal Engineering Staff in Canada, and is at the present time connected with the Militia Department at Ottawa.

Prior to his arrival in this country, and while he was a mere lad, George Anthony Walkem attended the Grammar School at Preston, in Lancashire, where his parents then resided. The stay of the family in St. Catharines was too brief to admit of his attending any school there with advantage. The removal to Quebec took place in the spring of 1845, and he at once began to attend the High School of that city. He continued his attendance until the autumn of 1846, when Mr. Walkem, senior, having become Surveyor of the Royal Engineering Staff, was ordered to Montreal. The family having become settled in Montreal, George attended for some time at Belden's Academy, an educational establishment which enjoyed a high reputation in those days. He afterwards attended the High School, and finally completed his education—so far as it can be said to have been completed at school—at McGill College. Concurrently with his attendance at the two institutions last named he was also engaged in the study of the law. In 1848, when he was only fourteen years of age, he entered the law office of Mr. George Fntvoye, late Deputy Minister of Militia. In that office he remained about three years. In 1851 his articles were transferred to Mr.



*G. A. Walker*



—now Sir—John Rose, of the firm of Rose & Monk. In the office of that firm he completed his term of service, but upon such completion he was still under age, and could not be admitted to practice. He accordingly entered the mercantile establishment of his uncle, the late Mr. A. K. Boomer, of Toronto, with a view to gaining a practical experience of the routine of mercantile business. He remained in his uncle's establishment about a year, when (in 1856) he repaired to Montreal and passed the Bar of Lower Canada as an advocate. During his residence in Toronto, however, he had formed a preference for the Upper Province, and soon after passing as an advocate in Montreal he returned to Toronto, and became a student in the office of Mr. George Morphy. In 1861 he was called to the Bar of Upper Canada, and practised for a short time with his former principal, under the style of Morphy & Walkem, but the firm was not long in existence. Mr. Walkem having become convinced that British Columbia afforded excellent opportunities for the rapid advancement of a capable man, resolved to repair thither. He left Toronto early in 1862 for Vancouver's Island. Upon reaching his destination he found that he was unable to practise his profession, as no barristers except those who had been called to the Bar of England or Ireland were recognized there. After much delay and difficulty he was admitted, in 1864, under a special order issued by the Duke of Newcastle, who then held the post of Colonial Secretary in the Imperial Government. He at once entered upon the practice of his profession, and achieved both fame and pecuniary success. He became a Queen's Counsel and one of the most prominent citizens in the Province. He also entered public life and became a member of the Legislative Council of the Province. On the 5th of July, 1871, British Columbia became a constituent part of the Dominion. On the 12th of January follow-

ing, Mr. Walkem was appointed a member of the Executive Council, and was Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works from that date until the 23rd of December, when he accepted office in the DeCosmos Administration, and became Attorney-General. About seven weeks afterwards (11th February, 1874), in consequence of the passage of the Act respecting Dual Representation, Mr. DeCosmos, the Premier, resigned his office. A reconstruction of the Government followed, and Mr. Walkem became Premier, retaining the portfolio of Attorney-General. Within a month afterwards, and during Mr. Walkem's tenure of office as Premier, Mr. James D. Edgar reached Victoria from Toronto as the emissary of the Dominion Government. During the previous November, Mr. Mackenzie, the Premier of the Dominion, had, in a speech delivered at Sarnia, announced the Government policy with reference to the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway. That policy contemplated delay in the construction of this great public work, and the announcement was very disappointing to British Columbians. Mr. Edgar was sent out to discuss the question with the Local Government at Victoria, and to remove, if possible, the popular disappointment which existed there. The situation of affairs was fully discussed between him and Mr. Walkem, but the discussion came to nothing, and after Mr. Edgar's return the people of British Columbia were in a more dissatisfied state than ever. In the month of June following Mr. Walkem repaired to England, to urge upon the Colonial Secretary that the Dominion should at once proceed with the work of constructing the railway, and should carry out the terms upon which British Columbia had entered the Union. The result of his mission, as everybody knows, was the "Carnarvon Terms," as they are called. By thus bringing about an amicable adjustment of a dispute which

threatened, for a time, to interfere with the smooth working of Confederation, if not to break it up, so far as British Columbia is concerned, Mr. Walkem won golden opinions. It is said that his mission was discharged with great tact and judgment, and that he produced a very favourable impression on the British statesmen with whom he was brought into contact. His reception in London was very cordial and flattering, and before his departure a banquet was given in his honour at Willis's Rooms, at which Sir John Rose, his former principal, presided.

On the 27th of January, 1876, Mr. Walkem's Ministry resigned, and was succeeded by a new Administration formed under the leadership of the Hon. Andrew C. Elliott. Mr. Walkem was unanimously elected leader of the Opposition, and continued to act as such until the spring of 1878, when he succeeded in defeating the Government. At the general election which followed, Mr. Elliott's Ministry were placed in a very decided minority, the Premier himself suffering personal defeat in the city of Victoria. The Ministry resigned in July, and Mr. Walkem was called on to form a new one, which he soon succeeded in accomplishing. He called to his assistance Mr. T. B. Humphreys as Provincial Secretary, and Mr. Robert Beaven as Minister of Finance, he himself undertaking the duties of Attorney-General and Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. By this means the membership of the Executive was reduced from four to three, and the salary of a minister was saved to the Province. Upon returning to his constituents\* after accepting office he was elected by acclamation. His Government still remains in power. The principal legislative enactments by which his tenure of office has been characterized are an Act providing for the re-distribution of Parliamentary seats on the Mainland; an Act excluding

judges, magistrates, sheriffs, police-officers, and employees of the Dominion Government to whose offices annual salaries are attached (except Post Office officials), from exercising the franchise at Provincial elections; an Act respecting the Crown Lands of the Province; an Act amending the License Law; an Act authorizing the employment of prisoners outside the walls of gaols; and an Act authorizing the Benchers of the Law Society to admit barristers and attorneys called to the Bar of Great Britain in the other Provinces of Canada, and certain other persons, to the practice of the legal profession in British Columbia. An Act was also passed in the session of 1878 whereby every Chinese resident of British Columbia over twelve years of age was required to take out a license every three months, for which license he was to be charged a sum of ten dollars, payable in advance. This Act was the subject of much discussion by the Canadian and United States press, but the Provincial courts pronounced it unconstitutional, and it has therefore become inoperative.

Mr. Walkem is a man of many friends, being endowed with a bright and cheery disposition which makes him a general favourite. He is a good descriptive writer, and some published letters of his on the scenery of California have won high encomiums from the press. He is also an accomplished artist, and at several Provincial Exhibitions his pictures have obtained prizes in the professional class. He is President of the Law Society of British Columbia; Gold Commissioner, under the Gold Mining Ordinance of 1867, and the Acts amending the same; a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society; and a member of the Special Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

On the 29th of December, 1879, Mr. Walkem married Sophie Edith, fifth daughter of the late Hon. Henry Rhodes, of Victoria, British Columbia.

\* In Cariboo, the constituency for which he has sat ever since his first entry into public life.





*Arthur Toronto*



## THE RIGHT REV. ARTHUR SWEATMAN, D.D.,

### *BISHOP OF TORONTO.*

DR. SWEATMAN, Bishop Bethune's successor in the Diocese of Toronto, was born in London, England, on the 19th of November, 1834. He is a son of the late Dr. John Sweatman, who was a London physician of some eminence in his profession half a century ago. The latter was for many years attached to the staff of Middlesex Hospital, Charles Street, Berners Street, where he had for a friend and contemporary the eminent anatomist, Sir Charles Bell. He died in 1839. The subject of this sketch was early distinguished by his piety, and by his love for sacred themes and pursuits. From his youth he was destined for the Church, and his education was conducted with a special view to that end. Like many other pious and useful men, his life has not been marked by great variety of incident, and offers a somewhat narrow field to the biographer. While still a mere child he was placed at a small private boarding school kept by a lady at Blackheath, where he received his rudimentary education. When he was about eleven years of age he was removed to a more advanced school kept by a Mr. A. G. Ray, at Heathmount, Hampstead. From there he was transferred to London University College, Upper Gower Street, where he spent several years, and where he made rapid progress in learning. In the year 1849 he began to teach a Sunday School in connection with Christ Church, Marylebone, and continued to dis-

charge the functions incidental to that position for a period of about six years. In 1855, after an interval of private study, and having just completed his nineteenth year, he entered as a student at Christ's College, Cambridge, an institution at which a greater number of eminent divines have been educated than any other college of equal magnitude at Cambridge. It was here also that the illustrious author of "Paradise Lost" graduated, and a mulberry tree said to have been planted by the poet's own hands in the College garden is still tended with affectionate care. Here, in 1856, Mr. Sweatman obtained a scholarship. His collegiate career, without being characterized by unusual brilliancy or attainments, was marked by a rapid development of his faculties, by the acquirement of an excellent classical education, and by a reputation for zealous piety and high moral worth. On the 5th of December, 1856, he was elected as Superintendent of the Jesus Lane, or Gownsmen's Sunday School—a remarkable institution founded more than half a century ago, which is conducted entirely by students and graduates of the University of Cambridge. Mr. Sweatman held this position for somewhat more than two years, as successor to the present Bishop of Sierra Leone. While in residence at the University he also belonged to other organizations of a kindred nature, among which may be mentioned the Cambridge Prayer Union and

the Cambridge Undergraduates' Tract Society. In 1859 he graduated with mathematical honours as Senior Optime. At Christmas of the same year he was ordained Deacon in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, by Bishop Tait; and Priest at Christmas, 1860, in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. In 1859 he became curate of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Cloudesley Square, Islington. During the following year he founded an establishment which has since become well known as the Islington Youth's Institute, an evening club for working boys and young people employed in offices and shops. At this institution, which at once became, and still continues to be, a remarkable success, he spent most of his evenings during his residence at Islington, conducting it himself, and taking a zealous part in the instruction of the classes which were formed in connection with it. Its establishment supplied a want which had long been felt. The youth of the neighbourhood resorted to it in great numbers, and the opportunity was afforded to them of spending their evenings with equal pleasure and profit. The method of instruction was carefully adapted to meet the wants of those in attendance, by whom it was, and has ever since been, fully appreciated. The Archbishop of Canterbury became an active patron of this Institute, and it has been the forerunner of many institutions of a similar character in various parts of the kingdom.

In 1862 he took his degree of M.A., and during the following year he was appointed to the curacy of St. Stephen's, Canonbury, and to the mastership of the Modern Department of the Islington Proprietary School. On the invitation of Archdeacon (now Bishop) Hellmuth, he came out to this country in 1865, to be the first Head Master of the London Collegiate Institute, which had just been established. In 1871, in compliance with a pressing invitation, he became Assistant Mathematical and

Scientific Master in Upper Canada College, Toronto.

In 1872 he was appointed Rector of Grace Church, Brantford, as successor to the Rev. J. C. Usher, and was also appointed Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Huron. The latter post he continued to occupy from the time of his receiving the appointment down to the time of his election, in 1879, to the high position which he now occupies. Subsequent to 1873 he acted as Clerical Secretary to the Synod of the Diocese of Huron, and also as Secretary to the House of Bishops. In 1874, at Bishop Hellmuth's request, he returned to London as Head Master of Hellmuth College, and in 1875 became Canon of the Cathedral there. He also became Assistant Rector of St. Paul's, Woodstock, and Archdeacon of Brant in 1876; and on the Bishop of Huron's visit to England, he was appointed by his Lordship as his Commissary from June, 1878, to February, 1879; during which time he conducted the affairs of the Diocese with marked ability and success. The circumstances under which he came to be elected, in the month of March, 1879, to the Bishopric rendered vacant by the death of the late Bishop Bethune are still fresh in the public memory. It will be remembered that the contest between the High and Low Church parties was both keen and protracted. At first the rival candidates were Archdeacon Whitaker, as the exponent of the opinions of the former party, and the Rev. Dr. Sullivan as the nominee of the other. When the Synod had been in session for some days it began to be apparent that there was little probability of the election of either of those gentlemen, and votes began to be cast for various other candidates, including Principal Lobley, the Rev. John Pearson, the Rev. James Carmichael, and others. Day after day passed, and ballot after ballot was taken, but owing to the peculiar method of voting, and the double majority required for the successful

candidate, any definite result still seemed as far off as ever. At last, on the 5th of March, a conference between the leading spirits of the Church Association and those of the High Church party was held, and a compromise arrived at. It was agreed that Mr. Sweatman, whose moderate views, and whose peculiar qualifications for the episcopal chair, were well known, should be the new Bishop, and that the Church Association should be dissolved. At the next ballot accordingly—which was the twenty-fourth ballot taken—the vote was almost unanimous in the present Bishop's favour, and he was declared to have been duly elected. The labours of the Synod were formally brought to a close on the following morning. Bishop Sweatman's consecration took

place at St. James's Cathedral, Toronto, with the prescribed ceremonies, on the 1st of May following.

Bishop Sweatman is an admirable writer of English, and his pulpit utterances are marked by ripe scholarship and elegance of diction. His election to the bishopric has been productive of the happiest results to the Diocese, where his moderation and excellent sense have already won for him many warm friends. He devotes himself assiduously to the duties of his sacred office. His wife, by whom he has a family, was formerly Miss Susannah Garland, of London, England.

On the 30th of October, 1879, Bishop Sweatman received the degree of D.D., "*jure dignitatis*," from the University of Cambridge.

## THE HON. HECTOR LOUIS LANGEVIN, C.B.,

### MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.

SINCE the death of Sir George Cartier no French Canadian statesman has enjoyed a wider popularity among his Conservative fellow-countrymen than the present Minister of Public Works. He is of French Canadian descent on both sides of his house. His father, the late Mr. John Langevin, was formerly Assistant Civil Secretary under Lords Gosford and Sydenham. His mother was Sophia Scholastique, a daughter of Major La Force, who served his country loyally during the American invasion of 1812, -13, and -14. Major La Force's father—who was the great grandfather of the subject of this sketch—is said to have been an acting Commodore of the British fleet on Lake Ontario during the American War of Independence.

He was born at the city of Quebec, on the 25th of August, 1826, and received his education at the Quebec Seminary. He is said to have been a proficient student, more especially in the department of Mathematics. He left school in 1846, and became a law student in the office of the late Hon. A. N. Morin, at Montreal. He had not long been so employed when he began to write for the press. In the autumn of 1847 he became editor of the *Mélanges Religieux*, a paper devoted to politics and theology, and published in Montreal. He afterwards became editor of the *Journal of Agriculture*, also published in Montreal, and contributed occasional editorial articles to one of the daily papers of that city. Upon Mr. Morin's re-

tirement from practice, young Langevin entered the office of the late George E. Cartier, where he remained until the completion of his legal studies. In the month of October, 1850, he was called to the Bar of his native Province, and began practice in Montreal. A year later he removed to Quebec, which has ever since been his home.

Soon after taking up his abode at Quebec he began to interest himself in the promotion of railway enterprises, and was elected to the position of Secretary-Treasurer of the North Shore Railway Company. He subsequently became Vice-President of the Company. In 1854 he married Justine, eldest daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel, Charles H. Tett, J.P. During the following year he wrote an essay on Canada for circulation at the Paris Exhibition. To this essay, which extended to 186 printed pages, the Exhibition Committee awarded the first of three extra prizes. In 1856 he was elected as the representative of Palace Ward in the City Council of Quebec, and became chairman of the local Water Works Committee. Next year (1857) he assumed the editorship of the *Courier du Canada*, and acted as Mayor of Quebec during the absence of the Mayor-elect—the late Dr. Morrin—in England. At the elections held in the following December he was himself returned as Mayor, and continued to fill that position for the three succeeding years. During his term of office he visited England on a mission



*Hector L. Langerin*



connected with the financial affairs of the city, and also on business relating to the North Shore Railway Company.

The same month which witnessed his first election to the dignity of Mayor of Quebec also witnessed his advent into political life. At the general elections held in December, 1857, he offered himself as a candidate in the Conservative interest for the representation of the county of Dorchester in Parliament. He was returned at the head of the poll, and continued to represent that constituency in the Assembly until Confederation. After Confederation he represented it in the House of Commons until 1874. His first Parliamentary session was a somewhat notable one. He took his seat in the House as a supporter of the Macdonald-Cartier Administration, which was defeated in the course of the session on the seat of Government question, and was succeeded by the brief administration under Messrs. Brown and Dorion. It was Mr. Langevin who moved the resolution of want of confidence which accomplished the defeat of that short-lived administration, and for this he has been accused of violating the rules of Parliamentary courtesy by his undue haste. "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Fennings Taylor, "that the resolution exactly expressed the sentiment of Parliament, but it is by no means as clear that the time of submitting it was well chosen. Less haste would not, in all probability, have altered the vote; perhaps it might have increased the majority by which it was affirmed. In any case it would have placed the proceeding beyond the reproach of unfairness, and have effectually removed it from the grave imputation, which has been affixed to it by many, of being wanting in Parliamentary courtesy. In affairs of state the means as well as the end should be considered. The proceeding appeared to lack generosity, and though it offended no rule, it was not, so far as we are aware, supported by any example of Parlia-

ment." After the perpetration of the "Double Shuffle" Mr. Langevin was a zealous supporter of the Cartier-Macdonald Administration, and indeed continued to support Mr. Cartier's policy so long as that gentleman continued in active political life.

During the years 1861 and 1862 Mr. Langevin was President of the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Quebec; and during the two following years he was President of the *Institut Canadien*. In 1862 he published a work entitled *Droit Administratif, ou Manuel des Paroisses et Fabriques*, which received high commendation from the Lower Canadian press. On the 30th of March, 1864, he was created a Queen's Counsel, and on the same date he became Solicitor-General for Lower Canada in the Taché-Macdonald Government, and a member of the Executive Council. During the month of November, 1866, he became Postmaster-General in the Coalition Government, and retained that office until the Union.

In the proceedings which resulted in Confederation Mr. Langevin took a prominent part. A speech made by him in the course of the debates was regarded at the time as displaying remarkable powers of argument. He was one of the delegates on behalf of Lower Canada to the Charlottetown Conference of 1864; and also represented his Province at the Quebec Convention held later in the same year. He also attended the Conference held in London, England, two years afterwards, when the terms of union were finally settled.

When Confederation had been accomplished, Mr. Langevin accepted office as Secretary of State for the Dominion in the Government formed on the 1st of July, 1867. He was at the same time sworn of the Privy Council; and during the following year he was created a C.B. (Civil.) Dual Representation being then permissible, he successfully contested the representation of the county of Dorchester in the Local

Legislature at the general elections of 1867. He sat in the Local House for Dorchester until 1872, when he was returned by acclamation for Quebec Centre, which constituency he thenceforward represented until 1874, when he retired. He retained the portfolio of Secretary of State in the Dominion Cabinet until the 8th of December, 1869, when he was transferred to the Department of Public Works. During his Secretaryship he was *ex officio* Registrar-General of Canada, and Superintendent-General of Indian affairs. He was also a Commissioner to assist the Speaker in the management of the interior economy of the House of Commons, and Chairman of the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. In 1870 he was created a Knight Commander of the Roman Order of Pope St. Gregory the Great.

In 1871 Mr. Langevin visited British Columbia at the desire of the Privy Council, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of that Province, in relation to the western terminus of the Canada Pacific Railway, and for the purpose of ascertaining what public works were needed there. On his return he published a report showing the result of his observations.

In the session of 1873, during the absence in England of Sir George Cartier, Mr. Langevin acted as Conservative leader in the Province of Quebec; and after Sir George's death he was permanently appointed to that position. He retired from office with his

colleagues in November, 1873, in consequence of the Pacific Scandal disclosures.

In 1876 Mr. Langevin was returned to Parliament by the electors of Charlevoix. His election was contested, and subsequently cancelled by the Supreme Court, but he was again returned by the same constituency in April, 1877. At the general elections held on the 17th of September, 1878, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the representation of Rimouski. In the Conservative Cabinet, formed by Sir John Macdonald on the 18th of October following, Mr. Langevin accepted the portfolio of Postmaster-General. Having been defeated in Rimouski he was without a seat in Parliament. Mr. William Macdougall, however, the member-elect for Three Rivers, made way for him by nominally accepting an assistant postmastership. On the 21st of November, Mr. Langevin was returned for Three Rivers by acclamation, and now represents that constituency in the House. He retained the portfolio of Postmaster-General until the 20th of May, 1879, when he was appointed Minister of Public Works.

Mr. Langevin is a man of active mind, and is attentive to the duties of his office. In the early days of his Parliamentary career his speeches were marked by diffuseness; but practice and criticism have cured him of this drawback. He now speaks with coolness and precision, and is not easily disturbed by hostile interruptions.



## THE REV. ALBERT CARMAN, D.D.,

*BISHOP OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CANADA.*

**D**R. CARMAN comes of U. E. Loyalist stock on both the paternal and maternal sides. His father is Mr. Philip Carman, fifth son of the late Captain Michael Carman, who had charge of a company of militia in the Upper Province during the war of 1812-13 and -14. The family has been settled in the county of Dundas for nearly a century, and during the whole of that period they have been prominent and highly-respected citizens. The Bishop's father, Mr. Philip Carman above-mentioned, has held various high municipal offices, and has occupied the position of Warden of the united counties of Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry. He has always been an earnest promoter of schools, and of the cause of popular education generally, and has taken an especial pride in affording to the numerous members of his own family the best educational advantages to be obtained in the country. He is a zealous member and supporter of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which his son has risen to a foremost place. His first wife, who was the mother of the subject of this sketch, was Emmeline Shaver, a daughter of Colonel Peter Shaver, who also fought at the head of a company of militia during the American invasion. Colonel Shaver was a well-known resident of Dundas county, which he represented for many years in the old Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada.

The father of Bishop Carman has always

been a pronounced Reformer in politics, and a vigorous upholder of popular rights. The parents of Captain Carman and Colonel Shaver were among the band of Loyalists who came over to this country immediately after the close of the Revolutionary War, under the auspices of Sir John Johnson, son of the celebrated Sir William Johnson. They both received grants of land in the neighbourhood where their descendants have ever since resided, and they both added greatly to their patrimony. They acquired considerable estates, and became the heads of large and prosperous families, of which there are many surviving branches at the present day. The subject of this sketch, who is the eldest of a family of nine children, was born on the 27th of June, 1833, at the family homestead, in the township of Matilda, in the county of Dundas, Upper Canada, on a farm within the limits of what is now the pretty village of Iroquois, on the St. Lawrence, a few miles east of Prescott. He received his preparatory education at the Dundas county Grammar School, and graduated in Arts at Victoria College, Cobourg, in 1854. He was immediately afterwards appointed head master of the Dundas county Grammar School, where he had formerly been a student. He retained this position for three years, when he was appointed to the chair of Mathematics in the Belleville Seminary, an educational institution which was then opened at Belleville under the auspices of

the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was soon afterwards appointed President of the Seminary, which was incorporated in May, 1857. After a few years it was found desirable to affiliate the institution to the Provincial University, in order that its progress might keep pace with the growing interests of the Province. After a brief existence as an affiliated college, an Act was obtained whereby the name of the institution was changed to Albert College, and limited university powers were attached to it. By this Act a Senate was created, with power to make statutes for conferring degrees in Arts. The Senate continued to grant degrees and honours until 1871, when an Act was obtained from the Ontario Legislature making it a body corporate, with the full powers and privileges of a university. Subsequently the present course of study in Arts was established, and provision has since been made for other Faculties.

During the eighteen years ending in August, 1875, the subject of this sketch continued to preside over the institution, and to his ability and perseverance much of its prosperity is fairly attributable. In the interval he had received ordination in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and had become known as an eloquent and effective preacher of the gospel. He was admitted

into the Bay of Quinté Annual Conference of the Church as early as 1857. In 1860 he was ordained a deacon by the late Bishop Richardson, and an elder in 1864 by Bishop Smith. He obtained his Master's degree in 1860, and that of Doctor of Divinity in 1874. During the last named year he was elected and consecrated Bishop at the General Conference of the body held at Napanee. He is still Chancellor of the University, and takes an active interest in all matters pertaining to the cause of popular education. He is at the present time engaged in a canvass in the interests of the new Ladies' College, at St. Thomas—an institution the foundation whereof is largely due to his energy and influence.

Dr. Carman has written much for the *Canada Christian Advocate*, the connexional journal, and has contributed to various other periodicals throughout the country. He has published several pamphlets, the best known of which is his rejoinder to Dr. Young, of the University of Toronto, on "Necessity and Free Will." He is also the author of the Introduction to Dr. Thomas Webster's "Life of Rev. James Richardson, a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada," published in Toronto several years ago. In 1860 he married Mary, daughter of Mr. James Sisk, by whom he has a family of four children.





*J. P. Ward*

## SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD.

IN studying the annals of this country during the last half century we become acquainted with many greater names than that of Sir Francis Bond Head, but we meet with scarcely one that has been more widely known in its day and generation, or upon which the verdict of history has been more definitely and emphatically pronounced. It fell to the lot of Sir Francis to occupy a high and important position in Upper Canada at a very critical period of her history—at a period when a born statesman and a thoroughly trained diplomatist of the greatest conceivable foresight and sagacity would have found the position a sufficiently trying one. Sir Francis was endowed by nature with few or none of the qualities which go to the making of a statesman or diplomatist; and of political knowledge or training he had, at the time of his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of this Province, as little as any Englishman of decent education could possibly have. The result of an appointment made under such circumstances was disaster to the Province, and something nearly approaching ignominy to himself. As a civil administrator in a disturbed and grievance-ridden colony, he was altogether out of his proper element, and furnished a signal instance of the round peg in the square hole. His administration extended over little more than two years, but during that brief period he contrived to embroil himself with his own Executive,

with the Home Government from which he had received his appointment, and with pretty nearly every one who was desirous of promoting the cause of political liberty in Upper Canada. He also contrived to do an amount of mischief which left traces behind it for many years after he had ceased to have any control over Canadian affairs. And yet it would be most unjust to represent him as a deliberately bad or ill-intentioned man. He was simply a weak man out of his proper sphere, who—in the quasi-philosophic jargon of the present day—was unable to bring himself into harmony with his environment. Rash, inconsiderate, and fond of producing strong effects, he was constantly doing uncommon things with an eye to theatrical display. Later in life a certain measure of wisdom came to him, but at the time of his arrival in this country he was not only destitute of political knowledge, but was absolutely without deliberate political convictions of any kind. On this subject his own words are sufficiently clear. In his "Narrative"—one of the most extraordinary contributions to history in the English language—he tells us, with charming frankness, that at the time of his first entrance into Toronto, in January, 1836, he was no more connected with human politics than the horses that drew him; that he had never joined any political party; never attended a political discussion; never even voted at an election, or taken any part in

one. What wonder that a man so destitute of experience should have found himself in a false position when required to satisfy the demands of such earnest, uncompromising zealots as William Lyon Mackenzie and his following—men who were undoubtedly in the right as to the main questions at issue, but whose natural element was opposition; who were wont to discuss politics in the spirit of hot-gospellers; and who would have been reduced to the lowest depths of despair if they had had no “grievances” to complain of!

The life of Sir Francis Head was extended considerably beyond the allotted term of three score years and ten. Only five years have elapsed since his death, at the ripe age of eighty-two, and no record of his career has as yet been given to the world. At the time of his first arrival in this Province he had barely reached what for him was middle age, having only just completed his forty-third year. His previous life had been one of unusual activity, and he had had neither leisure nor inclination to familiarize himself with high affairs of State. He had already attained to some reputation as an author, having written several lively and interesting books, to which further reference will be made in the course of the present sketch. He was descended from an ancient and honourable family. During the early days of the Restoration one Fernando Mendez, a learned Portuguese physician, took up his abode in London, where he rose to eminence in his profession, and was installed as one of the physicians in ordinary to King Charles II. He married an English lady, and upon his death, towards the close of the century, was succeeded by his son Moses Mendez, who was an Englishman in everything but his name. In process of time the son became as English in the latter particular as he was in everything else, for he also married an English wife, and thenceforth assumed her name instead of conferring his

foreign patronymic upon her. This lady was Anna Gabriella Head, second daughter and co-heiress of a clerical baronet, the Reverend Francis Head, of the Hermitage, near the quaint old city of Rochester, in the county of Kent. Upon his marriage, Moses Mendez became Moses Head. To him succeeded his eldest son, James Roper Head, who married Miss Frances Anne Burges, daughter of Mr. George Burges, of Bath, and granddaughter maternally of James, thirteenth Lord Somerville, in the peerage of Scotland. By this lady James Roper Head had five sons, the fourth of whom, christened Francis Bond, is the subject of this memoir.

He was born on the 1st of January, 1793, at the Hermitage, where his early years were passed. He was educated at the Military Academy at Woolwich, and obtained his first commission in the Royal Engineers in 1811. He saw some active service in Spain, and was present at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. In June, 1816, he married Miss Julia Valenza Somerville (daughter of the Hon. Hugh Somerville), who still lives in the memory of a few of the oldest inhabitants of Toronto. In 1825 he was a Captain in a corps of Engineers on duty at Edinburgh, and while there it was proposed to him to go out to South America in charge of an association then lately formed for the working of some gold and silver mines in the provinces of Rio de la Plata. It was the first year in which such speculations were rife, and it was probably with high hopes and expectations that he set sail with his party from Falmouth. Arriving in due course of time at Buenos Ayres, accompanied by a surveyor, an assayer, and several miners from Cornwall, he lost no time in procuring the necessary means of conveyance, and pushed on to the gold mines of San Luis, and thence to the silver mines of Upsallata, beyond Mendoza, about one thousand miles from Buenos Ayres. Leaving his

party at Mendoza, at the foot of the Andes, he returned on horseback across the Pampas to Buenos Ayres by himself, performing the distance in eight days. Letters which he found awaiting him at Buenos Ayres made it necessary that he should go immediately to Chili. He accordingly again crossed the Pampas, and gathering his party at Mendoza, led them across the Andes to Santiago, whence they proceeded in various directions to "prospect" the country and inspect the mines, travelling over twelve hundred miles. When he had concluded his report on the several mines of which he was in quest, the party recrossed the Andes, and Captain Head again rode across the Pampas to Buenos Ayres, leaving the rest of his companions to follow at their leisure. On their arrival he dismissed some of his miners and brought the rest back with him to England. In this rapid manner he traversed about six thousand miles, living meanwhile on dried beef and water, and sleeping upon the ground, on horseback, or any other way that he could. On his return home he published a narrative of his South American adventures, under the title of "Rough Notes taken during some rapid journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes." This lively and graphic narrative has far more of interest than an ordinary novel, and was eagerly devoured by all classes of readers. The rapidity with which he had scoured across the Pampas gained for him the sobriquet of "Gallop Head"—a name by which he is often referred to in the current literature of those days. From the fact that in 1827 he published a "Report on the failure of the Rio Plata Mining Association," it may be inferred that the chief success of the expedition lay in the acquisition of literary fame for its leader, and that the wealth of the mines, if any, was left for others to gain. At the end of the year 1828 he obtained his majority, and retired from the military service on half-pay. In 1830 he came once

more before the English public as an author, with "The Life of Bruce, the Abyssinian Traveller," which appeared in the "Family Library." This he followed up in 1833 by an amusing volume, just suited for the pocket of Rhine travellers, under the title of "Bubbles from the Brunnen of Nassau, by an Old Man." During the next year (1834) he was appointed an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for one of the Kentish districts, at a salary of £500 per annum. He seems to have devoted himself to the duties of this position with a good deal of assiduity, and to have brought about several useful and much-needed reforms. The office of a Poor Law Commissioner, indeed, was one for which he was admirably fitted. There were no broad questions of policy to be considered, and there were innumerable little details with which such minds as his love to occupy themselves. True, there were many grievances to be redressed, but the experience of several generations had fully proved them to be grievances. They were of such a nature that all the philanthropists of that age were agreed as to the just method of dealing with them. Major Head's time was fully taken up with his duties, in the discharge of which he gave abundant satisfaction. He found himself in a most congenial and by no means an undignified position. Writing on this subject five years later he says:—"Never had I been engaged in a service the duties of which so completely engrossed my mind. Rightly or wrongly it now matters not, I fancied that, against prejudices and clamour I should eventually succeed in the noblest, and to my mind the most interesting, of all services, that of reviving the character and condition of the English labourer; and as, notwithstanding the unpopularity of the new Act, I had, thanks to the magistrates, yeomanry, and farmers of the county of Kent, carried it into effect by acclamation, the pleasure as well as the interest of the task was daily

increasing." It was while he was thus occupied that, towards the close of 1835, he received from Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the offer of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada, as successor to General Sir John Colborne, afterwards Lord Seaton. How such an extraordinary offer came to be made is shrouded in mystery, and is one of those official secrets which will probably never be disclosed. It was an insoluble riddle to the Major himself, and has since puzzled many wiser heads than his. Whispers have been heard to the effect that the offer was due to an official mistake, and that the person for whom the appointment was intended was his kinsman, afterwards Sir Edmund Walker Head, Governor-General of Canada. It is said that at a meeting of Cabinet Ministers the question was asked, "Who *shall* we send out as Lieutenant-Governor to conciliate the discontented inhabitants of Upper Canada?" To this question it is said some one replied, "You cannot do better than send out young Head"—the person meant being Edmund Walker Head. Lord Glenelg being slightly acquainted with Major Head, the Poor Law Commissioner, and believing him to be the person meant, acted on the suggestion, and the mistake was never discovered until after the offer had been made to the gallant Major. Such is the story, for the truth of which the historian cannot vouch. If true, it certainly proves that high appointments are sometimes made with culpable want of care. The only thing certain about the whole affair is that the appointment was actually offered to, and after mature deliberation accepted by the Major, who has told the story in so picturesque and inimitable a fashion that we extract the account of it from his "Narrative." Thus it runs:—"It had blown almost a hurricane from the S.S.W. The sheep in Romney Marsh had huddled together in groups—the cattle, afraid to feed, were still standing with their tails to the

storm—I had been all day immured in New Romney with the Board of Guardians of the Marsh Union: and though several times my horse had been nearly blown off the road, I had managed to return to Cranbrook; and with my head full of the unions, parishes, magistrates, guardians, relieving officers, and paupers of the county of Kent, like Abou Hassan, I had retired to rest, and for several hours had been fast asleep, when, about midnight, I was suddenly awakened by the servant of my lodging, who, with a letter in one hand, and in the other a tallow candle, illuminating an honest countenance, not altogether free from alarm, hurriedly informed me that a King's messenger had come after me! What could possibly be the matter in the workhouse of this busy world I could not clearly conceive. However, sitting up in my bed, I opened the letter, which, to my utter astonishment, was from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressing a wish that I should accept the government of Upper Canada, and that, if possible, I would call upon him with my answer at half-past eight the following morning, as at nine o'clock he was to set out for Brighton, to see the King. As I was totally unconnected with every member of the Government, and had never had the honour even of seeing Lord Glenelg in my life, I was altogether at a loss to conceive why this appointment should have been offered to me. However, as it appeared there was no time to be lost, I immediately got up, and returning to London in the chaise of the King's messenger who had brought me the communication, I reached my own house in Kensington at six o'clock, and having consulted with my family, whose opinions on the subject of the appointment I found completely coincided with my own, I waited upon Lord Glenelg, when I most respectfully and very gratefully declined the appointment. To this determination Lord Glenelg very obligingly replied, by repeating to me



his wish to be enabled to submit my name to the King for so important and difficult a trust; he begged me to reconsider the subject: and in order that I might be enabled to do so, he requested me to go and converse with his under-secretary, Mr. Stephen, who, his Lordship said, would give me every information on the subject."

The result of the interview with Mr. Stephen was the acceptance of the position by Major Head. A letter was forthwith despatched to Brighton to Lord Glenelg, who on receiving it submitted Major Head's answer to the King, who approved of the appointment, and the business was complete.

Complications arose at the very outset of his official career. It was intimated to him that it was necessary to exercise a most rigid economy; that his salary would be £500 lower than that of his predecessor, and that he was expected to dispense with the services of an aide-de-camp. He was further informed that his half-pay as a major in the army would be discontinued. "With respect to these arrangements," says the "Narrative," "I at once very distinctly observed to Mr. Stephen that although it was, of course, utterly impossible for me even to imagine what would be the official expenses to which I should be subjected, yet that, as so many Governors, one after another, were supposed to have failed in their missions, and as the difficulties which had overcome them were declared to have increased rather than to have diminished, I considered it was unreasonable as well as imprudent in the Government to ask me to encounter them with diminished means. I told Mr. Stephen that to go out without an aide-de-camp to a disturbed colony, where the Governor had always been seen to have one, would in my opinion be impolitic; and I added that, as I was altogether below my predecessors (Sir Peregrine Maitland and Sir John Colborne) in military rank, and that as I was to be divested of the com-

mand of the troops, I thought the civil elevation of a baronetcy ought to be conferred upon me." It will thus be seen that the Major was by no means so greatly overpowered by the new and unexpected dignity which had been conferred upon him as to render him backward in asserting himself. Mr. Stephen was, on the whole, disposed to agree with him in the matter of the aide-de-camp, and as to official expenses. With regard to the baronetcy, Mr. Stephen kept his countenance as well as he could, and temporised. There were, he said, so many applications for the distinction, that he thought Lord Melbourne might feel that he would create jealousy by a single appointment. When the Major urged his claim personally upon Lord Glenelg, that nobleman quietly promised to give the project his careful consideration, and added: "There is much truth in what you say." And then Major Head went down to Brighton and was presented to the King, upon whom he personally urged his claims. The result of it all was that the aide-de-camp was conceded, and that the project of the baronetcy was "taken into consideration" for the present. There were subsequent difficulties about the payment of the aide-de-camp's salary. At last everything was arranged, and the new Lieutenant-Governor, with his suite, set sail from Liverpool. The journey to his seat of Government was made by way of New York, and he improved the time during the ocean voyage by a careful study of a certain blue book containing a report of the "Committee of Grievances." This blue book, and the instructions addressed to himself from the Colonial Office, contained the basis of all his knowledge of Canadian affairs. He reached his destination—namely, Toronto—on the 23rd of January, 1836. Commenting in his "Narrative," on his "simplicity of mind, ill-naturedly called ignorance," at this time, he says:—"With Mr. Mackenzie's

heavy book of lamentations in my port-manteau, and with my remedial instructions in my writing-case, I considered myself as a political physician, who, whether regularly educated or not, was about to effect a surprising cure: for, as I never doubted for a moment either the existence of the 533 pages of grievances, or that I would mercilessly destroy them root and branch, I felt perfectly confident that I should very soon be able proudly to report that the grievances of Upper Canada were defunct—in fact, that I had *veni-ed*, *vidi-ed*, and *vici-ed* them. As, however, I was no more connected with human politics than the horses that were drawing me—as I had never joined any political party, had never attended a political discussion, and had never even voted at an election, or taken any part in one—it was with no little surprise that, as I drove into Toronto, I observed the walls placarded in large letters which designated me as ‘Sir Francis Head, a tried Reformer.’” The foregoing remarks on the “Grievances” are themselves sufficient to show what an inadequate grasp Sir Francis had of the situation. He seems to have really believed—in so far as he believed anything about the matter—that the violent and bitter animosities which had been accumulating for many years could be summarily disposed of by the magnetism of his personal presence, and with a single wave of his hand. With his book of grievances and his instructions he conceived himself to be fully prepared to argue down all opposition. He fancied that he was to be another Caesar, and that his first despatch would announce that he had, in his own language, “*veni-ed*, *vidi-ed*, and *vici-ed*” all difficulties. In extenuation of this opinion, Sir Francis in after days pleaded that it was formed in ignorance of the exact circumstances of the case. But it also indicated something more than this. It indicated that his mind was of too petty an order to

deal with serious and complicated questions relating to public affairs. The manifold grievances of the people of Canada were not to be allayed in the same brusque, *ad captandum* fashion as the differences of a few parishes with regard to the manner of parochial assessment for the relief of the poor. The country laboured under evils which required a broad and statesmanlike treatment. There were both municipal and fiscal grievances without number, and the Crown nominees in the Legislative and Executive Councils practically ruled the land, utterly regardless of the wishes of the people as expressed in the House of Assembly. The Reform Party, as a body, had for years been doing their utmost to remove, by constitutional and legislative means, the many disabilities under which the people laboured. The extreme Radical section—the head and front of which was Mr. Mackenzie—had long clamoured loudly for redress. Mr. Mackenzie himself, several years before Sir Francis Head’s appointment, had gone over to Great Britain with his famous “Petition of Grievances,” which had had the effect of convincing the officials in Downing Street that Upper Canadians had really many just grounds of complaint. As to finding a proper remedy, that was reserved for Lord Durham. Meanwhile a policy of conciliation was resolved upon. In other words, Canadian affairs were shelved from time to time; and at last the crowning folly was committed of sending over this “tried Reformer” as Lieutenant-Governor.

Sir Francis had not been many days at his seat of Government before he had a private interview with Mr. Marshall Spring Bidwell, Speaker of the House of Assembly, from whom he learned for the first time that the Grievance Report, which he had so laboriously studied during his voyage across the Atlantic did not contain a complete record of the grievances of the Canadian people. During a subsequent in-

interview with Mr. Mackenzie himself he received an abundant confirmation of this fact. He accordingly jumped to the conclusion that the Grievance Petition was a mere pretext, and that there was a fixed determination on the part of the radicals to rebel. That this conclusion was erroneous there can now be no doubt whatever. A large majority, even of the most ultra-reformers, were loyal subjects of Great Britain, and had no sympathy with any projects of rebellion. Indeed, it is doubtful whether such projects were at that time seriously entertained by any one in the Upper Province. It seems more than probable that Mr. Mackenzie himself might easily have been conciliated, and that a wise and prudent Governor might have averted the worst of the disastrous consequences that followed. Sir Francis, however, though he for some time kept his convictions to himself, was fully persuaded that the whole population were tinged with disloyalty, and this impression had an important bearing upon his future policy. This "tried Reformer" at once passed, in the language of a Canadian historian, "from presumed Whiggism into old-fashioned Toryism," though he "shrank from the indecency of at once running counter to every principle of his appointment, and allying himself with the remnant of the Family Compact." He accordingly made a show of moderation, and of an apparent desire to show respect to the opinions of the majority in the Assembly. Three places were vacant in the Executive Council, owing to three of the old members having recently been dismissed. The vacancies were offered respectively to Robert Baldwin, John Rolph, and John Henry Dunn, all of whom stood high in the confidence and esteem of the Reform Party throughout the country. A conference followed between Mr. Baldwin and Sir Francis, during which the position of affairs was pretty fully discussed. The

nature of the discussion has already been given in this work, in the sketch of Mr. Baldwin's life. Its result was that Mr. Baldwin and the two other gentlemen above named accepted office. They were not long in discovering that the Governor had merely induced them to accept office for his own purposes, and that he had no intention of permitting them to have any voice in the direction of public affairs. They were kept in total ignorance of the Governor's policy, and their functions were restricted to insignificant matters of detail. Hangers-on of the Family Compact were appointed to offices by Sir Francis without any conference with the Reform members of the Council. He turned a deaf ear to all their remonstrances, and they accordingly resigned their seats in the Council. The vacancies were filled by more complaisant members, in whom the House of Assembly could place no reliance. A vote of want of confidence was passed, and the supplies were stopped. Then followed the dissolution of Parliament, a new general election, and a packed House of Assembly. Nearly all the prominent members of the Reform Party were defeated at the polls, and thus excluded from the House. To bring about this state of things the grossest corruption was practised, and the most outrageous misrepresentations were made. Lord Durham's Report gives a faithful picture of the false issues raised, and of the state of political feeling in the Province at the time. The contest, which appeared to be thus commenced on the question of the responsibility of the Executive Council, was really decided on very different grounds. Sir F. Head, who appears to have thought that the maintenance of the connection with Britain depended upon his triumph over the majority of the Assembly, embarked in the contest with a determination to use every influence in his power in order to bring it to a successful issue. He succeeded, in fact, in putting

the issue in such a light before the Province that a great portion of the people really imagined that they were called upon to decide the question of separation by their votes. The dissolution, on which he ventured when he thought the public mind sufficiently ripe, completely answered his expectations. The British, in particular, were roused by the proclaimed danger to the connection with the Mother Country; they were indignant at some portions of the speeches of certain members of the late majority which seemed to mark a determined preference to American over British institutions. They were irritated by indications of hostility to British immigration which they saw, or fancied they saw, in some recent proceedings of the Assembly. Above all, not only they, but a great many others, had marked with envy the stupendous public works which were at that period producing their effect in the almost marvellous growth of the wealth of the neighbouring State of New York; and they reproached the Assembly with what they considered an unwise economy, in preventing the undertaking or completion of similar works, that might, as they fancied, have produced a similar development of the resources of Upper Canada. The general support of the British determined the elections in favour of the Government; and though very large and close minorities, which in many cases supported the defeated candidates, marked the force which the Reformers could bring into the field, even in spite of the disadvantages under which they laboured from the momentary prejudices against them, and the unusual manner in which the Crown, by its representative, appeared to make itself a party in an electioneering contest, the result was the return of a very large majority hostile in politics to that of the late Assembly. Intelligence of Sir Francis's doings, however, soon reached the Colonial Office in London. The officials

there, as we have seen, were not very well informed as to Canadian affairs, but they were wise enough to see the gross impropriety of their emissary's proceedings. Their remonstrances, at first very mild, by degrees became emphatic, and Sir Francis, in a despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated 1st June, expressed his willingness to resign office. The Colonial Secretary, however, was at a loss to find any one to supply his place, and did not act upon the suggestion. Time passed by, and Sir Francis continued to pursue what he was pleased to call his "policy." The breach between himself and the Canadian people, as well as between himself and the Colonial Office, gradually became wider and wider. His principal differences with the Colonial Office, apart from his general misgovernment, arose out of his positive refusal to obey the instructions of the Colonial Secretary with reference to Mr. Bidwell and Mr. George Ridout. Mr. Bidwell was a lawyer in high standing, who, notwithstanding his strong political opinions, enjoyed the respect and esteem of every one. A vacancy occurred on the Judicial Bench, and Lord Glenelg instructed Sir Francis to elevate Mr. Bidwell to the vacant judgeship. Mr. Ridout had been Judge of the District Court of Niagara, but had been improperly dismissed from that post by Sir Francis. Notwithstanding the most emphatic instructions from the Colonial Office, the Governor positively declined either to elevate Mr. Bidwell to the Bench or to reinstate Mr. Ridout in the position of which he had been unjustly deprived. About this time the Executive Council also proved refractory, and Sir Francis found himself without support in the country. The troops had been withdrawn from Toronto by Sir John Colborne in order to assist in opposing Mr. Papineau's movements in the Lower Province. Sir John offered to leave two companies as a guard, but Sir Francis declined the offer,

and professed unbounded confidence in the "moral power" which he was able to exercise. His excuse, when he suddenly found himself attacked by armed rebels, was that he had all along foreseen and desired the insurrection, and even pretended unconsciousness, in order to tempt an outbreak. To avoid the imputation of negligence, Sir Francis's vanity sought refuge in one of the most detestable practices of the most unscrupulous tyranny. He endeavoured to load himself with the crime of having trepanned a number of ignorant and heated political opponents into the guilt and peril of treason; of having given facilities to crime, in order that he might find a pretext for punishment. But the simple fact is that Sir Francis, misled by his own vanity and carelessness, and the representations of the Family Compact, either totally disbelieved in the existence of danger, or thought that the magic of his rhodomontade would be as successful in a civil war as in an election. Accordingly he turned a deaf ear to all prudent overtures, and not only took no precaution but tried to prevent others from taking any. If Mr. Mackenzie and his adherents had been properly organized they might have invested Toronto without any difficulty whatever—though, of course, they could not have retained permanent possession of it. The withdrawal of the troops gave an impetus to the insurrection, and the drilling and other preparations for a rising produced a pretty general alarm throughout the Province. This was more especially the case in and near Toronto, where, in consequence of the strongest pressure, the Governor, with apparent reluctance, gave directions for the calling out of the militia. Even up to the beginning of December, 1837, he professed the utmost scepticism as to the impending outbreak, and did not believe such a small matter to be worthy of his august attention. Meanwhile Mackenzie had matured his plans for a

descent on Toronto on the 7th of December. He scoured through the country hither and thither, making arrangements which he believed would insure the success of his project. The history of that project falls more properly within the life of Mr. Mackenzie, where it is given in sufficient detail. Every Canadian knows how, through Sir Francis's hare-brained supineness, Toronto came very near being captured by the insurgents. The rebellion was crushed, not by him, nor even by his directions, but by the promptitude and efficiency of others. At its close he had scarcely a friend left in Upper Canada. He once more tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and Sir George Arthur was appointed as his successor. Early in the following spring Sir Francis bade adieu to the country which had been the scene of his disastrous administration, and in due course reached London. In consideration of his "great public services" he was created a baronet, and thenceforward retired into private life. Towards the close of 1839 he published the "Narrative" from which we have made several extracts in the course of this sketch. It was lauded to the skies by the *Quarterly* and other Conservative organs, but it was diametrically opposed to Lord Durham's version of affairs in Canada, and soon came to be rated at its true value.

With the close of his Canadian administration the public career of Sir Francis Head may be said to have come to an end. He devoted the greater part of his subsequent life to literary pursuits, and became a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly* and other periodicals. For many years before his death he enjoyed an annual pension of £100, "for his services in the cause of literature." One of the best known of his works is "The Emigrant," published several years after his return to England. Like most of his writings, it is sprightly and entertaining, but is too much mixed up with his own

experiences to be safely trusted. In 1850 he published his "Stokers and Pokers," which had originally appeared in the *Quarterly Review*. This is a clever and effective, though hasty and somewhat careless, sketch of the difficulties attendant on the construction, maintenance, and working of a great railway, with illustrations from scenes of "life along the line." In the same year, just after the elevation of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency of the French Republic, and when vague rumours of a possible invasion of Britain were abroad, he gave to the world a pamphlet on "The Defenceless State of Great Britain," a work which, with a little that was true, mixed up much that was false and erroneous, and to say the least, was so exaggerated that some critics professed to doubt whether it should be regarded as serious or imaginative. In May, 1851, after a visit to the land of his alarms, he published an interesting and amusing description of the places, scenes, and modes of life in Paris, under the title of "A Faggot of French Sticks," which soon became as great a favourite as his "Bubbles from the Brunnen," already mentioned, had been. In 1852, after a visit to Dublin, Galway, and other places in a rapid tour through Ireland, he published his "Fortnight in Ireland," which showed, as might have been expected, that he possessed a very slight knowledge of his subject, and that it was less easy to scamper profitably across Irish bogs than across South American mountains. Besides the works already mentioned, Sir Francis was the author of a pamphlet entitled "Practical Hints against the Theory of Emigration" (1828), a work which was scarcely up to the thought of the time when it was written, and which is now quite out of date; another on "English

Charity" (1853); "An Address to the House of Lords against the Union of the Canadas," commenting in no mild manner on the "improper means" by which the consent of the Upper Province had been obtained to that measure (1840); "High Ways and Dry Ways" (1849); "Comments on Mr. A. W. Kinglake's 'History of the Expedition to the Crimea'" (1863); two volumes of "Descriptive Essays contributed to the *Quarterly Review*" (1857); "The Royal Engineer" (1869); "The Horse and his Rider" (1860); and "Sketch of the Life of Field Marshal Sir John Burgoyne" (1872). Some of the statements made in his "Stokers and Pokers" respecting the London and North-western Railway, and more particularly with relation to the Britannia and Conway Tubular Bridges, were controverted by Mr. Thomas Fairbairn, soon after their first appearance in print.

Sir Francis Head, in addition to his English title, was a Knight of the Prussian Military Order of Merit. He was nominated a Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order in 1835; and was sworn a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council in 1867. Upon his death, on the 20th of July, 1875, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Mr. Francis Somerville Head, who is now second Baronet, and who was formerly an officer in the Indian Civil Service. He is a magistrate for the county of Surrey. The late Baronet's other sons are Mr. Henry Bond Head, late captain in the 2nd Dragoon Guards, and the Rev. George Head, rector of Aston Somerville, Gloucestershire. His daughter Julia Maria, married in 1843 Mr. Robert Williamson Ramsay, formerly captain in the 42nd Foot. The family seat is at Duppas Hall, Croydon, a few miles south of London.

## THE HON. SAMUEL HENRY STRONG.

MR. JUSTICE STRONG is a son of the Rev. Samuel T. Strong, formerly Rector of Bytown, Upper Canada, and now of Brockton, near Toronto. He was born in Dorsetshire, England, in 1825, but accompanied his family to this country in his early boyhood, and was for a short time resident at Kingston. Upon his father's appointment to the Rectory of Bytown the family removed thither. Young Samuel was educated at various public and private schools in Bytown—now called Ottawa—and when about seventeen years of age became a student at law in the office of Mr. Augustus Keefer, who was then one of the leading practitioners in that part of Canada. He completed his legal studies in Toronto, in the office of the late Mr. Henry Eccles, one of the most distinguished counsel that ever practised at the Canadian Bar. In 1848 he was admitted to practise as an attorney and solicitor, and in Hilary Term, 1849, he was called to the Bar. He began practice in Toronto, and from the outset devoted himself chiefly to the Equity Branch of his profession. He had not been long at the Equity Bar before he occupied a place in the front rank with Oliver Mowat, John Roaf, and others. He displayed extraordinary quickness in grasping the salient points of the cases which came within his purview, and in this respect has probably never had an equal either at the Bar or on the Bench of this country. After he had been some

time in practice he formed a partnership with Mr. William Marshall Matheson, the present Master and Deputy Registrar in Chancery at Ottawa, under the style of Strong & Matheson. Mr. Thomas Wardlaw Taylor, the present Master in Ordinary of the Court of Chancery, was subsequently admitted to the firm, the style of which thenceforward became Strong, Matheson & Taylor. This firm existed for some years, and did a very large and successful Equity business until 1858, when it was dissolved. Mr. Strong subsequently practised alone for several years, after which he formed a partnership with Mr. John Hoskin, of Toronto. Upon Mr. Hoskin's withdrawal from the firm, and for some years prior to his elevation to the Bench, Mr. Strong was without a partner.

In 1856 he was appointed a member of the Commission for the consolidation of the Statutes of Canada and of Upper Canada, and took part in the labours of that Commission until the task was fully accomplished towards the close of 1859. In 1860 he was elected a Benchler of the Law Society of Upper Canada; and in 1863 he received a silk gown. On the 27th of December, 1869, he was appointed to the Bench of the Court of Chancery, as one of its Vice-Chancellors. In 1871 he became a member of the Commission to inquire into the constitution and jurisdiction of the courts, with a view to the effecting of important legal reforms,

and a possible fusion of the Law and Equity Courts. Finally, on the 8th of October, 1875, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the Dominion, which necessitated his removal from Toronto to Ottawa.

Mr. Strong has never taken any decided part in politics, and his honours have been won by his professional attainments alone. Though by no means a recluse or a book-worm in his habits, his legal erudition is very great, and his memory for judicial decisions is almost miraculous. There is no keener intellect on the Canadian Bench, and great deference is paid to his judgments,

not only by the profession at large, but by his brethren on the Bench of the Supreme Court. He is specially distinguished for his knowledge of Law as a science, and of the principles of Jurisprudence generally. His faculty for legal expression and exact phraseology is most conspicuous, and by contrast to the loose and popular modes of pleading now prevalent the younger practitioners can find excellent models in those drawn by Mr. Strong, which well illustrate his learning and logical acumen, and the influence of that study and training which has produced so many distinguished judges.







*W. H. P.*

## THE HON. SIR ALEXANDER TILLOCH GALT.

SIR ALEXANDER GALT is the youngest son of the late Mr. John Galt, a gentleman who once enjoyed a fair share of popularity as an author, but who is better known in this country from his connection with the Canada Company. As the scheme of the present work does not include a separate sketch of the life of this gentleman, and as his career is not without interest to Canadians, a few particulars respecting it may as well be inserted here. He was born at Irvine, in Ayrshire, Scotland, on the 2nd of May, 1799. He was originally intended for a mercantile career, but did not devote much time to commercial pursuits, which he abandoned in order to occupy himself with literature. He repaired to London, and published several poems. His literary pursuits, however, were checked by ill health, and he started on a prolonged tour through Southern Europe, in the course of which he formed a friendship with Lord Byron, of whom he subsequently wrote a biography. After his return to England he again embarked in literature, and published an account of his travels, as well as several novels, which were received with much favour. He was a man of varied accomplishments, and shone in London society at a time when that society was exceptionally brilliant. He also acquired a high reputation for shrewdness and worldly wisdom, which circumstance eventually led to his removal to Canada. In the year 1823, a

company called "The Canada Land Company," chiefly composed of members of the London Stock Exchange, was projected in England. The design of its projectors was to buy up large tracts of wild land in Canada, and to dispose of the same in small lots to emigrants, or to any one else who might think proper to purchase. From its first inception it was a mere commercial enterprise, and whatever opinion may be entertained as to its having retarded the settlement of this country, its operations have undoubtedly been very profitable to the stockholders. Mr. Galt was an active promoter of this Company, and indeed was chiefly instrumental in originating it. One of the first proceedings of the gentlemen composing it was to appoint commissioners to go out to Canada in order to ascertain from personal inspection what lands it would be most advantageous to purchase. Mr. Galt was one of the commissioners appointed for this purpose, and in the spring of the year 1824 he and his coadjutors sailed for America. They travelled over a great part of the Upper Province, and returned to England the same year. They presented a report embodying the results of their observation, and recommending the purchase of various large tracts in different parts of the Province. After all preliminaries had been arranged, a charter was granted to the Company, and Mr. Galt was again despatched to Canada to negotiate

on its behalf. He entered into contracts whereby the Company became possessed of about two and a half millions of acres of land in Upper Canada. One of the earliest of his negotiations consisted of the purchase of the entire township of Guelph, containing about forty thousand acres, of which he directed an immediate survey. In the course of his travels through the township in the winter of 1826-7, Mr. Galt fixed upon the present site of Guelph as a suitable spot for the erection of a town. He conceived that the location possessed many advantages, and having engaged a number of "slashers" he directed them to repair to the appointed place on the 23rd of April following. His behests were obeyed, and on the 23rd of April, 1827, the town of Guelph was "inaugurated" with imposing ceremonies by Mr. Galt, Dr. Dunlop, and a Mr. Prior, all of whom were in the service of the Company. Mr. Galt also took part in the acquisition and settlement of the Huron Tract. Soon afterwards serious difficulties began to arise between him and the English directors. Though Mr. Galt was eminently successful in founding settlements, and partially so in his efforts to induce a tide of emigration to Canada, these results were not brought about without a large expenditure of money. The outlay was not only prodigiously in excess of what had been contemplated by the directors, but there can be no doubt that it was much more lavish than was either necessary or expedient for the Company's interests. Mr. Galt was not a practical man, and was in many instances subjected by his agents to gross imposition. He entertained enthusiastic theories on the subject of emigration, with which the directors had but little sympathy. The first consideration with them was large dividends; and it soon became apparent that large dividends were not to be looked for while Mr. Galt was permitted to direct the operations of the Company in Canada. The differences be-

came wider and wider, until there was no hope of reconciliation; and in the summer of 1828 a Mr. Smith was sent over from England to look after the expenditure. Within a few months thereafter Mr. Galt withdrew from the service of the Company and returned to England. He was at this time almost entirely without means, and was compelled to pass through the Insolvent Debtors' Court, and to devote himself to literature as a means of earning his daily bread. For about ten years afterwards he continued to pour out volume after volume of fiction, together with one or two works of a more solid character. A certain measure of success attended most of his publications, but they may now be said to have had their day. After sustaining repeated attacks of paralysis, he died at Greenock, in Scotland, on the 11th of April, 1839. Personally, he was a man of high character and of a most pleasant and genial disposition. He was held in high esteem by a wide circle of friends on both sides of the Atlantic. Several of his sons have figured conspicuously in Canadian affairs. Sir Alexander T. Galt's career is outlined in the present sketch. Thomas, another son, was for more than a quarter of a century one of the foremost lawyers at the Upper Canadian Bar, and now occupies a seat on the Bench. An account of his life will also be found in this work. John, the eldest son, was for many years Registrar of the county of Huron, and resided at Goderich down to the time of his death a few years since.

Alexander, the subject of this sketch, was born at his father's house, in Chelsea, London, England, on the 6th of September, 1817. He received his education at various English schools, and is said to have been somewhat of a favourite with the literary lions who occasionally assembled at his father's house. Like his father, he early manifested a fondness for literary pursuits, and is said to have contributed to magazines

when he was only fourteen years of age. When he was sixteen, a situation was procured for him in the employ of the British America Land Company, which rendered it necessary that he should take up his abode on this side of the Atlantic. The Eastern Townships were the scene of some of the chief operations of the Company, and in 1835 young Alexander Galt settled down at Sherbrooke. He displayed much ability as an accountant, as well as a general aptitude for business, and steadily rose in the service until 1844, when he attained the position of Chief Commissioner. He occupied that position for twelve years, during which his financial abilities were signally displayed, to the great benefit of the Company. At the time of his appointment the Company's affairs were in a state of great confusion, and the enterprise was believed to be upon the verge of insolvency. In the course of a few years Mr. Galt restored order where all had been disorder, and placed the affairs of the Company upon a sound and prosperous footing.

In 1849 he for the first time entered Parliament, as Member for the county of Sherbrooke. As a politician he has always been remarkable for the moderation of his views, and has had little sympathy with the violent party measures of either side. From the outset he has always professed Liberal opinions, though, upon entering Parliament he opposed the Liberal Administration of Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine, and voted against the Rebellion Losses Bill. He took part in the annexation movement of that troubled period, and was one of the signatories to the famous "Manifesto." Upon the removal of the seat of Government from Montreal to Toronto, consequent upon the destruction of the Parliament Buildings in the former city, Mr. Galt retired from public life, and returned to his duties in connection with the Land Company. He also engaged largely in the pro-

motion of other public enterprises, more especially in the construction of railways, and became President of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad Company. In conjunction with the late Hon. John Young, he succeeded in extricating that enterprise from the many difficulties which nearly submerged it, and brought about its amalgamation with the Grand Trunk Line. He about the same time entered into partnership with Messrs. C. S. Gzowski, D. L. Macpherson and L. H. Holton, under the style of Gzowski & Co., and was a member of that firm during the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway westward from Toronto to Sarnia. In 1853 he again entered the political arena, and was returned to the Assembly for the town of Sherbrooke, which he thenceforward continued to represent in that Body until Confederation. He at once took a prominent part in the debates, and was recognized as a very high authority on all matters relating to finance, trade, and commerce generally. He opposed the Hincks-Morin Administration, and continued to support the succeeding Government under its various modifications until its fall in 1858. His support, however, was not unqualified, and on many public measures which seemed to him to require independence of action he voted without fear or favour. After the collapse of the short-lived Brown-Dorion Government, Sir Edmund Head applied to Mr. Galt to form a new Cabinet. Mr. Galt, however, is a Protestant, and, though he represented a Lower Canadian constituency, he was not regarded with enthusiasm by the French-Canadian element in the Legislature. His political views, moreover, were of too moderate a stamp to enable him to count upon enthusiastic support from either of the political parties in the country. He had no confidence in his power to form a Government which would receive public support, and declined to make the attempt; where-

upon the "Double-Shuffle" took place, and the Cartier-Macdonald Administration succeeded to power. In this Administration Mr. Galt accepted the post of Minister of Finance, as successor to Mr. Cayley, and from that time forward he was identified with the politics of his colleagues.

His tenure of office was no sinecure, for he succeeded to an embarrassed exchequer and a confused state of the public accounts. Extraordinary methods of raising money had been resorted to, and there was a discrepancy between the real and apparent expenditure of between three and four millions of dollars. An increase in the customs and excise duties was contemplated, and aroused a great deal of angry discussion, both within the walls of Parliament and elsewhere throughout the country. The cry for retrenchment in the public expenditure was both loud and persistent. Such being the state of affairs, it is not to be wondered at that the accession to office of a Minister of Finance who enjoyed the reputation of being a clear-headed man of business, and an adept in dealing with confused and complicated accounts; who was moderate in his politics, and whose personal integrity was untarnished, should have proved a great source of strength to the Administration. Mr. Galt entered upon his duties with a full determination that he would prove himself equal to the emergency. During the ensuing session an additional impost was added to the customs duties, and the decimal system of currency was introduced. The combined influence of the new tariff, an abundant harvest, and a restoration of public confidence, produced a visible effect. The Finance Minister was able to report a surplus. There was, however, a large increase in the public debt, owing, in great measure, to profuse expenditure in the construction of railways during the preceding ten years. To say that Mr. Galt's financial policy was an immediate and un-

mixed success would be to say that he was a greater financial genius than Colbert. Such a result could not have been accomplished by any Minister of Finance. The consequences of the recklessness and incompetence of many years could not be wiped out of existence at a moment's notice. His career as a Finance Minister, however, was highly honourable to him. A consolidation of the public debt was effected, and a Canadian loan was successfully negotiated in England. The collection and administration of the finances were reduced to system, and many important reforms were effected in the public service by his authority. In May, 1862, the Government sustained a defeat on the Militia Bill, and the members went into Opposition. During the two short Administrations which succeeded, Mr. Galt was not called upon to take any conspicuous part in public affairs; but upon the formation of the Taché-Macdonald Ministry in March, 1864, he again became Minister of Finance. Parties, however, were too easily balanced to admit of any Government's being secure, and before the existing one had been in office three months it experienced disaster through one of Mr. Galt's own acts. On the 14th of June, Mr. Dorion moved a resolution, as an amendment to the motion to go into Committee of Supply, censuring the Government for having advanced \$100,000 from the public chest without the authority of Parliament for the redemption of bonds of a like amount of the City of Montreal, which bonds were redeemable by the Grand Trunk Railway Company. This resolution was carried by a majority of two, and the defeat of the Ministry was followed by the negotiations which led to the formation of the Coalition Government under the auspices whereof the scheme of Confederation was carried out.

Mr. Galt had long favoured the idea of a Federal Union of the Provinces, and six years before had accompanied Sir George

Cartier and the Hon. John Ross to England to urge the project upon the Imperial Government. In the negotiations which now ensued, and which finally resulted in the accomplishment of Confederation, he took a foremost part. He was a delegate to both the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences in 1864, and to the London Conference in 1867, when the terms of Union were finally settled. In 1866 he repaired to Washington on behalf of the Canadian Government for the purpose of obtaining a renewal of the reciprocity treaty with the United States. The attempt failed, and not long afterwards Mr. Galt resigned his place in the Cabinet, owing to his dissatisfaction with the educational policy. He, however, proceeded to England during the following year, as we have seen, as a delegate from Lower Canada to the London Conference; and after Confederation had been brought about he accepted office as Minister of Finance in the first Dominion Government, under Sir John A. Macdonald as Premier. He presented himself for election to his old constituents in the town of Sherbrooke, which place he had represented in the Canadian Assembly for a continuous period of twenty-three years. He was once more returned, and represented the constituency in the House of Commons for five years. On the occasion of his accepting office at this time he was sworn of Her Majesty's Privy Council of Canada. He did not long retain his portfolio, and the reasons which induced him to resign it have never been made public, though they have given rise to much profitless speculation. He continued to sit in the House as a private member, untrammelled by any ties of party, and voted on all measures according to his personal estimation of their respective merits. On several occasions he criticized the policy of the Administration, more especially with respect to measures affecting the financial policy of the country, and on one occasion

he moved a resolution condemning the increase of expenditure. He opposed Sir John A. Macdonald's mission to Washington in 1871, as a Joint High Commissioner, upon the ground that there should first be some expression of opinion as to the policy of Canada by the House of Commons. He subsequently voted in favour of the Government measure affirming the principle of the Treaty. He opposed the pledge to construct the Pacific Railway within ten years, but supported the Government Railway Bill a year afterwards. It would be unfair, however, for any one unacquainted with all the motives by which he was actuated to describe his Parliamentary career as vacillating. The conditions were undergoing constant changes, and it might have been quite consistent with mental stability for a man to oppose in December a measure which he had supported in the previous February.

In 1869 Mr. Galt was created a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. At the general elections of 1872 he declined to allow himself to be nominated for re-election, and retired to private life. Three years later some of the Montreal newspapers referred to him as a probable candidate for the representation of that city, which had been his home for many years previously. These references brought out a letter addressed by Sir Alexander to the Hon. James Ferrier, expressing his views upon some of the leading topics of the day. In this letter he expressed much anxiety at the increase of the financial obligations of the Dominion, and suggested an abandonment, by arrangement with British Columbia, of the Pacific Railway, and the adoption of a hostile or retaliatory tariff towards the United States. He has not since re-entered political life, unless his recent appointment is to be so characterized. In 1875 he began to emulate, in this country, the example set by Mr. Gladstone in England, and published a pamphlet on the

alleged encroachments of Ultramontanism. Both in Montreal and in Toronto he delivered public speeches to the same purport, and thereby rendered himself not a little obnoxious to the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The latest important event in Sir Alexander Galt's career was his appointment, a few months ago, to the position of High Commissioner from the Dominion to Great Britain, with official residence in London. The nature of his duties do not seem to be very clearly defined, but they are presumably partly financial, partly diplomatic, and partly connected with the promotion of emigration from Great Britain to Canada. The appointment has evoked a good deal of criticism on the part of the Opposition press, and the creation of the office of High Commissioner has been pronounced to have been unnecessary. Into the discussion of that question it is not our purpose to enter; but it is on all hands admitted that if there is to be such an office, no more eligible candidate could be found than the subject of this sketch. The leading organ of the Opposition, in referring to the subject some time since, indulged in some remarks which are worth quoting, as reflecting the opinion of those who entertain the least favourable opinion of Sir Alexander's qualities. "The hope that Sir Alexander Galt will perform the duties of Minister to England more efficiently than any other eligible Canadian politician is founded on his unlikeness to most or all of our prominent public men. Those who believe that a facile disposition fits a man to be a diplomatist, and conceive a diplomatist's to be the highest type of

character, may properly say that Sir Alexander is almost a great man. From nature he received a mind which forbade him to belong to any party or to hold fast by any principles. Not that he can be called unprincipled in the usual acceptance of the term. He is in fact a man of opinions formed with reference solely to what he considers expedient. . . . His manners are more than agreeable—they are charming; familiar without inducing to familiarity, dignified without a trace of restraint. His qualities are indeed such that Canada may be proud of her representative. In fact his mind fits him to be a social success, inasmuch as he always has plenty of ideas big and little, none of which he entertains long enough to make them obtrusive. What he agrees to from courtesy to-day he may hold by reasoning to-morrow, and drop the day after for the pleasure of making a change. In business we cannot imagine him doing anything which he believes to be evil, but he has remarkable facility in assuring himself that nothing is wrong which appears to be expedient." There is nothing to be added on this subject, except to say that Sir Alexander has taken up his residence in the British capital, and that he is already a prominent and popular member of London society.

Sir Alexander has been connected with numerous important public undertakings in addition to those already mentioned, and was for many years Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sherbrooke Reserve Militia. He has been twice married—first to Elliott, daughter of the late Mr. John Torrance, of Montreal; second to Amy, sister of his first wife.



## THE REV. MICHAEL STAFFORD.

THIS gentleman, who is better known by his priestly title of "Father" Stafford, has for more than twelve years past occupied the position of Roman Catholic parish priest of Lindsay, Ontario. Though acting in so comparatively humble a sphere, he has become known throughout the country as a man of genuine philanthropy, earnest zeal, and practical piety. His exertions in the cause of temperance, or—to speak more accurately—of total abstinence, have been attended with great benefits, and have by no means been restricted to those who profess his own theological creed. He was born in the township of Drummond, in the county of Lanark, Ontario, on the 1st of March, 1832. The homestead was on the banks of the Mississippi, about eight miles from the town of Perth. His parents came originally from Wexford, in Ireland, and made a home for themselves in the Canadian forest. A mile distant from their abode was the early home of the late Hon. Malcolm Cameron, and entertaining incidents are still told of the election campaign when young Malcolm ran as "the barefooted boy" against a scion of the Family Compact, receiving the hearty support of Stafford *père*, who was an earnest Reformer, and who worked with special zeal in this election, although the general influence of his Church was put forward on the other side. Young Stafford went to the county school until he was fourteen, and then spent two years

at the Perth High School. He afterwards spent a year at Chambly College, where he acquired a knowledge of the French language. The six succeeding years were passed at Ste. Thérèse, where his course in arts was finished. He then entered Regiopolis College, Kingston, and studied theology under the Venerable Vicar-General McDonnell, Professor of Languages and Theology, with whom he was a great favourite, and who always manifested the deepest interest in his welfare. During the latter part of his course at this institution he acted as assistant-chaplain at the Penitentiary, and in the discharge of this duty observed that liquor-drinking had a great deal to do with filling the cells of the establishment; but it was not till some years afterwards that he became a total abstainer, and a determined and effective foe to intemperance. He was ordained priest in 1858, by Bishop Horan, and was immediately appointed director of Regiopolis College, and Professor of Philosophy and Metaphysics. The young priest's preference was at this time decidedly for a life within the college walls as an educator, rather than for the missionary and parish work in which he was subsequently to win substantial success and celebrity. As boy and young man he had always been somewhat delicate, and the severity of his studies and devotion to his professorial and other duties induced pulmonary disease, to which four of the best physicians of the

country predicted he must shortly succumb. The Vicar-General resolved to try and save the life of his favourite student, and together they started in January, 1859, for Cuba. On reaching Charleston, S.C., the Vicar-General found that his patient could not stand the increasing heat, and they accordingly went up to the "hill country"—the Pine Ridge on the Pedee River—where the winter was spent with advantage to the health of the invalid. Here he saw slavery perhaps under its most advantageous forms, but it did not reconcile him to it, and Father Stafford, while at an auction sale of slaves at Richmond, having expressed his disapprobation somewhat strongly, though unobtrusively, was "warned" by a peace officer, who supposed he was from the Northern States. The statement that he was a British subject changed the warning to friendly advice and hospitable treatment. The summer was spent in a trip to Ireland, England and France, and he came back in September completely restored to health. He went back to his duties in the College as Professor of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics, and remained for the scholastic year. About nine months were spent at Pictou and six at Kemptville in the place of priests absent through ill-health. In October he was appointed to the parish of Wolfe Island. Here he had an opportunity of seeing what was not then to be seen in any other part of Upper Canada—a congregation of Roman Catholics who were total abstainers, and who had been total abstainers for twelve years. There was no fighting, no quarrelling, no begging; the schools were all flourishing, and all in consequence of total abstinence, which had been established by the Rev. Father Foley. Father Stafford had there an opportunity of seeing Calvin & Breck's industry carried on. They would sometimes have from one hundred and fifty to two hundred raftsmen employed in rafting square timber and staves; and though these

men had to work in the water all day, they took no liquor, and as Father Stafford has stated in his public addresses, to his knowledge they never became ill. In May, 1868, he was appointed to the parish of Lindsay, and settled there with some regret, as he found a perceptible difference between the state of things there and on the island. The schools were behind, and the people were not so comfortable, not so well lodged, and not so well educated as on the island. There were then eight taverns, or liquor houses, in the township of Ops. He found out, on inquiry, the enormous amount spent in liquor, and set himself diligently to work to remedy the evil. A considerable number of the members of his congregation had lost their farms through drinking and the consequences of drinking. He was forced to the conclusion that the only way to stop the drinking was to organize a total abstinence society. This was done, and at the end of the first year nine hundred persons had taken the pledge. Within two years most of the members of the congregation had followed their example. The *shebeens* gradually disappeared; the farms and farm-houses improved; comfortable and well-appointed brick school-houses took the places of the old log buildings, and the township advanced to the rank of one of the best in the county and Province. It is curious to note that, as the taverns were closed, new brick schoolhouses sprang up; then there were eight liquor-selling houses and only two brick school-houses; now the number of the latter edifices is twelve—being one for each section in the township. The Separate School in Lindsay was then one of inferior character, but is now a very fine building, erected in 1869. The average attendance then was one hundred; the new school afforded accommodation for twice that number, and within a year after it was opened all the accommodation was taken up. The competitive examination established in Ops showed that

in the school sections where most drinking had been done the education was inferior, but in the sections where total abstinence prevailed the reverse was the case. Father Stafford has always taken a deep interest in education. Some years ago he gave twenty dollars a year in prizes for the Ops competitive examination, and the results were very gratifying. His efforts to improve the educational facilities of Ops and Lindsay are well known. As an instance of this, we may mention that he supplied several Public Schools of Ops with maps and apparatus, and that the trustees put up brick school buildings in accordance with his plans as to architecture and ventilation. In addition to the fine Separate School building erected in Lindsay, the handsome Loretto Convent is a substantial testimony to his enterprise and zeal, as well as to the liberal manner in which he was supported by his fellow citizens. The ventilation of the convent has some special merits, and has been highly recommended by the Provincial Architect, Mr. Kivas Tully, and has been adopted for the Normal School at Ottawa and the Female College at Duffin's Creek; while several farmers of the county of Victoria have adopted the same principle for their private dwellings. With the approval of the Archbishop of Toronto, and of his own bishop, Father Stafford succeeded in 1860 in getting the Education Department to introduce into their Depository a supply of books for Roman Catholic schools, school libraries and prize books—an arrangement that was greatly appreciated by the Catholics of the Province. It was fitting that the Government should offer so active an educationist the appointment of Head Master of the Ottawa Normal School, when it was opened several years ago; but he de-

clined the offer, as he felt satisfied that the sedentary work would not agree with his health. In the summer of 1876 he paid a visit to England and Ireland, and frequently addressed large meetings in advocacy of total abstinence, while he said everywhere a good word for Canada. In London he lectured at the request of Cardinal Manning, and had very large audiences. Father Stafford's bold and statesmanlike utterances on the occasion of the 12th of July disturbances in Montreal in 1877, are still fresh in the public memory, and are worthy of preservation in a permanent form, more especially in a land where there is a perpetually-recurring liability to such contingencies.

As a speaker, Father Stafford does not strive to produce striking effect by "brilliant" oratory. He is concise and simple, but speaks with an energy and earnestness that make a deep impression. He depends more upon facts and experiences than upon glittering generalities, and his arguments and appeals have the greater power over his audience. Being still in the prime of life, this social reformer has before him a career of great usefulness to the country, and his field of work promises to become greatly widened as time rolls on. He is much beloved and esteemed by his people, who have more than once testified their appreciation of his labours. He has on his part evinced commendable generosity, especially in promoting the educational interests of the parish, and on one occasion he contributed out of his own resources the large sum of \$7,500. His interest in social reform and sanitary matters has also been very active and useful, and his career as a whole is one which we should be glad to see imitated by many of his contemporaries in this country, both clerical and lay.

## THE REV. WILLIAM CAVEN, D.D.,

*PRINCIPAL OF KNOX COLLEGE, TORONTO.*

PRINCIPAL CAVEN was born in the parish of Kirkecolm, Wigtonshire, Scotland, on the 26th of December, 1830. His ancestors on both sides had been settled in that neighbourhood for centuries, and several of them figure conspicuously in the local annals. They were in their day strenuous supporters of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the names of some of them are enshrined on the roll of the "Wigton Martyrs." One of the most cherished traditions of the family on the mother's side relates how one of them, for refusing to abjure his faith, suffered grievous bodily mutilation at the hands of the dragoons of "Bloody Claverse"—known to history as John Graham, Viscount Dundee. A less accurately authenticated tradition identifies Margaret Wilson, who suffered martyrdom in 1685, along with Margaret Macdachlan,\* as a member of the family from which Principal Caven's mother is descended.

His father was the late Mr. John Caven, a sound scholar and a very worthy man, who was by profession a school teacher. The late Mr. Caven was a member of the United Secession Church, which, by its union, in 1840, with the "Relief" Church, as it was called, formed the United Presby-

terian Church—an organization which still retains a separate corporate existence in Scotland and the United States, though it has long since lost it in Canada and some of the other colonies, owing to successive unions between it and other Presbyterian bodies. Not being a member of the Established Church of Scotland, Mr. Caven was in those days ineligible for the position of a parish schoolmaster, but he had no difficulty in obtaining pupils, and enjoyed a creditable reputation alike as a sound scholar and a successful instructor. He emigrated from Wigtonshire to Canada in the summer of 1847, and for a short time took up his abode near Galt, Ontario, in the township of North Dumfries. After a time he removed to the neighbourhood of St. Mary's, where he continued to reside down to the time of his death a few months since. He resumed his labours in the work of education after his arrival in Canada, first as a teacher, and afterwards as a school superintendent, and was greatly beloved for his amiability and uprightness of character.

His son, the subject of this memoir, received his early education at the school kept by his father, in the parish of Kirkecolm. He was a diligent student, and did full justice to his father's instructions. He chose the ministry as his profession, and when the family emigrated and settled in Dumfries, he began his studies under the auspices of the United Presbyterian Church,

\* This conspicuous event in the history of the Covenanters will be found at length in the pages of Wodrow. The general reader, who may not happen to have a copy of Wodrow at his elbow, will find a sufficiently graphic account of it in the fourth chapter of Macaulay's "History of England."

which had been planted in Western Canada, largely through the instrumentality of the Rev. William Fraser, of Bondhead, and the Rev. Alexander Mackenzie, of Goderich, both of whom came as missionaries from Nova Scotia. The educational institutions of the country were not in a very forward state in those days. The Presbyterian body had at that time no regular collegiate institution of its own, and candidates for the ministry were forced to content themselves with such appliances as could be provided. The training of students was entrusted to the late Rev. William Proudfoot, of London—father of the present Vice-Chancellor—and the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie above mentioned. Mr. Caven devoted himself assiduously to the prescribed literary and theological course under the direction of those venerable men. During the academical year of 1850-51 he studied in Toronto, and completed his course by reading for another year. He was licensed to preach in the early part of 1852, by the old Flamboro' Presbytery, and in October of the same year he was ordained and inducted into the pastorate of the charge known as St. Mary's and Downie. At one period in his career as a student he was engaged for a short time in the work of teaching, and during 1855 and 1856 he spent nearly a year in Scotland for the benefit of his health, without, however, surrendering his pastoral charge. These were the only interruptions which occurred in his work as a student and minister until 1865, when the Synod appointed him and his present colleague, Professor Gregg, to fill, during alternate terms, the chair of Exegetical Theology and Biblical Criticism, which had been vacated by Professor Young in the previous year. The appointment of Professor of the same Department was permanently conferred upon him in 1866, and from that time to the present he has continued to occupy that position. As a teacher of Exegetics, he has from the commence-

ment of his incumbency been noted for his great moderation and candour in stating the opinions which he feels bound to controvert, not less than by his firm adhesion to views of Biblical interpretation held in common by all Evangelical churches, as well as those which are more distinctively characteristic of his own. The truth, as he holds it, and as the Presbyterian Church holds it, has no more fearless and uncompromising defender, and few more efficient.

In 1870, Dr. Willis, who was Principal of the college, resigned that position, and was succeeded by Professor Caven, under the title of Chairman of the College Board. This title, in 1873, was abandoned for that of Principal, which position and title he still holds by appointment of the General Assembly. When an effort was made to procure a new edifice for the college he was chosen chairman of the committee appointed to canvass for funds, and in this capacity he, in company with his colleague, Professor Gregg, spent two summers in making a tour through the Province of Ontario. Mainly through their exertions the building fund had by the end of that time risen to nearly \$100,000, all of which, together with about \$30,000 since raised, has been expended on the new building, the cornerstone of which was laid in April, 1874. The college was occupied for the first time during the academical year of 1875-76. There is also in existence in connection with the college the nucleus of an endowment fund, the principal part of which consists of a bequest of \$40,000 from the late Mr. William Hall, of Peterboro', who died intestate, but whose well-known intentions in the matter were carried out by his heirs-at-law in a manner as creditable to them as it will doubtless prove beneficial to the institution. The endowment fund at the present time amounts to about \$52,000.

Principal Caven has always been a zealous advocate of the union of the various branches

of the Presbyterian Church. By the amalgamation of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches of Canada in 1861 he became a minister of what was for the next fourteen years known as the Canada Presbyterian Church. He was appointed a member of the Union Committee of that body when an amalgamation between it and the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland was first projected, and no one person did more to bring the negotiations to a successful termination than he. He was Moderator of the Canada Presbyterian Church in 1875, and at the Union it devolved upon him, in his official capacity, to sign the Articles of Union in the name of the Church.

Though not past middle age, and though neither a brilliant nor a showy orator, Principal Caven has won a high reputation, not only as Principal of one of the most important of our educational institutions, but as a preacher, a member of church courts, a scholar and a thinker. Persons thoroughly capable of forming an unbiassed opinion have declared that as a debater he is unrivalled in the Presbyterian Church. It is said that "Having first clearly thought out his own view of the matter in hand, he has the faculty of presenting it in a singularly effective way for the consideration of others. His arguments are invariably characterized

by an amount of lucidity and a freedom from sophistry which are well calculated to give weight to his utterances, and which, combined with a considerable amount of forensic skill, and the well-known intellectual sincerity of the speaker, seldom fail to win a substantial victory for the side which is so fortunate as to secure his advocacy. Although one of the most immovable and uncompromising of ecclesiastics in all matters where a principle is at stake, Principal Caven is at the same time one of the gentlest, most retiring, and most unassuming of men, his great influence being the result of no conscious striving after it on his part; while his manner is the perfect embodiment of quiet power."

Principal Caven takes a deep, if unobtrusive interest in all questions affecting the public welfare, and is specially interested in educational matters. In 1877 he was elected to the Presidency of the Ontario Teachers' Association, as successor to Professor Goldwin Smith. This position he still retains. He was appointed Chairman of one of the sederunts of the General Presbyterian Council, which met in Edinburgh, Scotland, in July, 1877.

In July, 1856, he married Miss Goldie, of Greenfields, near Ayr, in the county of Waterloo, Ontario. He has a family of seven children.







## THE HON. LUTHER HAMILTON HOLTON.

NO man who has taken an equally conspicuous part in public life in this country during the last quarter of a century has succeeded in retaining a larger share of the personal friendship and respect of politicians of every phase of opinion than the late Mr. Holton. Though a sufficiently pronounced party man, who took his full share in the stirring debates of his time, and who had always the courage of his opinions, he was no mere factionist, and always regarded the interests of his country as paramount to those of any party whatsoever. He possessed an uncommonly well-balanced mind, and was never led into the errors into which extreme partisans on both sides are tolerably certain to fall. Persons who are entitled to speak with authority have declared that, throughout the long course of his political life, though he was frequently engaged in the bitter conflicts engendered by the times, he never discussed questions in such a manner as to be unable to meet his adversaries the next hour, and give them a cordial grasp of the hand. His antagonism was confined to matters affecting the public welfare, and, so far as is known and believed, he left not a single personal enemy behind him. He was sensitive to public opinion, and proud of the popularity which he enjoyed; but he was wise enough to know that no man can ever be permanently popular who ceases to be true to himself. He fought the battles of Parliamentary and

Constitutional freedom with unflinching courage, and with a firmness and tenacity which knew no shadow of turning; but his breast was intolerant of rancour, and he could do justice to the sincerity of purpose of those who honestly differed from him. We have had more impassioned and effective orators in our Canadian Parliament; we have had statesmen of stronger individuality, and more comprehensive grasp; we have had Cabinet Ministers more brilliant and more showy, but we have had none more truly honourable and useful, none more truly respected, more sincerely desirous for the public good, or who worked for that end with more unswerving singleness of mind; none with a higher sense of duty to the public which he served; none better adapted by nature and training for a trustworthy and serviceable member of Parliament. His sudden and unexpected death at the age of sixty-two years has left a gap in the ranks of his Party, and indeed in the ranks of Parliament, which will not soon be filled. At the time of his death he was, with the single exception of the Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, the oldest member of the House of Commons.

He was born in the township of Lansdowne, in the county of Leeds, Upper Canada, in the month of October, 1817. Concerning his early life we have but slight information. In 1826, just before the completion of his ninth year, the family of

which he was a member removed to Montreal, which thenceforward continued to be his home. In early youth he embarked in commercial pursuits, in which, though he began low down on the ladder, he was destined to attain to affluence and distinction. In or about the year 1830 he entered as a clerk in the office of Messrs. Hooker & Co., one of the great forwarding establishments of Montreal in those days. This firm, in addition to carrying on a general mercantile business, was largely engaged in the transportation of merchandise from the chief ports of entry to the various cities and towns of Canada. The business connection was very large and profitable. Railways had no existence in those times, and the canal system of Canada was yet in its infancy. Transportation was chiefly carried on by means of Durham boats, batteaux, and wagons. Young Holton manifested great aptitude for a commercial life, and was not long in making his way to a front rank among his fellow-employees. He took a keen interest in the pursuits in which he was engaged; his industry was great, and his integrity unimpeachable. His position ere long became one of great responsibility, and there can be no doubt that his individual exertions were the means of greatly extending the business of the firm. In process of time he was admitted to a partnership, and the style of the firm became Hooker, Holton & Co. The business continued to prosper until the era of railways arrived, when it soon became apparent that the old methods of transportation would have to be abandoned. Mr. Holton readily grasped the main points of the situation, and formed his plans in accordance with the new order of things. He associated himself with the principal contractors of the country, including the present Sir Alexander Galt, and Messrs. Gzowski and Macpherson. A company was incorporated, which undertook to construct a line of rail-

way from Montreal to Kingston, and Mr. Holton and his partners endeavoured to obtain the contracts for its construction. The contract for the construction of the whole Grand Trunk system, however, from Montreal to Toronto, was placed in the hands of the great English contracting firm of Peto, Brassey & Co. Soon afterwards the firm of Gzowski & Co., in which Mr. Holton was a partner, obtained the contract for the construction of the road from Toronto westward. The contract was faithfully carried out, and the firm netted a handsome profit. From that time forward Mr. Holton was pecuniarily independent of the world, and though he engaged in other large and profitable enterprises he began to devote more attention to political affairs than he had previously found leisure for doing. He had always entertained strong Liberal views, and already occupied a seat in Parliament. His advent into active political life dates from the general elections of 1854, when, in conjunction with the present Chief Justice Dorion and the late Hon. John Young, he presented himself as a candidate for the representation of the city of Montreal. He and his two coadjutors were all returned, and for the next three years Mr. Holton was a hardworking member of Parliament. He from the first applied himself to the task of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the rules and modes of procedure, and to a study of the business before the House. He was a constant attendant at the meetings of Committees, and familiarized himself with practical details. He worked steadily from session to session, and by degrees gained a very comprehensive knowledge of Parliamentary practice. He was even then an enthusiastic advocate of the British system of Parliamentary Government, and few of his contemporaries in the Canadian Assembly could boast of so intimate a knowledge of the practice of Parliament, and of the principles underlying and

governing it. Alike as a partisan and a Parliamentary member he was above suspicion, and never allowed his personal bias to interfere with his public conduct. He was a warm friend of the Hon.—now Sir—Francis Hincks, but his first vote was against the then-existing Ministry, of which Mr. Hincks was the Premier and leading spirit.

At the general election of 1857 Mr. Holton once more presented himself to his constituents in Centre Montreal as a candidate for Parliament. His opponent was the present Sir John Rose, who was successful in the contest. A petition was filed by Mr. Holton against Mr. Rose's return, but was unsuccessful, owing to a trivial technical defect in the jurat of the affidavit accompanying it. For several years subsequent to this time Mr. Holton was without a seat in Parliament. He accepted the portfolio of Commissioner of Public Works in the short-lived Brown-Dorion Administration formed in the month of August, 1858, and became a Member of the Executive Council, but resigned, with his colleagues, without entering upon the departmental duties. It was thus not necessary that he should seek election by any constituency, and he remained in private life. The Legislative Council, however, was then an elective body, and in 1862, a vacancy having occurred in the Victoria division—embracing three-fourths of the city of Montreal—he offered himself for that division, and was returned by acclamation. In May, 1863, he resigned his position in the Council, and offered himself as a candidate for a seat in the Assembly, as Representative for the county of Chateauguay. He was elected for that constituency, and thenceforward continued to represent it in Parliament down to the time of his death, embracing a period of seventeen years. No man not of French-Canadian stock ever won so large a measure of the confidence of the inhabitants of the Lower Province, and that confidence was never betrayed.

In the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion Administration, formed in 1863, Mr. Holton accepted the portfolio of Minister of Finance. This office he held until the resignation of the Government in February of the following year. In the subsequent proceedings which resulted in the Confederation of the Provinces Mr. Holton for the first time in his life found himself out of sympathy with the leading spirits of his Party on an important public question. The scheme of Confederation, and the coalition formed for the purpose of carrying it into effect, were projects which did not commend themselves to his judgment, and he did not display any hesitation in speaking his mind, both from his place in Parliament and elsewhere. His position at this time was one of much difficulty, but his genuine sincerity and manliness were never more signally displayed in the whole course of his legislative career. It is worthy of note that the stand taken by him at this time did not have the effect of alienating from him a single member of the Liberal Party. His hostility to Confederation was based not so much on the general principles of the scheme itself as on the nature of some of its details, and on the method pursued for securing its adoption. This was rendered sufficiently apparent from a speech delivered by him early in the course of the debates in the House on the subject. "It is quite manifest," he said, "that a union, even if generally desirable, may become undesirable from the bad or inconvenient arrangements incident to the adoption of that union: and that explains the position of many honourable gentlemen who, like myself, are not opposed to the Federal principle, but who find themselves obliged to go counter, apparently, to their own convictions, because they cannot accept a union clogged with such conditions as this union is." He continued to oppose the scheme so long as opposition seemed to promise any useful result. His conduct, however, was

characterized by nothing approaching to factiousness, and no one ever presumed to doubt that he was actuated from first to last by a high sense of duty. No sooner had Confederation become an accomplished fact than he bowed to the popular will, and once more took his place in the Liberal ranks of the Dominion. In 1871 he once more found himself at issue with the members of his Party generally with respect to the Treaty effected through the agency of the Joint High Commission which met at Washington in that year. In the course of the debate in the Commons he explained the reasons which led him to acquiesce in the measure. Having alluded to the painful necessity of separating himself on the question before the House from those friends from Ontario with whom he usually acted, he remarked that among the members who had addressed the House on the Opposition side, he stood almost alone as an original friend of the Treaty; not that he considered it a perfect instrument, for it contained many things he would gladly have seen omitted, and many things were omitted which he would gladly have seen inserted; but it constituted, in his judgment, an earnest and hopeful effort to settle the long outstanding difficulties between the Empire and the Government of the neighbouring Republic. Holding that view, in spite of the objection to details, he accepted the Treaty. "This is not," he remarked, "a Treaty to which Canada would have become a party as an independent country, and not one that England would have become a party to if she had not these Provinces as part of her Empire. That consideration elevates the whole question at once into the domain of Imperial policy." But while declaring his intention on these grounds to vote for the second reading of the Bill giving effect to the fishery clauses, he criticised with great severity the conduct of the Prime Minister of Canada in accepting a position which prevented him from

acting solely in the interest of Canada. He accordingly voted against the Ministry, and afterwards supported the second reading of the Bill.

In 1871, in deference to a very general demand from the electors of Montreal Centre, he allowed himself to be put into nomination for that constituency as a candidate for the Local Legislature, and after a sharp contest he carried the election against Mr. Carter. He held the seat three years, when he resigned it, and restricted his labours to the House of Commons at Ottawa, where he accorded a steady and consistent support to Mr. Mackenzie's Administration. He declined to accept a place in that Administration, owing to a disinclination to encumber himself with the cares of office, but he was in full sympathy with the Ministerial policy, and promoted it to the utmost of his great ability, filling, in addition to other important positions, that of Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Commerce. He was not a verbose or frequent speaker, and when he addressed the House his utterances were more remarkable for terseness and relevance than for volubility or elocutionary display. "He was," says a contemporary writer, "independent in circumstances and more independent in character. No profitable transaction in which the House was asked to intervene, even to the extent of granting a charter of incorporation, found his name connected with it. His intimate personal friends who knew how careful he was to have no considerable interest in Joint Stock Companies which were likely to come to Parliament as petitioners, even for changes in their corporate powers, were sometimes disposed to believe that he pushed this principle to an extreme." As a member of Committees Mr. Holton's services were simply invaluable, and in this respect he has not left his equal behind him.

His death, which took place early on the

morning of Sunday, the 14th of March last, was very sudden and unexpected. He was at Ottawa, in the discharge of his Parliamentary duties, when the end came. On Saturday, the 13th, he was apparently in good health and spirits, engaging freely in conversation with the members generally, and discussing topics with many of his Liberal friends. During the evening he dined at the Rideau Club as the guest of the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs. Shortly before midnight he returned to his hotel and retired to rest, but soon afterwards left his room, complaining of being unwell. After remaining up for a short time he again retired to his apartment, but about one o'clock rang his bell for the attendant, whom he despatched for medical assistance. In the temporary absence of Doctors Brouse and Bergin from the hotel, Dr. Grant was sent for, but a few minutes before he arrived Mr. Holton had breathed his last, in the presence of the Hon. Isaac Burpee and Sir Albert Smith, who on their arrival had found him in a state of unconsciousness, from which he never recovered. His death was by some attributed to apoplexy, and by others to disease of the heart.

Upon the opening of the House on the following day, Sir John A. Macdonald, the Premier, moved an adjournment in token of respect to the memory of the deceased statesman. His touching and eloquent remarks were evidently dictated by sincere and deep feeling, and produced a very visible effect upon those who heard them. He stated that although he had mingled in the strife of politics with Mr. Holton, almost since the commencement of his political life, there had never ceased to exist the warmest personal friendship between them. "I had most intimate business relations with him," remarked Sir John, "and I can vouch, as all the world can vouch, for the unswerving honesty and uprightness of

purpose which characterized his actions and his conduct in every relation of life—private, social, commercial and political. He held a unique position in the Parliament of Canada. Though a strong party man, and sometimes, from my point of view, too strongly actuated by partisan motives, still from the uprightness of his mind, the soundness of his judgment, and the warmth of his devotion to his country, he held himself aloof from the more bitter struggles of his party, and we on this side of the House always looked with confidence to him in matters in which the honour, the dignity, or the prosperity of this Dominion—or of this Province before it was connected with the Dominion—were concerned. If I may be permitted to say so, he held a position in this House in which his disinterested usefulness to the country was more distinguished than at any other period of his life. He had survived much of the ardent bitterness of party conflict, and thought only of the good of his country; and he prided himself, and justly prided himself, on being a great Parliamentary authority. His utility to the House, and to every member of the House, and his usefulness to the country in that regard, were almost, if not quite, unequalled in either branch of the Legislature. I speak, of course, not in a party sense when I say that his mind was exceedingly conservative, and that in all legislation, and especially legislation affecting vested interests or private rights, he was always found protecting those interests and those rights, and resisting any attempt to override them by revolutionary or hasty action. . . . I know what must be the regrets of his political friends. I know how useful he was to them, and what a great loss he will be to his party; but I say from the sincerity of my heart that I think that the loss to the whole House is as great as the loss to his own political friends. But, sir, if he be a loss to this House, how serious

must be the considerations which press upon my own mind. I have known him so long—knowing him from youth upwards, and seeing him one of the last of the old party I used to meet years and years ago—I feel, to use the words of Burke with regard to the death of his son, 'What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue.' I feel, sir, that no member would have the heart to rise to-day to enter upon any discussion of importance, but that all who see that empty chair and think of that kindly countenance will feel with me that we ought to show our last respect to his memory by adjourning." Sir John's remarks were followed by a few words from Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, standing beside the empty chair of his late friend, and he was so overcome that he utterly broke down. Mr. Mackenzie was followed by Mr. Laurier and several others, all of whom echoed the tone of the speech just quoted from. The funeral, which took place at Montreal on the follow-

ing Wednesday, was an imposing demonstration of respect. It was attended by statesmen and prominent citizens from all parts of the Dominion, who assembled to pay a last tribute to the memory of a man of stainless honour, and to express sympathy with those who have been left to mourn his loss.

Mr. Holton, early in life, married Miss Forbes, of Montreal, who survives him. Besides the Parliamentary functions conferred upon him by his fellow-citizens, Mr. Holton occupied many of those positions of trust which depend upon the confidence of the business communities. He was an Honorary President of the Reform Association of the *Parti National* of Montreal, and a Governor of McGill University. He was President of the Board of Trade, and of the City and District Savings Bank; Vice-President of the Free Trade Association; Harbour Commissioner; Director of the City Bank; and a member of the Corporation of Montreal.

## THE HON. LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU.

THE development of the fur trade of New France, and the general progress made by the colony during the seventeenth century, gave rise to a considerable emigration of enterprising adventurers from the Old World to the New. Many of the emigrants were younger members of illustrious French families, whose chief allurements to abandon civilization had its origin in a mere love of adventure. Others were impelled by the hope of gain, and by the scarcity of suitable employment in their native land. The marvellous stories of Champlain, of Maisonneuve, of Frontenac, and of those Reverend Fathers whose *Relations* form so enthralling a chapter in our early colonial history, were eminently calculated to stir the blood of ardent and adventurous youths who had no particular inducement to remain at home, and who beheld in the boundless wilds of the Great West an excellent market for their surplus energy and enthusiasm. Among these voluntary exiles was a youth named Papineau, who, towards the close of the century, abandoned the pleasant vineyards of Southern France, and sought a field for the exercise of his talents in the less genial climate of Canada. He settled at Montreal, and founded the Canadian branch of the family of Papineau. We have no means at hand for minutely tracing the line of descent. Suffice it to say that the father of the subject of this sketch was born at Montreal on the 16th of October,

1752, and that he lived long enough to be familiarly known to many persons who are still living. He was a notary-public, and was for many years a member of the Provincial Assembly. He was wise enough to see that he and his fellow-colonists had been gainers, rather than losers, by the Conquest, and became a loyal subject of Great Britain. In an address to the electors of Montreal delivered by him in 1810 he professed a strong attachment to the King, and declared his readiness to expose his life and property for the preservation of the Union. After a long and useful career he died in his native city in 1840. His son, the subject of the present sketch, was born at Montreal on the 7th of October, 1789, two years before the division of the colony into the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. The son received his scholastic training at the Seminary of Quebec, and at an early age entered upon the study of the law. Like other aspiring French Canadian youths, he early manifested a deep interest in the national politics, and long before reaching manhood he was known as a brilliant and effective declaimer against what he believed to be unwise public measures. In 1809, while yet a student and a minor, he was elected to Parliament as representative of the Lower Canadian constituency of Kent—now Chambly. Notwithstanding his minority, he continued for nearly two years to sit in the Assembly for this constituency. It is no disparage-

ment to him to say that he was at this time totally unfit to take part in the proceedings of a grave deliberative assembly. A judicious writer, commenting upon this part of his life, very sensibly says :—" While we cannot but admire the aggressive force of character which prompted a young man of twenty to enter the field of legislative strife, we cannot help thinking that the gifts, natural or acquired, of the average young man of that age would scarcely compensate for inexperience, political childishness, crudity of thought, and a tendency to intemperance in action." Young Papineau, however, was not one to underrate his own merits, and the unwise compliments of his admirers led him to regard himself as a heaven-born legislator, and as the destined saviour of his country. In 1811, having attained his majority, he was called to the Bar, and was immediately afterwards elected to Parliament as representative of the West Ward of Montreal—a position which he continued to hold for twenty successive years. Most of the " burning questions " of those days are now dead issues, and nothing is to be gained by closely following his legislative career. As every student of Canadian history knows, differences were constantly arising between the Assembly and the successive Governors sent out from the Mother Country to direct the administration of affairs. There was much tyranny on one side, and there was too often unreasonable opposition on the other. The bitter question of nationality was constantly obtruding itself, and young Papineau worked upon the prejudices of his fellow-countrymen in such a fashion that public harmony was out of the question. He soon found himself the leader of an enthusiastic minority of Nationalists in the Assembly. Upon the breaking out of the War of 1812, however, he took the command of a volunteer company, and served in that capacity until peace was restored. In 1817 he was elected Speaker of the House, a position

which he continued to occupy from that time until 1837, except during the period of his absence in England as a delegate to oppose the union of the Provinces, as will presently be mentioned. Soon after the arrival of the Earl of Dalhousie as Governor, in 1820, that nobleman, at the instigation of the Home Office, offered Mr. Papineau a seat at the Executive Council Board. The offer was accepted, but, owing to a misunderstanding with the Governor, Mr. Papineau declined to take his seat. The misunderstanding soon became a serious rupture, and in 1823 the supplementary seat was abolished. Meanwhile, Mr. Papineau's opposition was positively ferocious, and his influence in the House was altogether out of proportion to his abilities. The public supplies were stopped, and the royal instructions were treated with contempt. The project for reuniting the Provinces was urged at this time with great prospects of success, and a Bill providing for the union was actually introduced into the British Parliament. The French Canadian populace were almost to a man averse to this measure, which they regarded as being subversive of their privileges. It must be admitted that their aversion was not quite groundless. The Bill affected the disposal by the Assembly of taxes levied for State purposes, and prohibited the use of the French language in the debates and public Acts of Parliament. When intelligence of the contents of this Bill reached Lower Canada the French population of that Province were roused to a high pitch of excitement. They determined to send delegates to England to oppose the measure. The delegates fixed upon were Mr. Papineau and Mr.—afterwards the Hon. John—Neilson, who sat in the Assembly as member for the county of Quebec. In the spring of the year 1822 these gentlemen crossed the Atlantic, carrying with them a numerously-signed petition to the Imperial Parliament, praying that the



proposed measure might not receive its sanction. The delegates were well received in London, and made such good use of their time that the Union project was defeated. Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Francis Burdett, and the leaders of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons opposed it so strenuously that it was abandoned on its second reading. It was owing to the exertions of these Lower Canadian delegates that the Union of the Provinces was postponed until 1841. Mr. Neilson returned to this country after a stay of a few months. His colleague remained for some time longer "to guard against surprises." During Mr. Papineau's absence in England on this mission the Speaker's chair in the Lower Canadian Assembly was occupied by M. Vallières de St. Real. This gentleman retired immediately after Mr. Papineau's return, and the latter was again elected to the position; but the rupture between him and the Governor had by this time become active hostility, and the treatment which each of them received at the hands of the other was utterly unworthy of both. During the session of 1827 the Assembly, at Mr. Papineau's instigation, made an unconstitutional demand upon the Governor, who was asked to lay before the House certain private correspondence between himself and the Home Office. The Governor courteously, but firmly, declined to accede to this unreasonable request. The Assembly, instead of bowing to this decision, set themselves seriously to question its legality, and when they found that no exception could be taken to it on that score, they devoted themselves to annoying the Governor by hampering him at every point. Days were frittered away in puerile and fruitless discussions, and legislation was completely arrested. Reviewing the matter calmly at this distance of time, there can be no doubt that there was blame on both sides. The Governor was petulant and tyrannical; and the Assembly trifled with its duties in a

manner altogether unbecoming. Lord Dalhousie, irritated almost beyond endurance, prorogued the House. Parliament was soon afterwards dissolved, and the result of the following elections was a decisive majority for the Papineau faction. On Wednesday, the 20th of November, 1827, the new House met, and forthwith proceeded to elect a Speaker. The almost universal choice of the House fell upon Mr. Papineau, who received forty-four votes, his opponent receiving only five. The Governor, upon this result being communicated to him, was so unwise as to refuse to ratify the election, and directed them to proceed to the election of another Speaker. Such an act was not likely to be tamely submitted to by so boisterous a stickler for the privileges of the House as Mr. Papineau, whose word was law to a large majority in the Assembly. The House refused to be dictated to in such a matter, and asserted their independence by passing a resolution confirming their choice of Mr. Papineau. Having proceeded this length, they began to examine the Constitution, and to search in the proceedings of the English House of Commons for precedents. After finding two obsolete cases, neither of which was precisely in point, they proceeded to vote five resolutions. The first of these declared that the Speaker ought to be freely chosen. The second declared that Mr. Papineau had been so chosen. The third and fourth were to the effect that the Governor's ratification of their choice was not legally necessary. The fifth reaffirmed their choice. Mr. Papineau was again seated in the Speaker's chair, and the five members who had voted for his opponent, M. Vallières de St. Real, left their seats and retired from the House. An address was then sent in to the Governor, setting forth the House's proceedings. His Excellency promised to reply in two days. Instead of delivering a formal reply, Lord Dalhousie prorogued Parliament. Before it met next year Sir

James Kempt had succeeded to the Governor's office. Upon the assembling of Parliament Sir James ratified the Assembly's choice, and so ended one of the many struggles between the Lower Canadian Assembly and the Governor.

The result of this contest tended to unduly exalt Mr. Papineau in the estimation of French Canadians, and to give him a prominence to which his parts scarcely entitled him. A Canadian writer, commenting upon this episode in the Arch-agitator's career, says:—"It is with races numerically weak and politically simple that a reputation is most easy to achieve and most difficult to fulfil." Mr. Papineau's successful opposition to Lord Dalhousie made him eager to engage in fresh conflicts with that Governor's successor. During Sir James Kempt's short administration the disputes in the Assembly respecting the control of the finances were renewed with almost as much vigour as under Lord Dalhousie; and the excitement continued to be kept up during Lord Aylmer's tenure of office. "Governor succeeded Governor," says one of Mr. Papineau's biographers, "but the change of representatives was unattended with any essential change of policy. Each party dwelt on its special rights, and overlooked its general duties—exaggerated its powers, and lost sight of its responsibilities. Doubtless there was some excuse, for Parliamentary government, as it is now interpreted, was neither understood by those who advocated nor by those who opposed it. The national party had studied English history in its fiercest passages, and the British Constitution in its most trying struggles. Moreover, they had done so irreverently, after the manner of impatient students, and they applied it angrily, like irascible professors, when they reduced their knowledge to practice. They examined the subject theoretically, as it is described in books, but they did not observe it practically, as it is applied by statesmen.

They seemed but feebly to perceive that the three estates of our mixed monarchy are not absolutely fashioned in cast-iron moulds, unyielding in their forms and inflexible in their substance. They overlooked the elasticity, the compensating powers, the balance movements, the expanding and contracting forces by which those estates control and regulate one another. Neither did they take sufficient account of the traditional and hereditary elements, the custom and usage with which their existence is intermingled. Consequently they missed the human elements which temper and qualify the whole; the consideration, the forbearance, the patriotism and the common sense, which in the English system go far towards reconciling seeming contradictions, and towards avoiding mere abstract difficulties." Mr. Papineau himself seems to have had very little genuine statesmanship. He knew that there were many grievances which needed removal, but he does not seem to have had any conception of the true remedy. He could not avoid seeing that the acts of the Assembly were nullified by an irresponsible set of officials, but his only method of correcting this evil in the body politic was to make the Legislative Council elective. This plan he was never tired of advocating. It did not occur to him that the true remedy was to make the Council responsible to the Assembly, and when that idea was suggested to him he pronounced it impracticable. Yet in less than ten years from the time when he pronounced this judgment Responsible Government was a reality. Meanwhile he continued to inflame the French Canadian populace with harangues about liberty, equality, and fraternity. Some of the older and wiser began to suspect that their Louis Joseph was not the great statesman they had fondly believed him to be, and that his passionate rhapsodies might possibly get him into trouble some day. He had still, however, a large and enthusiastic following, more espe-

cially of young men, to whom his burning invective had all the significance of an oracle. He began to preach Republicanism, and on one occasion proclaimed that Republican institutions would eventually prevail throughout the whole of the American continent—nay, that America was destined to furnish Republics to the Old World. In an old and well-established community, where people are educated to think for themselves, such vapourings are harmless, and at the present day such language as this, addressed to a Canadian audience, would be its own antidote. But the audiences before which Mr. Papineau's harangues were delivered were for the most part composed of illiterate people, entirely devoid of political discrimination, and ready to be led hither and thither at the will of any one who could for the time gain their ear. Mr. Papineau had very little true political sagacity, but as compared with those whom he addressed his knowledge was wide and various. It is only necessary, however, in order to show how little he had learned in the course of his legislative experience, to refer to his addresses to his constituents. In one of these he enjoined the electors to purchase no article whatever which had been imported from Great Britain. In another he referred to the British proclivities of the Bank officials throughout the Province, and advised his hearers to take no bank notes for the future, and to demand specie for such as they then had on hand. Then came the famous Ninety-two Resolutions—a document which has justly been characterized as more famous by reason of the debate and the passions to which it gave rise than for any inherent excellence, or for any convincing exposition of the duties of statesmanship. As matter of fact, these resolutions were conceived by feeble and unpractical minds. They bristled with alleged grievances, but foreshadowed no plan whereby those grievances might be redressed. They were passed by the Assem-

bly, however, and transmitted to Great Britain, where the Imperial Parliament was also prayed to impeach the Governor, Lord Aylmer. The supplies were not voted, and the Governor prorogued the House. Then followed a series of foolish demonstrations organized by Mr. Papineau, by which the public peace was several times seriously menaced. Lord Aylmer was succeeded by Lord Gosford, who tried to conciliate Mr. Papineau and his adherents, but without success. It was evident that there would be a rebellion. In the autumn of 1837 the crisis arrived. Risings took place simultaneously in several parts of the Province. A central committee, with Papineau at its head, was formed in Montreal, where the "Sons of Liberty" paraded the streets and contemned British authority. Then Papineau for the first time perceived what a dangerous game he had been playing. He had lighted a fire which he could not extinguish, and which bade fair to consume him. The Government roused itself, and arrested nine of the ringleaders. The head and front of the rebellion, however, made good his escape to the United States, where he is said to have made an unsuccessful attempt to enlist the sympathies of the American Congress in the rebellion. After spending two years in the Republic he repaired to France, where he remained eight years, passing most of his time in Paris. On the proclamation of an amnesty, in 1847, he returned to Canada, where he was soon afterwards elected to a seat in the United Parliament. He again appeared in the House as leader of the Opposition, but it was soon apparent that he was no longer dangerous. Mr. Lafontaine, the head of the Lower Canadian Administration, had nothing to fear from an opponent to whom age and experience had brought but scant access of political wisdom. "His countrymen," says the writer already quoted from, "had learned, in a different school, under a wiser teacher,

the way to combine the two great principles of constitutional government, loyalty to the throne and responsibility to the people, and to utilize the peace, welfare, and happiness of the state. The embittered incidents of less happy times were gradually moving towards the grave of perished recollections. Politic men declined to recall them, and patriotic men cared not to dim the brightness of hope with the vapours of memory. Contented with what the present promised, they could speak philosophically of the past, and mingle a great deal of charity with their criticism. For the fire of adversity which had devastated the Province was also a fire of purification, and though it destroyed much that merciful men would have spared, it destroyed more that wise men would have got rid of; and thus it may have been that the life of the Province was saved by the blood which it lost. It was under such circumstances, when former things were passing or had passed away, that Mr. Papineau reappeared on the familiar stage of public affairs. Time had dealt gently with him. His eye was apparently undimmed, his figure unbent, and his intellect unclouded by the encroachments of age. If, politically speaking, he had learned nothing new, at least he had forgotten nothing that he had learned. The fond conceits of other days were as loyally cherished by him as if their wisdom had not been discredited by experience, and their fallacy established by events. Thus when 'the old man eloquent' swept those chords of passion which in less happy days had thrilled the hearts,

fired the imaginations, and moved the minds of men to madness, he found either that his hand had lost its cunning or the instrument its charm—or else that the audience had lost its sympathy. The music, though eloquent in persuasive power, fell upon unheeding ears, or perchance on hearts from which the evil spirit had been exorcised by influences which derived their strength from deeds rather than from words."

In 1854 Mr. Papineau retired from public life, and spent the remaining years allotted to him in scholarly seclusion at his home on the banks of the Ottawa. He died on the 22nd of September, 1871.

In conclusion, it may be said that Mr. Papineau was a brilliant, albeit somewhat shallow, orator; an enthusiastic and most energetic member of Parliament; and the greatest political agitator that his Province has produced. He had read much, and possessed a great deal of acquired knowledge. It is reasonable to suppose that he meant well by his country, and that he believed himself to be a patriot. In urging his followers to engage in open rebellion he probably did not realize the magnitude of his offence, and that he was luring his best friends to their ruin. He was ever governed by his sympathies and prejudices rather than by his judgment, and was in no proper sense of the word a statesman. He has left a name on the pages of our national history, but the name is one which even at this day awakens few sympathies, and the political reputation which attaches to it is one which few will care strenuously to defend.

## THE HON. WILLIAM ALEXANDER HENRY.

JUDGE HENRY was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the 30th of December, 1816. His father was the late Mr. Robert N. Henry, merchant, formerly of Antigonish, but during the closing years of his life a resident of Halifax, where he held various public offices. The son was educated at the Government High School at Halifax, which he attended for many years. Upon leaving school he chose the legal profession as his future calling in life, and studied law in the office of the Hon. Alexander McDougall. He was called to the Bar of his native Province in November, 1840, and entered upon the practice of his profession at Antigonish, but soon afterwards removed to the capital. He took a warm interest in the political questions of the day, and had not been long at the Bar before he was elected to represent his native county in the Legislative Assembly. He sat in the House, as representative of that constituency, for a continuous period of about twenty-six years. He espoused the Liberal side, and was a strenuous supporter of the late Mr. Howe, in whose efforts to secure Responsible Government he warmly participated. He soon won a high position at the Bar, and was engaged in many of the most important causes which came before the courts of Nova Scotia in those days. Upon the meeting of Parliament early in 1848 he seconded a motion of the late Mr. James Boyle Uniacke, as an amendment to the Address, expressive of a want of confi-

dence in the Executive Council. The amendment was carried, the Council resigned, and a new Administration was formed. Next year Mr. Henry accepted a seat in the Executive Council, and was created a Q.C. He took a foremost part in shaping the legislation of the next two sessions, voting as an independent member. Upon the reorganization of the Government on the 3rd of April, 1854, under the auspices of the Hon.—now Sir—William Young, the present Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, Mr. Henry became Solicitor-General, and held that position about three years, when he succeeded the late Hon. J. W. Johnston as Provincial Secretary. He held the Secretaryship only a little more than a year, when he resigned his post, owing to his want of sympathy with his leader on the Roman Catholic question. He thenceforward arrayed himself on the side of the Opposition, and during the rest of his political career was practically identified with the Conservative Party. He again became Solicitor-General upon the accession to power of the Johnston-Tupper Administration; and held the same office in Mr. Johnston's Cabinet from 1863 to 1864, when he succeeded Mr. Johnston as Attorney-General. He retained the latter position until the accomplishment of Confederation in 1867. In the Confederation movement he heartily sympathized, and was one of the delegates on behalf of his native Province at the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences held

in 1864. He also attended the final Convention in London, England, in 1866, when the terms of Union of the Provinces were definitively settled.

His espousal of Confederation was destined to be the means of severing his political connection with his native county of Antigonish, which he had represented ever since 1841. Upon presenting himself to his old constituents for election to the House of Commons in 1867, he, for the first time in his life, sustained a defeat at the polls. He was also an unsuccessful candidate for the representation of Richmond in 1869. During the following six years he did not take any active part in politics, but devoted himself to his profession. Various judicial appointments in his native Province were offered to him, and declined. His business was large and profitable, and his income must have been considerably larger than it would have been had he accepted a seat on the Provincial Bench. On the 8th of October, 1875, he was offered a seat on the Bench

as one of the Puisné Judges of the newly constituted Supreme Court of the Dominion. He accepted this offer, and removed to Ottawa, where he has ever since resided.

In 1841, immediately after his call to the Bar of Nova Scotia, he married Miss Sophia Caroline McDonald, who survived her marriage about four years. In 1850 he married his second wife, who was Miss Christiana Macdonald, daughter of Mr. Hugh Macdonald, of Antigonish.

Judge Henry's name is identified with various important measures of Law Reform in Nova Scotia, and has always been regarded as a high authority on constitutional questions. He took a conspicuous part in the revision of the Provincial Statutes. In 1865 he was sent by the Province to England, in connection with important railway negotiations; and in 1866 he was sent to Washington to assist in the negotiations which were then pending for the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty. He was several times Mayor of Halifax.

## LORD SYDENHAM.

TOWARDS the close of last century there was in the city of London, England, a prominent mercantile house which carried on business under the style of "J. Thomson, T. Bonar & Co." The branch of commerce to which this house chiefly devoted its attention was the Russian trade. It had existed, under various styles, for more than a hundred years, and had built up so extensive a trade as to have a branch establishment at the Russian capital. The senior partner of the firm was John Thomson of Waverley Abbey and Roehampton, in the county of Surrey. In the year 1820 this gentleman assumed the name of Poulett—in remembrance of his mother, who was heiress of a branch of the family of that name—and he was afterwards known as John Poulett Thomson. In 1871 he married Miss Charlotte Jacob, daughter of a physician at Salisbury. By this lady he had a numerous family, consisting of nine children. The youngest of these, Charles Edward Poulett Thomson, destined to be the first governor of United Canada, and to be raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Sydenham, was born on the 13th of September, 1799, at the family seat in Surrey—Waverley Abbey, above mentioned. His mother had long been in delicate health, and at the time of his birth was so feeble as to give rise to much solicitude as to her chances of recovery. She finally rallied, but for some months she led the life of an invalid.

Her feebleness reflected itself in the constitution of her son, who never attained to much physical strength. The feebleness of his body was doubtless increased by the nervous activity of his intellect, which constantly impelled him to mental feats incompatible with his delicate frame. It may be said that he passed through the forty-two years which made up the measure of his life in a chronic state of bodily infirmity. The fret and worry incidental to an ambitious parliamentary and official career doubtless also contributed their share to the shortening of his life.

His childhood was marked by a sprightly grace and beauty which made him a general favourite. In his fourth year he was for a time the especial pet of His Majesty King George III. He made the King's acquaintance at Weymouth, where, with other members of his family, he spent part of the summer of 1803. While walking on the Parade, in charge of his nurse, his beauty and sprightliness attracted the notice of His Majesty, who was also spending the season there, in the hope of regaining that physical and mental vigour which never returned to him. The King was much taken with the vivacity and pert replies of the handsome little fellow, and insisted on a daily visit from him. The child's conquest over the royal heart was complete, and His Majesty seemed to be never so well pleased as when he had little Master Thomson in his arms,

carrying him about, and showing him whatever amusing sights the place afforded. On one occasion the King was standing on the shore near the pier-head, in conversation with Mr. Pitt, who had come down from London to confer with His Majesty about affairs of State. His Majesty was about to embark in the royal yacht for a short cruise, and, as was usual at that time of the day, he had Master Thomson in his arms. When just on the point of embarking, he suddenly placed the child in the arms of Mr. Pitt, saying hurriedly, "Is not this a fine boy, Pitt? Take him in your arms, Pitt—take him in your arms. (Charming boy, isn't he?)" Pitt complied with the royal request with the best grace he could, and carried the child in his arms to the door of his lodgings.

At the age of seven, Master Thomson was sent to a private school at Hanwell, whence, three years afterwards, he was transferred to the charge of the Rev. Mr. Wooley, at Middleton. After spending a short time there, he became a pupil of the Rev. Mr. Church, at Hampton, where he remained until he had nearly completed his sixteenth year. He then left school—his education, of course, being far from complete—and entered the service of his father's firm. It was determined that he should begin his mercantile career in the St. Petersburg branch, and in the summer of 1815 he was despatched to Russia. His fine manners and address, combined with the wealth and influence of the firm to which he was allied, obtained him access to the best society of St. Petersburg, where he spent more than two years. In the autumn of 1817, upon his recovery from a rather serious illness, it was thought desirable that he should spend the coming winter in a milder climate than that of St. Petersburg, and he returned to his native land. The next two or three years were spent in travelling on the Continent with other members of his family. He then en-

tered the counting-house in London, where he spent about eighteen months. This brings us down to the year 1821. In the spring of that year he was admitted as a partner in the firm, and once more went out to St. Petersburg, where he again remained nearly two years. He then entered upon a somewhat prolonged tour through central and southern Russia, and thence across to Vienna, where he spent the winter of 1823-4, and part of the following spring. Towards the end of April he set out for Paris, where his mother was confined by illness, and where she breathed her last almost immediately after her son's arrival. Mr. Thomson soon afterwards returned to London, where he settled down as one of the managing partners of the commercial establishment. In this capacity he displayed the same energy which subsequently distinguished his political and diplomatic career. He took a lively interest in the political questions of the day; more especially in those relating to commercial matters. He was a pronounced Liberal, and a strenuous advocate of free-trade. In the summer of 1825 advances were made to him to become the Liberal candidate for Dover at the next election. He responded favourably to these advances, and was in due course returned by a considerable majority. One of his earliest votes in the House of Commons was in favour of free-trade. He soon became known as a ready and effective speaker, and as one whose judgment on commercial questions was entitled to respect. His zeal for the principles of his Party was also conspicuous, and when Earl Grey formed his Administration in November, 1830, the office of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, together with the Treasurership of the Navy, was offered to and accepted by Mr. Thomson. He was at the same time sworn in as a member of the Privy Council. The acceptance of the former office rendered it necessary for him to sever his connection with the commercial firm of which he had



up to this time been a member, and he never again engaged in mercantile business of any kind. By this time, indeed, he had established for himself a reputation of no common order. The part he had taken in the debates of the House, and in the proceedings of its Committees, on questions connected with commerce and finance, had proved him to possess not only a clear practical acquaintance with the details of these subjects, but also principles of an enlarged and liberal character, and powers of generalization and a comprehensiveness of view rarely found combined in so young a man. The next three or four years were busy ones with him. It will be remembered that this was the era of the Reform Bill. Mr. Thomson did not take a prominent part in the discussions on that measure, his time being fully occupied with the financial and fiscal policy, but he put forth the weight of his influence in favour of the Bill. His principal efforts, during his tenure of office, were directed to the simplification and amendment of the Customs Act, and to an ineffectual attempt to negotiate a commercial treaty with France. After the dissolution in 1831 he was re-elected for Dover. He was, however, also elected—without any canvass or solicitation on his part—for Manchester, the most important manufacturing constituency in the kingdom; and he chose to sit for the latter. In 1834 he succeeded to the Presidency of the Board of Trade, as successor to Lord Auckland. Then followed Earl Grey's resignation and Lord Melbourne's accession. On the dismissal of the Ministry in November, Mr. Thomson was, of course, left without office, but on Lord Melbourne's re-accession in the following spring he was reinstated in the Presidency of the Board of Trade—an office which he continued to hold until his appointment as Governor-General of Canada.

Early in 1836 his health had become so seriously affected by his official labours that

he began to recognize the necessity of resigning his office, and of accepting some post which would not so severely tax his energies. He continued to discharge his official duties, however, until the reconstruction of Lord Melbourne's Administration in 1839, when he signified his wish to be relieved. He was offered a choice between the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer and that of Governor-General of Canada. He chose the latter, and having received his appointment and been sworn in before the Privy Council, he set sail from Portsmouth for Quebec on the 13th of September, which was the fortieth anniversary of his birth. He reached his destination after a tedious, stormy voyage, and assumed the reins of government on the 19th of October. He was well received in this country. The mercantile community of Canada were especially disposed to favour the appointment of a man who had himself been bred to commercial pursuits, and who would be likely to feel a more than ordinary interest in promoting commercial interests.

Canada was at this time in a state of transition. Owing to the strenuous exertions of the Reform Party in this country, seconded by Lord Durham's famous "Report," the concession of Responsible Government and the Union of the Provinces had been determined upon by the Home Ministry. It was Mr. Thomson's mission to see these two most desirable objects carried out. He had a most difficult part to play. As a pronounced Liberal, he naturally had the confidence of the Reform Party, but there were a few prominent members of that Party who did not approve of the Union project, and he felt that he could not count upon their cordial support. True, the opponents of the measure constituted a very small minority of the Reform Party generally; but there was another Party from whom the strongest opposition was to be expected—the Family Compact. This fac-

tion was not yet extinct, though its days were numbered. It still controlled the Legislative Council, which body had already recorded a vote hostile to the Union. The situation was one calling for the exercise of great tact, and the new Governor-General proved himself equal to the occasion. He made no changes in the composition either of the Special Council of the Lower Province—a body formed under Imperial sanction by Sir John Colborne—or in that of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada. After a short stay at Quebec he proceeded to Montreal, and convoked the Special Council on the 11th of November. He laid before this body the views of the Imperial Ministry relating to the Union of the Provinces and the concession of Responsible Government. By the time the Council had been in session two days the majority of the members were fully in accord with the Governor's views, and a series of resolutions were passed as a basis of Union. This disposed of the question, so far as the Lower Province was concerned, and after discharging the Council from further attendance, Mr. Thomson proceeded to Toronto to gain the assent of the Upper Canadian Legislature. With the Assembly no difficulty was anticipated, but to gain the assent of the Tory majority in the Legislative Council would evidently be no easy matter, for the success of the Governor's policy involved the triumph of Reform principles, and the inevitable downfall of the Family Compact. The Governor's tact, however, placed the latter faction in an anomalous position. For several years past the Tory Party had been boasting of their success in putting down the Rebellion, and had raised a loud and senseless howl of loyalty. They were never weary of proclaiming their devotion to the Imperial will, irrespective of selfish considerations. This cry, which had been perpetually resounding throughout the Province during the last three years, supplied

the Governor with the means of bending to his pleasure those who had raised it. He delivered a message to the Legislature in which he defined the Imperial policy, and appealed in the strongest terms to those professions of loyalty which the Tory majority in the Council were constantly proclaiming. He also published a circular despatch from Lord John Russell, the tone of which was an echo of that of his own message. The Tory majority were thus placed on the horns of a dilemma. They must either display their much-vaunted loyalty by acceding to the Imperial will, or they must admit that their blatant professions had been mere party-cries to deceive the electors. Their opposition, moreover, would render necessary the resignation of their offices. With the best grace they could, they announced their intention to support the Imperial policy. The Assembly passed resolutions in accordance with the spirit of the Governor's message. Nothing further was necessary to render the Union an accomplished fact, except the sanction of the Imperial Parliament. A Union Bill, framed under the supervision of Sir James Stuart, Chief Justice of Lower Canada, was forwarded to England, where, in a slightly modified form, it was passed by both Houses, and received the royal assent. Owing to a suspending clause in the Bill, it did not come into operation until the 10th of February, 1841, when, by virtue of the Governor-General's proclamation, the measure took effect, and the Union of the Canadas was complete.

Soon after the close of the session of the Upper Canadian Legislature, Mr. Thomson was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Sydenham, of Sydenham in Kent, and Toronto in Canada. The greater part of the following autumn was spent by him in travelling about through the Upper Province. He seems to have been greatly pleased both with the country and the peo-

ple. The following extract from a private letter, written from the shores of the Bay of Quinté on the 18th of September, is worth quoting, as showing the impressions of an intelligent observer at that time:—"Amherstburg, Sandwich, River St. Clair, Lake Huron, Goderich, Chatham, London, Woodstock, Brantford, Simcoe, the Talbot Road and Settlement, Hamilton, Dundas, and so back to Toronto—you can follow me on a map. From Toronto across Lake Simcoe to Penetanguishene on Lake Huron again, and back to Toronto, which I left again last night for the Bay of Quinté, all parties uniting in addresses at every place, full of confidence in my Government, and of a determination to forget their former disputes. Escorts of two and three hundred farmers on horseback at every place from township to township, with all the etceteras of guns, music, and flags. What is of more importance, my candidates everywhere taken for the ensuing elections. In short, such unanimity and confidence I never saw, and it augurs well for the future. . . . The fact is that the truth of my original notion of the people of this country is now confirmed. The *mass* only wanted the vigorous interference of a well-intentioned Government, strong enough to control both the extreme parties, and to proclaim wholesome truths and act for the benefit of the country at large, in defiance of ultras on either side. But, apart from all this political effort, I am delighted to have seen this part of the country—I mean the great district, nearly as large as Ireland, placed between the three lakes, Erie, Ontario, and Huron. You can conceive nothing finer. The most magnificent soil in the world; four feet of vegetable mould; a climate, certainly the best in North America. The greater part of it admirably watered. In a word, there is land enough and capabilities enough for some millions of people, and for one of the finest Provinces in the world. The most perfect

contrast to that miserable strip of land along the St. Lawrence called Lower Canada, which has given so much trouble. I shall fix the capital of the United Provinces in this one, of course. Kingston will most probably be the place. But there is everything to be done there yet, to provide accommodation for the meeting of the Assembly in the spring."

As suggested in the foregoing extract, Kingston was fixed upon as the seat of Government of the United Provinces, and the Legislature assembled there on the 13th of June, 1841. The Governor-General's speech at the opening of the session was marked by tact, moderation, and good sense. A strong Opposition, however, soon began to manifest itself, and Mr. Neilson, of Quebec, moved an amendment to the Address directly condemnatory of the Union. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 50 to 25. Throughout the session nearly all the Government measures received the support of the House, an important exception being the French Election Bill. Meanwhile the state of Lord Sydenham's health was such as to render his duties very difficult for him, and as the great object of his mission to Canada had been successfully accomplished, he resolved to return home at the close of the session. He forwarded his resignation to the Home Secretary, having already received leave of absence which would obviate the necessity of his remaining at his post until the acceptance of his resignation. Of this leave, however, he was not destined to avail himself. On the 4th of September he felt himself well enough to ride out on horseback. While returning homeward he put his horse to a canter, just as he began to ascend a little hill not far from Alvington House, his residence, near the lake shore. When about half way up the hill, the horse stumbled and fell, crushing his rider's right leg beneath his weight. The animal rose to its feet and dragged Lord Sydenham—whose

right foot was fast in the stirrup—for a short distance. One of his aides, who just then rode up, rescued the Governor from his perilous position and conveyed him home, when it was found that the principal bone of his right leg, above the knee, had sustained an oblique fracture, and that the limb had also received a severe wound from being bruised against a sharp stone, which had cut deeply, and lacerated the flesh and sinews. Notwithstanding these serious injuries, and the shock which his nervous system had sustained, his medical attendants did not at first anticipate danger to his life. He continued free from fever, and his wounds seemed to be going on satisfactorily; but he was debilitated by perpetual sleeplessness and inability to rest long in one position. On the ninth day after his injury dangerous symptoms began to manifest themselves, and it soon became apparent that he would not recover. After a fortnight of great suffering, he breathed his last on Sunday, the 19th, having completed his forty-second year six days previously.

"His fame," says his biographer, "must rest not so much on what he did or said in Parliament as on what he did and proposed to do out of it—on his consistent and to a great degree successful efforts to expose the fallacy of the mis-called Protective system, and gradually, but effectively, to root it out of the statute-book, and thereby to free the universal industry of Britain from the mis-

chievous shackles imposed by an ignorant and mistaken selfishness."

His Canadian administration may be looked upon as a brief and brilliant episode in his public career. In private life he was much loved and highly esteemed. His amiable disposition and pleasing manner excited the warmest attachment among those who were admitted to his intimacy, and in every circumstance that affected their happiness he always appeared to take a lively personal interest. In the midst of his occupations he always had time for works of kindness and charity. In a letter to an idle friend who had been remiss in correspondence, he once said, "Of course you have no time. No one ever has who has nothing to do." His assistance was always promptly and eagerly afforded whenever he could serve his friends, or confer a favour on a deserving object. His integrity and sense of honour were high, and his disinterestedness was almost carried to excess. The remuneration for his official services was lower than that of any other official of equal standing, and far below his deserts. Never having married, however, owing to an early disappointment, his needs were moderate, and his private fortune considerable. His person and manner were very prepossessing, and his aptitude and acquired knowledge great. He was very popular in the social circle, and his death left a void among his friends which was never filled.





*A. Huron.*

## THE RIGHT REV. ISAAC HELLMUTH, D.D., D.C.L.,

### *BISHOP OF HURON.*

**B**ISHOP HELLMUTH is the son of Jewish parents, and was born near Warsaw, the former capital of Poland, on the 14th of December, 1817. He received his collegiate training at the famous University of Breslau, which was originally founded in 1702 as a Jesuit College. While in attendance at this seat of learning he became seriously impressed upon the subject of religion, and, after much self-communing, abandoned the faith of his ancestors. In order to avoid the obloquy which would inevitably attach to him at home in consequence of his relinquishment of Judaism, he repaired to England, where, in 1841, he made a public profession of Christianity. He embraced the doctrines of the Church of England, and entered upon a course of study with a view to taking holy orders. He won golden opinions from many eminent ecclesiastics, and was highly esteemed for his evident sincerity and earnestness. The late Dr. Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury, advised him to go to Canada, and upon his professing his willingness to act upon the advice, the Doctor furnished him with very flattering testimonials as to his character and ability. Similar testimonials were voluntarily furnished by other eminent persons, both in the Church and out of it; and in 1844 Mr. Hellmuth, then in his 27th year, crossed the Atlantic, and took up his abode in this country. In 1846 he was ordained Deacon, and, later on, Priest, by the Bishop

of Quebec. The first eight years of his life in Canada were spent in the discharge of his duties as one of the professors in the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and as incumbent of St. Peter's Church, Sherbrooke. He was then appointed General Superintendent for the Colonial and Continental Church Society in the British North American Colonies. While occupying this position, in 1861, he was chosen by the late Dr. Cronyn, Bishop of Huron, to proceed to England to collect funds for the establishment and endowment of a theological college in the Diocese of Huron. The establishment of such an institution was undertaken by Dr. Cronyn with a view to counteracting what he deemed the mischievous teaching in Trinity College, Toronto. So strongly did he feel on the subject that he openly formulated charges of false doctrine, which were tried before the assembled Canadian Bishops. Though the decision of the majority of his fellow-dignitaries was against him, Bishop Cronyn determined to do what he could to keep his own diocese as free as possible from influences which he believed to be pernicious. He conceived the idea of establishing a college wherein candidates for the ministry in his own diocese might receive a purely evangelical training. He fixed upon the subject of this sketch as a suitable emissary to Great Britain, to solicit pecuniary aid. Having been created Archdeacon of Huron, Dr.

Hellmuth set forth on his mission, which was entirely successful, the necessary funds having been collected in a very short time. On his return, in 1862, Dr. Hellmuth was appointed Principal and Professor of Divinity in the new institution, which owes so much to his energy, promptitude, and liberality. It was opened in 1863 as the Huron Theological College. To Dr. Hellmuth and a few of his friends the diocese is chiefly indebted for the erection of a chapel in connection with the college, built as a memorial to the late General Thomas Evans, whose daughter Catharine Dr. Hellmuth married in 1847.

When Bishop Cronyn retired from duty as Rector of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Dr. Hellmuth was appointed Dean and Rector. He laboured assiduously for the public good, and was soon universally beloved. He established the Church of England Young Men's Christian Association, and took an active part in various charitable, religious, and educational undertakings. The foundation of Hellmuth College, which was opened in 1865, is mainly due to his energy and liberality, as is also the scheme which resulted in the Hellmuth Ladies' College, which was inaugurated by Prince Arthur on the 23rd of September, 1869. Of the latter institution he is himself President, and his assiduous labours on its behalf, aided by the efforts of a large and accomplished staff of teachers, have raised it to a high pitch of efficiency, and it enjoys an enviable reputation among the educational establishments of the Dominion.

In July, 1871, owing to Bishop Cronyn's advancing years and somewhat feeble state of health, it was considered desirable to elect a Coadjutor Bishop. Dr. Hellmuth's great services in the cause of religion and education, no less than his personal popularity, pointed him out as the most suitable candidate for the position, and he was elected by a large majority over all other

candidates for the office. He received the title of Bishop of Norfolk, and was consecrated by the Metropolitan in the presence of the Bishops of Toronto, Ontario, Ohio, and Michigan. On the death of Bishop Cronyn a few months later, Dr. Hellmuth succeeded him as Bishop of Huron, and has ever since continued to direct the affairs of the diocese. His tenure of office has been marked by the same earnestness which he has ever been wont to display in the discharge of his sacred functions. His efforts for the promotion of advanced education have been vigorous and unceasing, and it is as a zealous worker in the cause of education that he will be best known to posterity. Soon after his consecration he began to interest himself in the establishment of a Western University at London, to which he personally contributed the sum of ten thousand dollars. The project has been prosecuted with vigour and success, and promises to be the crowning work of his useful life. As a theologian, his views are liberal and enlightened, and he enjoys a great measure of popularity with the ministry of other denominations than his own.

Notwithstanding his multifarious occupations, he has found time to write several theological works which are highly esteemed by writers on kindred subjects. In 1862 he published a reply to a letter of the Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan of Canada, addressed to the Bishops and clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada. Several years later he published, under the title of "The Divine Dispensations," a series of exegetical and controversial lectures which had previously been delivered by him to the students of Huron College. These lectures, which treat of the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch, and are directed against the teachings of Bishop Colenso, have been widely read, and are said to be characterized by great learning and depth of thought.







Arthur. S. Hardy

## THE HON. ARTHUR STURGIS HARDY,

PROVINCIAL SECRETARY AND REGISTRAR FOR ONTARIO.

MR. HARDY was born in the little village of Mount Pleasant—known to the Post Office authorities as “Mohawk”—in what is now the county of Brant, Ontario, on the 14th of December, 1837. His father, Mr. Russell Hardy, a gentleman of American lineage, cultivated a farm in the village at that time, but subsequently removed to Brantford, the county town, where he engaged in commercial pursuits. Young Arthur's childhood and early youth were passed in Mount Pleasant, and it was there that he received his first educational training. The local schools in the village enjoyed a deservedly high reputation in those days, and there was probably no other village in Canada so well provided in that respect. As a scholar, Arthur Hardy displayed much quickness of perception, and an ardent desire for knowledge. He was distinguished above most of his fellow-scholars by his fondness for, and proficiency in, elocutionary exercises. After his removal from Mount Pleasant he attended school in Brantford, and, later still, spent several terms at Rockwood Academy. Having chosen the legal profession as his career in life, he entered the office of his uncle, Mr. Henry A. Hardy, of Brantford, and began the study of the law. The last two years of his clerkship were passed in the office of Messrs. Patterson & Harrison, in Toronto. He was admitted as an attorney in Trinity Term, 1861, and he immediately afterwards

formed a partnership with his uncle, and began the practice of his profession in Brantford. Four years later, in Easter Term, 1865, he was called to the Bar, where he soon began to take a prominent place.

For more than ten years before this time, Mr. E. B. Wood, the present Chief-Justice of Manitoba, had been the one man of real weight and power at the Brantford Bar. He was all-powerful with juries, and it may almost be said that he could lead them whithersoever he would. It is a simple fact that, by the mere force of his advocacy, he obtained many a verdict which was not justified by the evidence. He was personally known to almost every jurymen in the county. The influence exercised by him was the legitimate outcome of a master-mind and a determined will acting upon weaker ones; and the weaker ones included pretty nearly every man who came within his purview. He knew and felt his power, and was rather proud of it. Without any premeditated intention to be offensive, his demeanour at the Bar, more especially towards his local contemporaries, sometimes seemed to savour of patronage and superciliousness. He affected the *de haut en bas*. This demeanour had long been resented, in a weak, desultory, ineffective fashion, by the members of the local Bar; but it cannot be said that his supremacy was ever disputed with any approach to success until Arthur Hardy entered the forensic arena.

It is no disparagement to Mr. Hardy to say that he has never manifested powers of mind or legal capacity equal to those of Mr. Wood, because as much might truthfully be said of pretty nearly every young man in the Dominion. But Mr. Hardy has always possessed a good deal of independence of mind, and from the outset was not disposed to submit tamely to what he doubtless regarded as professional arrogance on the part of his senior. He was conscious of possessing a fair knowledge of his profession, and of the ability to conduct a case with justice to his client. It so happened that the first brief held by him was in a case which had attracted a good deal of public attention before it came to trial. Mr. Wood was arrayed against him, and, with the self-confidence begotten of his large professional experience and almost uninterrupted success, had not thoroughly mastered the details of his case. Mr. Hardy, on the other hand, had gone into his brief with youthful enthusiasm and a determination to win. It was precisely one of those cases, the success of which depend not so much upon their intrinsic merits as upon their manipulation by counsel. A great many witnesses were examined, and the trial extended over several days. The result was a verdict for Mr. Hardy's client, and an established local reputation for Mr. Hardy himself. From this time forward the latter had no lack of clients. His knowledge increased, his intellect expanded, and he settled down to steady, hard work. His confidence in himself was great, and was generally borne out by results. For several years he and Mr. Wood were constantly pitted against each other, and Mr. Hardy continued to fully hold his own. In course of time the Nestor of the Brantford Bar came to recognize his youthful opponent as a foeman worthy of his steel. Much of the latter's success was doubtless due to his strict attention to details, and to a pleasing

manner of address which conciliated juries. Disdaining the ponderousness of his rival, the prevailing tone of his efforts at the Bar is light and airy, and he can contrive to press a humorous story into his client's service with remarkably telling effect. In his more serious efforts, however, he has shewn that he can rise with an occasion, and can impart to his addresses a tone of genuine earnestness which are none the less effective from being charily employed. His practice has grown with his increasing years, and, like that of most country practitioners, has included every department of his profession, both civil and criminal. As a criminal counsel it fell to his lot to defend no fewer than sixteen prisoners during the two years from 1865 to 1867, all of whom were charged with capital offences. Of these sixteen, only one was convicted, and even he escaped the extreme penalty of the law. Such an experience we believe to be altogether exceptional in the career of professional men; and when it is borne in mind that Mr. Hardy is not a criminal lawyer *par excellence*, the only conclusion to be arrived at is that such success must be in a great measure attributable to his own abilities. His position at the Bar has long been fully assured. In 1876, when thirty-nine years of age, he attained the dignity of a silk gown, and he has since represented the Crown at assizes in various parts of this Province.

Mr. Hardy has always taken a keen interest in political questions, but for some years after his call to the Bar he was too busily employed in building up a successful professional business to admit of his taking any very active part in politics. He was, both by training and predilection, a Reformer. He had served on several election committees, even in his student days; but he seemed to be in no hurry to embrace a political life, feeling assured, probably, that his time must come. The truth seems to be

that in politics, as well as in his professional career, he was somewhat overshadowed by the massive figure of Mr. Wood, who was also on the Reform side. When Mr. Wood joined the Sandfield Macdonald Coalition Government, in 1867, it was believed that Arthur Hardy's time had come. Mr. Hardy, however, felt that he was still young, and that his professional status was not sufficiently assured to justify him in giving up the greater part of his time to public life. He wisely rejected the pressing overtures made to him to enter Parliament, and continued to devote himself to the duties of his profession. He took a very active part in the canvass during the summer, however, and his exertions did much to reduce Mr. Wood's majority. Nearly six years more were to elapse before he was to conduct an election campaign on his own account. In the month of March, 1873, Mr. Wood, the sitting member, was appointed to the position which he now occupies, and the constituency of South Brant was thus left without a representative. Mr. Hardy felt that he could now afford to follow the bent of his inclinations, and allowed himself to be put in nomination. His opponent was Mr. J. J. Hawkins, who was, like himself, a local candidate. The contest which followed was marked by strong exhibitions of political feeling on both sides, for there were several grave public questions under discussion, and the Local Government was on its trial. There had been a recent increase in official salaries, and a considerable increase in the estimates. These, also, were the days of the Canoe-Conch scandal, and there were various small matters which answered admirably to serve the purpose of a hostile party cry during a rural election campaign. Mr. Hardy's canvass was rendered all the more arduous from the fact that many of the leaders on the opposite side went up to the county to assist his opponent, whereas the weight of the contest on his own side had to be borne by his own

shoulders. Those shoulders, however, were broad, and fitted for the burden. At the close of a contest which was conducted with unusual acrimony, Mr. Hardy was elected by a majority of 189 votes. Upon the assembling of the Legislature in the following year he took his seat, and all through the session afforded a vigorous support to Mr. Mowat's Government. At the general election in January, 1875, no candidate was found with sufficient temerity to oppose him, and he was elected by acclamation. After his acceptance of office, in March, 1877, he enjoyed a similar triumph upon returning to his constituents for re-election. At the last general election, in June, 1879, he was again opposed by a local candidate, but the latter never had any prospect of success, and Mr. Hardy was returned by a majority of 392.

Among the principal official measures inaugurated by Mr. Hardy, and successfully carried through the House during his tenure of office, may be enumerated the Civil Service and License Amendment Acts of 1878; the Jurors' Amendment Act, and the Municipal Act of 1879; and the Division Courts Amendment Act of last session.

Mr. Hardy's characteristics as a speaker have been sufficiently indicated in the remarks on his professional career. As to the sincerity of his political convictions, no one, so far as we know, has ever ventured to express any doubt. He is endowed with great industry, and has given the highest satisfaction in the discharge of his official duties. It may be added that he makes few or no personal enemies, and that he has an ingratiating manner which greatly conduces to his popularity. With a fine constitution, a laudable ambition, and an intellect which has not yet ceased to grow, Mr. Hardy may look forward with some confidence to a highly successful public career.

On the 19th of January, 1870, Mr. Hardy married Mary, daughter of Mr. Justice Morrison, of Toronto.

## THE HON. SIR ALBERT JAMES SMITH.

SIR ALBERT JAMES SMITH, one of the most eminent lawyers in the Maritime Provinces, was born at the village of Shediac, in the county of Westmoreland, New Brunswick, in the year 1824. He was educated at the County Grammar School, and upon leaving that institution became a student at law in the office of the late Edward Barron Chandler, who subsequently became Lieutenant-Governor of the Province. Having completed his studies, he was called to the Bar of New Brunswick in February, 1847, and settled down to the practice of his profession. He was successful with juries, and gained a large practice, which his friends advised him not to neglect for the uncertain pursuit of politics. In politics, however, he took a warm interest. The tone of his mind was that of a Liberal, and he allied himself with that Party, but neither then nor at any time subsequently was he a bitter or unsparing partisan, like many of his contemporaries in the Maritime Provinces in those days. He first entered public life in 1852, when he was elected to the Local Assembly as representative of his native county of Westmoreland, and in 1854, on the overthrow of the Conservative Government, he assisted Mr. Charles Fisher (now a Puisné Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick), Mr. W. J. Ritchie (now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Dominion), and Mr. now the Hon. Sir Samuel—Tilley, in forming the first Liberal

Administration in that Province. The Administration so formed, however, did not long retain power. A prohibitory liquor law was passed in 1855, which proved very distasteful to the people generally, and petitions on the subject were sent in to the Lieutenant-Governor from all parts of the Province. The Lieutenant-Governor remonstrated with the Administration, and threatened a dissolution. The Administration accordingly resigned, and at the next general election they experienced a defeat. They were defeated, however, almost solely on the prohibition question, which was the direct issue put before the electors during the campaign; and the Conservative Government which succeeded received but a frail support. The division of parties was so nearly equal that in 1857 a dead-lock ensued. For this state of things another general election was the only remedy. The result of the election was that the Government were defeated, and another Liberal Cabinet, of which Messrs. Smith, Fisher, and Tilley were members, was formed. In 1862 Mr. Smith, who had meantime attained to the professional rank of a Queen's Counsel, became Attorney-General, and held that office till 1863, when he resigned his seat in the Cabinet owing to a disagreement with his colleagues respecting the Intercolonial Railway. Five years previously (in 1858) he had been a co-delegate to England with the present Judge Fisher, on matters con-







nected with that line of road, the proposed construction of which had given rise to much negotiation and debate. A time was at hand, however, when all other questions were to give way to the one great question of Confederation. Mr. Smith opposed the scheme of the Quebec Conference with great energy, and on a dissolution taking place, in order to submit the proposition to the people, he addressed meetings in various parts of the country with considerable effect. The anti-Confederates triumphed at the polls, and the Government, which was favourable to Confederation, resigned, Mr. Smith being called upon to form a new Administration. This duty he discharged, and himself assumed the office of Attorney-General, which position he held about a year, when he retired, and his official career in connection with the affairs of New Brunswick terminated. In 1865 he went on a second public mission to England, his associate being the present Chief Justice Allen. In 1866 he was also a delegate to Washington, in conjunction with Messrs. Galt, Howland, and Henry, for the purpose of obtaining a renewal of reciprocity with the United States. The mission was a fruitless one, owing to the excessive demands made on behalf of the United States. During the same year Mr. Smith was offered the position of Chief Justice of New Brunswick, but did not see fit to accept it.

Mr. Smith, ever since his first entry into public life, had represented his native county of Westmoreland in the Local Assembly. Confederation having been accomplished, he now offered himself to his old constituents as a candidate for the Dominion House of Commons. He was elected by a large majority, and has sat in the House of Commons for Westmoreland ever since. We may anticipate the course of events for a moment to briefly chronicle the fact that at the last general election, held on the 17th of September, 1878, he was returned by his constitu-

ents for the fourteenth time consecutively. On four occasions he has been returned by acclamation, and he has never sustained defeat. It is believed that his hold upon the sympathies of the electors is as strong at the present time as it has ever been, and that no candidate whatever could oppose him in Westmoreland with any prospect of success. His opponent at the last election was Mr. R. A. Chapman, upon whose behalf 1,928 votes were polled, as against 2,572 for Sir Albert.

During his career in the Local Assembly of New Brunswick, Mr. Smith was always distinguished as a Liberal. On entering the House of Commons, however, he came unpledged to either Party, and acted, until he took office in 1873, as a strictly independent member. The fact that he frequently voted with the Conservatives led to his antecedents being occasionally overlooked. When the Pacific scandal disclosures took place in 1873 Mr. Smith withdrew his confidence from the then-existing Government; and on their resignation taking place, Mr. Smith's political record marked him out as one of the two most fitting representatives of New Brunswick in the Cabinet formed by Mr. Mackenzie on the 7th of November following. He was sworn of the Privy Council, and he accepted the position of Minister of Marine and Fisheries. He continued at the head of that department during the five years' tenure of office of that Administration. While holding office he introduced and successfully carried through the House some important legislation respecting the Merchant Shipping Act. He was also the author of an amendment to the Deck Loads Act, whereby cattle are permitted to be carried as a deck-load, notwithstanding the provisions to the contrary contained in the Statute, 36 Victoria, chapter 56. He proved a very efficient Minister, and was highly esteemed by his colleagues. His affability of manner and readiness at all times to meet,

so far as practicable, the views of those with whom he had official relations, secured for him a large share of popularity. He is a ready speaker, and on many occasions proved himself well able to defend the policy of his own department and of the Government. Although he has been so many years in public life, and has been engaged during a large portion of that time in active political controversies, his speeches betray no tinge of bitterness, even towards those who are least scrupulous in their methods of assault. It may also be recorded that in 1873 he was offered the dignified position of Lieutenant-Governor of his native Province, but thought proper to decline that high honour.

Mr. Smith represented the Dominion Government before the arbitrators at the Fisheries Commission, which sat at Halifax from the 15th of June to the 23rd of November, 1877. The arbitration, as is well known, resulted in an award of five and a half millions of dollars to be paid by the United States Government to that of Great Britain,

as compensation for the use of the Fisheries for a period of twelve years, six of which had then expired. This award gave great dissatisfaction to the people of the United States, and the American Government protested against it; but the money was finally paid over, after a great deal of delay. In consideration of his eminent services on this occasion, Mr. Smith was, on the 25th of May, 1878, created a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. The Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Imperial Government, in a despatch announcing that Her Majesty had seen fit to confer this dignity upon him and Sir Alexander Galt, remarked that he "had much satisfaction in bringing under the special notice of Her Majesty the valuable assistance rendered by these gentlemen to the Imperial Government, and to that of the Dominion, in connexion with the Halifax Fisheries Commission;" and expressed his confidence that this recognition of their services would be highly appreciated by their fellow-subjects in Canada.

## THE REV. EDWARD HARTLEY DEWART, D.D.

THE Reverend Edward Hartley Dewart, although not a native of Canada, is a thorough Canadian by early adoption and hearty sympathy. For upwards of forty years he has been associated with her interests and identified with her fortunes; and for more than a quarter of a century few men have devoted themselves more actively than he to foster her rising institutions and to promote her prosperity. He was born in the county of Cavan, Ireland, in the year 1828. He is of mingled Scottish and English descent, his father's ancestors having come originally from Scotland, and his mother's from England. In 1834 he came with his parents to this country. The family settled in the county of Peterborough, Ontario, where he passed his boyhood and youth. His early opportunities for obtaining an education were few and unfavourable as compared with those of the present day, when first-class schools, provided with experienced and efficient teachers, may be found in all parts of the Province. This deprivation was sorely felt by him at the time, but the effects were largely counterbalanced by his incessant study, and by his fondness, amounting almost to a passion, for books. From his earliest years his love of reading attracted the attention of all who knew him. He had naturally an inquiring mind, and possessed an insatiable thirst for learning. Notwithstanding a tolerably good supply of useful literature with which his home was always

stocked, he read in addition nearly all the books that he could borrow from the neighbours for miles around. Possessing also a remarkably retentive memory, when but a mere boy he had acquired a more accurate knowledge of Scripture History, and had read and digested more books—many of them requiring close study and attentive thought—than the majority of young men with much better opportunities for mental improvement. In the year 1848 he resolved to avail himself of greater educational advantages, and to qualify himself for a broader sphere of usefulness. He started from his secluded forest home to become a student at the Normal School in Toronto, which had been opened a few months previously for public instruction. With characteristic energy and determination he travelled the whole of the distance, one hundred and twenty miles, on foot. After prosecuting his studies with remarkable success, he returned home at the end of the academic year, taught school for about fourteen months, and came back again to attend lectures for another session. His ability and assiduity as a student soon rendered his proficiency so marked in all his studies that he was frequently employed by the professors to assist them in teaching classes. Before quitting the institution that session, on the recommendation of the late Mr. Thomas Jaffray Robertson, he engaged as teacher of the school at Dunnville, Ontario, where he

taught for two years. In 1851 he was called to the work of the Christian ministry in connection with the Wesleyan Methodist Church, of which he had been a member since 1843. He commenced his ministerial labours on the St. Thomas circuit, some months after the meeting of the Conference, as junior preacher under the direction of the Chairman of the London District. After remaining a second year on this circuit, he travelled respectively for one year the Port Hope and Thorold circuits. On completing his four years' probation, he was ordained at London in June, 1855, and sent to Dundas. The next year he married, and was appointed superintendent of the St. Andrew's circuit, on the Ottawa River. He laboured here for two years, when he was sent to the Odelltown circuit. In 1860 he was stationed by the Conference in Montreal West. Very shortly afterwards he was compelled, owing to enfeebled health, caused by protracted overwork before coming to the city, to resign his charge, and to retire temporarily from the pastorate. In the course of a few months he became sufficiently restored to undertake the superintendence of the St. John's circuit, where he laboured for a term of three years. He was next stationed in Collingwood, Ontario; but at the end of a year was removed to Toronto, having accepted an invitation from the congregation of Elm Street Church to become their pastor. At the end of his three years' term he received an invitation to go to Belleville; but feeling his health again giving way, he requested the Conference to appoint him to a lighter field of labour, and was sent to Ingersoll, Ontario. At the Conference which was held in Toronto in 1869 he was elected editor of the *Christian Guardian*, as successor to Dr. Jeffers, a position which he still retains, and which he has now occupied for a longer period than any of his predecessors. For five years consecu-

tively he was reelected to this office, each time by a large majority of the ministers attending the annual Conference. At the first General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, held in Toronto, in September, 1874, when the Wesleyan and New Connexion bodies became amalgamated, he was again elected Connexional editor for a term of four years; and at the second General Conference, which assembled in Montreal in 1878, he was once more reelected by an almost unanimous vote to the same important office for another quadrennial term. For this position, which he has occupied for such a length of time with so much credit to himself and satisfaction to the Church, he has in an eminent degree the essential qualifications. Literary composition, both in prose and verse, has always been Dr. Dewart's favourite employment; and although he has laboured at a great disadvantage in the field of literature, owing to the constant pressure of pastoral and ministerial duties, he has by dint of hard toil and great exertion accomplished a good deal in the way of authorship. The productions of his pen first brought him into prominence as a thinker of more than ordinary mental power; and by his writings he has earned his widest and most lasting reputation. Not only has he been highly successful as a prose writer, but he has written and published a volume of poems which evince poetic ability of no mean order, and entitle him to a prominent place among the bards of Canada. His stirring lyrics on a great variety of subjects—patriotic, domestic, and religious—are characterized by elevated thought, graceful diction, and almost faultless metre. The poems on "Niagara Falls," "John Milton," and "Voices of the Past," and others, reveal true poetic imagination, and are not unworthy to be ranked with the productions of authors of greater distinction. A brief enumeration of his works,

with their distinguishing features and the dates of their publication, will show how much he has done in the department of literature, and will also indicate how busy he has been with his pen amidst all his other engagements. His first literary effort of any importance was an essay, written in 1858, against the use of tobacco, which won for him out of a large number of competitors a valuable prize. In 1861 he published a thoughtful pamphlet on "The Children of the Church," in which he presents a somewhat original view of that important subject. In 1863, after considerable time spent in collecting the materials, he published a volume entitled "Selections from Canadian Poets," with critical and biographical notes, and a valuable introductory essay on Canadian poetry, which by its wide circulation brought into public notice a number of our country's poets theretofore unknown to fame, and rescued from oblivion a great many waifs of the imagination well worthy of being preserved in permanent form. In 1865 he wrote his "Waymarks," and the following year he wrote an able article on F. W. Robertson, of Brighton, which appeared in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, of New York, and attracted a good deal of attention at the time. The same year he edited and compiled "The Canadian Speaker," an elocutionary reader for teachers and students, containing useful introductory remarks on the principles of elocution. In 1869 he published his "Broken Reeds," and his collection of original poems entitled "Songs of Life." In 1873 he published a pamphlet entitled "Priestly Pretensions Disproved." In 1877 he published a scholarly pamphlet entitled "Spurious Catholicity," being a trenchant reply to a pamphlet entitled "Catholicity and Methodism," by the Rev. James Roy, M.A. In 1878 he published his most important work, a timely and unsectarian volume, replete with thoughtful arguments and

practical suggestions for promoting vital godliness, entitled "Living Epistles; or, Christ's Witnesses in the World," with an appreciative introduction by the Rev. William Ormiston, D.D., and containing also a concise essay on "Christianity and Scepticism." In the spring of 1878 he was appointed to deliver the annual lecture before the Theological Union of Victoria College, at the closing of the institution the following year. He took for his subject "The Development of Doctrine," an important theme, hitherto scarcely touched by Methodist theologians; and his lecture, which was delivered in Cobourg, during the Convocation week in May, 1879, and has since been published in pamphlet form, is a comprehensive, liberal, and reasonable discussion of this interesting theological question. As a just and fitting recognition of his versatile talents, his unwearied industry, and his literary and theological attainments, the University of Victoria College at that time conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Dr. Dewart is a man of great natural ability and force of character. He is, in the true sense of the term, a self-made man, and his success is largely attributable to his indomitable perseverance and unwearied application. He has always been a diligent and laborious student, and a close observer of human nature. Thrown upon his own resources before he had attained his majority, he, without any special patronage, rapidly made his way to positions of prominence. Since he has occupied the editorial chair of the *Christian Guardian* his sphere of usefulness has been greatly enlarged, embracing as it does the whole of Canadian Methodism. Being a forcible speaker and a vigorous writer, few men in the Church during that time have done more than he to determine the future character of Methodism in this country. He is a firm believer in true Christian union, and has for years desired

to see, and striven to bring about, a united Methodism. The amalgamation of the two bodies which took place in 1874 was in no small degree due to his persistent advocacy and powerful defence, both through the columns of the *Guardian* and in the discussions of the Conference. In connection with the movement for the consolidation of Canadian Methodism, he took a leading part in advocating lay delegation and union principles; and at the London Conference in 1873, when a plan of union had been agreed upon by the Wesleyan, Eastern, British American, and New Connexion Conferences, he, in conjunction with Dr. Nelles, was appointed a delegate to the British Conference to represent the relations arising out of the proposed union, and to arrange the terms of settlement with the parent Body. As a member of Church Courts and Conference Committees, he displays sagacity and decision of character. As a preacher he is earnest, practical, and at times eloquent; his sermons are calculated to quicken the intellect as well as the spirit. He is a

man of strong convictions, tenacious of his opinions, and fearless and outspoken in expressing and maintaining them. He is also a man of broad views, of progressive principles, and of advanced ideas upon all subjects, whether civil or ecclesiastical. Although thoroughly liberal in mere matters of opinion, whenever a principle is at stake he shows that he has the moral courage to act in accordance with his conscientious convictions, and resolutely to adhere to his purpose in spite of opposition, or prejudice, or the loss of popular favour. He has always taken a deep interest in everything that concerns the well-being of society, and has heartily sympathized and coöperated with all evangelical and non-sectarian institutions. His earliest attempts at public speaking were made while he was teaching school, in behalf of the great cause of temperance. He has ever since been a steady and earnest advocate of Prohibition, and is at the present time the President of the Ontario branch of the Dominion Temperance Alliance.







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